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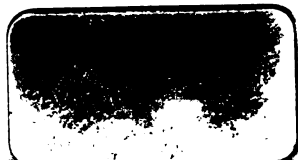
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THE
LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE
RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE,
BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN.

BY
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ETC.

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THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

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RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE.

infidelity, and rebellion; whilst the Catholics regarded their enthusiastic assailants as the victims of a spiritual insanity derived from an infernal source." Astounding statistics of progress found repeated expression from Lord Farnham's lips, for which at the time he had to suffer many a hard retort; but historically we must regard this pious peer rather as the deceived than the deceiver. "Weekly bulletins of the number of new converts from Popery," writes Mr. Daunt, "were placarded on the walls, and suspended round the necks of persons hired to perambulate the public streets. Fourteen hundred and eighty-three converts were at one period announced as the fruit of Lord Farnham's exertions in Cavan; but when Archbishop Magee went down to confirm them, their numbers had shrunk to forty-two. . He kept open house for proselytes, who were furnished with soup, potatoes, and even clothes. Pauper Protestants sometimes enjoyed his hospitality under the pretext of being converts from Popery, and such Catholics as thought they could escape recognition among the multitude of strange faces, continued to be converted three or four times over, in order to prolong the substantial advantage of being fed, at a dear season, at the noble Lord's cost. When the supply of food, &c., was discontinued, they returned to their former Church."

Dr. Doyle, although a Churchman, refrained from noticing Lord Farnham's speech on its strictly religious claims to attention. He passed by its local, and personal, and sectarian portions, "which would probably employ the pen of some caustic polemic," and took to account only the purely political. J. K. L. discussed it with the gravity and freedom due to the deliberate opinion of a distinguished leader of a party. Lord Farnham's opinions, when disengaged from extraneous matters and superfluous words, were, first, that the Catholic claims must be conceded if the Irish Catholics continue in their present strength of numbers; secondly, that if these claims be conceded, the Church Establishment must fall; thirdly, that a consequence, not remote, of such concession would be the utter separation of the two islands.

J. K. L. examined in detail each proposition. The first he pronounced to be undeniable, and that it was as easy to stop the course of the sun as to impede the progress of reason and justice which had arisen to liberalise the Protestant and liberate the Catholic. "The cause of the Irish Catholics," he continued, "has now progressed so far—it is carried onwards by such a force, external and internal, foreign and domestic, that to arrest it would be as much beyond the power of any body of men as it would be beyond the power of your Lordship to stem the cataract of Niagara. The Catholic cause cannot be defeated in this

empire, for, now that its merits are known, it is aided by the genius of the constitution, the spirit of British law, the immense power of literature and commerce—nay, as bearing on the security and value of property, it has allied itself with the private interests of the most influential part of the community, whilst it has only to combat with coarse and vulgar prejudices, with an Establishment useless, burdensome, and corrupt, and with a pride and selfishness which every occurring death diminishes. Our cause then must beyond doubt prevail, if public opinion be the supreme regulator in this empire."

He discussed the second opinion advanced by Lord Farnham, and quite concurred with him that the Church Establishment must ere long fall. He hoped the time was not far distant when religion would be relieved of an incubus, and Ireland from an intolerable pressure. Adopting a milder tone, he then asked—"Can your Lordship, laying your hand to your breast, appeal to your conscience or honour, and say that the Church Establishment requires no reform?" Assuming its reformation to be a necessary consequence of the concession of the Catholic claims, J. K. L. showed that they ought not on that account to be withheld, and Lord Farnham would act more wisely by inviting Whigs and Tories to settle the great national question which troubled the public repose and agitated the empire, than by calling on them to enter upon what a little more experience would show him to be a perfectly fruitless crusade against the religion of the Irish people. "Fruitless, I mean, of such conversions as you contemplate, but probably fruitful in results far and widely different from those which you would have the public to believe you expect."

"Many Catholics anticipate, and not without cause, that a number of those trees which, as they say, are now twice dead, will be enlivened and take root again; that many wandering stars, which now travel unrestrained by any law, will be fixed again in their orbit; that great numbers of men, who are now tossed about by every wind of doctrine, will come to bend in the temples and adore before the altars which their fathers deserted."

Then as to the separation of the two islands, which Lord Farnham predicted the Catholics would labour to bring about, he reminded him that it was Protestants who had almost always favoured a severance of the two countries. "When a jealousy of British influence or a dislike to the connection produced the league of United Irishmen, whose avowed object was separation, who were its framers, its propagators, its supporters? They were not Catholics—the Catholics were only its victims. When this country, its laws and privileges, and its distinct national existence,

were afterwards brought to market and made matter of traffic, who were they who, swayed by a thirst of gold, sold their conscience and their country? Were they Catholics? No!"

He expressed great regret that Lord Farnham should be so "blind to the loyalty of the Catholics, so long maintained; to their fidelity, so often tried; to their love of country, so often proved."

Dr. Doyle brought to bear all the resources of a strong and solid logic to undermine the position assumed by Lord Farnham as a consequence of emancipation. The peer's dark forebodings had already influenced many persons previously favourable to the Catholic cause. "The question for an Irish patriot to consider is, first, would separation from England be practicable if the Catholics be emancipated? Next, would it be useful if it were practicable? If the present balance of power in Europe can be maintained, every attempt to separate these islands would be abortive; and until a revolution more extensive and violent than that which has lately terminated shall again pervade this hemisphere, every Irishman of sound views will labour to cement the existing union. If the Catholics, therefore, were emancipated, and Ireland governed justly, there is no portion of her inhabitants would labour more zealously, or with fairer views, for the prosperity of the United Kingdom."

He argued at some length on this point, but ended by saying that his remarks were made "on the supposition that the just claims of the Catholics are conceded, and the country governed, not by compromise, indecision, and petty intrigue, but by a just, and frank, and straightforward policy."

The Bishop then reversed the picture, and put the pregnant question—"Your Lordship fears separation if the Catholic claims be conceded. Has your Lordship no fear if they be withheld?" Lord Farnham had indeed no such apprehensions, but it would seem that a shrewder man, the Duke of Wellington, had great fears on the subject, for two years later we find him yielding to the Catholic claims, not from a conviction of their justice, but to avert the calamities of civil war. "In reasoning on this hypothesis," wrote Dr. Doyle, "I do not take into calculation the increased irritation, heart-burnings, hatred, and disaffection which your new crusade will produce. I argue only on the data already before us of the existing state of things." He then went on to show, from a variety of circumstances long forgotten, that the peace of Europe was confessedly jeopardised. Referring to America, he said: "We also know of their views on Ireland, and how many of our exiled countrymen burn beyond the Atlantic with a spirit of revenge."

Dr. Doyle was right. Stephen Coppinger, secretary of the Catholic Association, informed us that he had been himself assured by Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston, North Carolina, that he almost personally organised, in 1828, a force of 40,000 men, which, headed by General Montgomery, the son of an Irish refugee, was designed for the invasion of Ireland had emancipation continued to have been withheld. Mr. Coppinger added that Mr. Wyse, the historian of the Catholic Association, was aware of this fact, and made an indirect allusion to it in his work; and further, that the Duke of Wellington was in full possession of Bishop England's scheme. "This is a very important historical fact," observed Mr. Coppinger, "and by no means generally known. Even O'Connell himself knew very little about it." Reverting to Dr. England, Mr. Coppinger said: "He had been editor of an influential Cork paper, and conducted it with great patriotic spirit and ability. The hierarchy rather feared his influence and views, which were decidedly democratic, and a memorial, signed by nearly all the Bishops in Ireland, was sent to Rome, praying his Holiness to appoint him to some vacant foreign see. Some of the episcopal body seemed to fear that on the death of the Bishops of Cork or Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, and, whether true or false, he was suspected to have been tinged with revolutionary principles. Dr. Coppinger, the venerable patriot prelate of Cloyne, entertained a great regard for Dr. England, as well as a hearty appreciation of his talents, and refused to sign the memorial to Rome. This fact was communicated to me by Dr. Coppinger himself."¹

Thus we see that Dr. Doyle's prediction of the dangers with which America would probably threaten the English interest in the event of emancipation being refused was well grounded, and fully showed that accuracy of political foresight which had been a specialty with him. But other prognostications marked his letter to Lord Farnham, which it is needless to notice in detail. The "Telegraph," in the year 1856, reprinted the letter, and directed public attention to it in a leader which said: "Its extraordinary foreshadowing of things as they are at this moment, its estimate of them, and every word it contains, appear like a verified prophecy."

¹ The late Mr. Fagan, M.P. for Cork, in an elaborate tribute to Dr. England's tribunital powers, writes: "Why was it Ireland lost the services of that distinguished man? Why was his lot ultimately cast in a foreign land—in the Southern States of republican America, where his genius burned out amidst a race of uncivilised slave-owners? He sacrificed himself to the service of religion, but would he not have rendered it more service as a prelate in his native land, co-operating with such able and exalted men as Dr. Doyle in improving the condition of the people, and making Catholicity respected even by its enemies?"

Dr. Doyle concluded with these memorable words : " Alas ! my Lord, we seem to confide too much in our own power, to estimate other nations too lowly, to look too superciliously on our own people—the nerves of our body politic. We are still intoxicated with the recollection of our late victories ; we forget our debt, our currency, our manufactures, our discontented people. Our domestic feuds and jealousies contract our views, distract our thoughts, embitter our feelings ; they drive our peers back to the thirteenth century, and cause them to deliberate, at a time of the utmost difficulty, if not of peril, about undertaking a religious crusade. I would say, my Lord, to you—every Catholic should say it to every Protestant—every liberator should say it to every Orangeman—every priest to every parson—'*Jungamus dexteras* ;' let us unite our hands—let us rally round the throne, and, inviting our sovereign to govern us by just and equal laws, enable him to exclaim in defiance before the face of all the world the words of Christian fortitude engraved on his crest—'*Dieu et mon droit* !' "

This letter fanned the flame of the Catholic question. A Relief Bill was brought forward immediately after. Dr. Doyle's name repeatedly occurs in the debates ; but an adverse majority foiled this act of grace. The "Freeman" of 13th March 1827 records : " After the arrival of the packet bringing the account of the defeat of the Catholic question, orders were sent to the Pigeon-house to forward 5,000,000 rounds of musket-ball cartridge to the different garrisons round the country." Moore, in the "Times" sang—

" She asked me for Freedom and Right,
But ill she her wants understood ;
Ball-cartridges, morning and night,
Is a dose that will do her more good."

O'Connell felt this disappointment keenly. Dr. Doyle, writing to him (March 1827), says : " May I request of you to read over the fifth and sixth chapters of the Book of Exodus before you complain that our arguments are left unanswered, that our prayers are slighted, that our sufferings are unpitied, and that our efforts to extricate ourselves only serve to rivet faster our chains. To add that I pity and despise the men who substitute clamour for argument, and who accuse those who cannot defend themselves, is unnecessary ; you can estimate my feelings on the subject by your own. But our cause is in the hand of God—and God is just."

Dr. Doyle, anxious for true statistics in regard to this much-vaunted "second Reformation," applied to George Ensor, a liberal

Protestant, on the subject. Mr. Ensor replied : "As to conversions, six have taken place in the parish of Armagh, none in the two adjoining parishes, and two in a very large parish of Tyrone. This is literally the fact ; and considering the means employed and the dependence of the people, I wonder more did not drop off. One of these converts I know, and I am sure he will not long abide where he sojourns. Three Protestants of Tartaraghan parish, where the chapel was burned, have lately Catholicised. As to refuting the lies of the Reformation men, that would be interminable. The best way to have such things effected is by having the answers stitched up with the coming Reviews, and by inserting abstracts of same in the London journals. The English and Scotch are much amused by the audacious falsehoods that are circulated."

Frederick William Conway, another Protestant admirer of J. K. L., in a tribute to his worth, observed : "When the second Reformation was started, his spirit was felt through all the ranks of Catholicity, and he speedily put to utter flight—though he did not appear himself upon the arena—the hypocrites and fanatics, the knaves and the fools, who got up that monstrous and indecent farce. He was made, of course, the theme of their malice and the topic of many an unblushing lie. The degraded priests, and, if there can be anything more degraded, the wretched paragraphists and pamphleteers, who had apostatised upon speculation from the faith in which they were born and reared, like all other renegades under similar circumstances, wished to prove the fidelity of their conviction to the new doctrine by the virulence of their slanders against the brightest luminary of the old. This, however, must be considered, after all, as the tribute which base minds must pay to genius and virtue ; and we always considered the storm which was raised on this occasion as the highest triumph Dr. Doyle ever received."

This letter to Lord Farnham drew forth a porcupine of pens. The Rev. Cæsar Otway, a Protestant divine and author of ability, writes :—

"RIGHT REV. SIR,—Assuming that you are the author of the letters bearing the signature of J. K. L., I beg leave to address you with the respect due to your high station. The individual who now undertakes to animadvert on your letter of the 6th February has the honour of an acquaintance with Lord Farnham ; he has been lately at Cavan, and is the devoted friend of the Rev. Richard Pope. He is connected also with the Established Church ; and he deems it not unsuitable to aid in

its defence against the unmeaning censures that you and your friend of Maronia [Dr. MacHale] have heaped upon it. With him of Maronia I do not at present mean to deal—one giant is enough to encounter with one sling. You are pleased to confine your animadversions on Lord Farnham's celebrated speech to that part of it which you hold to be purely political—as you express yourself, you leave the religious matter to some caustic polemic. Is this modesty? In sooth, Right Rev. Sir, you must desire his Lordship to be burned to the bone if you hand him over to a more expert practitioner in theological caustic than yourself. The procellarian bird rejoices not more in the tempestuous ocean around Cape Horn than you seem to do in the high latitudes of politics; and you do well to take your congenial position with the Mazareins, the Richelieus, the Wolseys. In the pulpit you are far from home; and even the splendour of your vestments, the imposing *eclat* of all your prelatie accompaniments, could not disguise from a common observer that, divested of all the force, keenness, and *fierte* of J. K. L., the mere commonplace Dr. Doyle stood there without his vizored helmet and without his dagger.

... "Right Rev. Sir, your cause has not progressed, thanks to O'Connell, Sheil, and you, and unless (to use your own dark hint) 'there be brought into calculation events which might cause the passing of an Emancipation Bill as abruptly as an Order in Council has sometimes passed'—that is, unless the Romanists force themselves by a *coup de main* into the constitution—the public opinion is still decided in the desire to keep them out. . . .

"Right Rev. Sir, as the peaceful conclusion of a very spirit-stirring letter, you have invited all the parties that distract this land to join hands and rally round the sovereign's throne. Come then, let us do so. Come all of us with undivided allegiance, and therefore with cemented hearts. *You* of course casting behind you all foreign-influenced maxims—*you* no longer withholding from his Majesty's subjects their indefeasible right to reading the great Charter of their eternal salvation. . . . Then indeed might two walk together, because they would be agreed—then indeed might we say, '*Jungamus dexteras*'—then indeed might the people rejoice in temporal and spiritual privileges that neither man nor priest could take from them; and the beloved king of a free people, looking abroad on the undivided allegiance of all his subjects, and more especially of his now-united Irishmen, might hold up his crest on high, and challenge the world to gainsay his assumed motto—'*Dieu et mon droit*.' "

The loud boastings of Lord Farnham on the subject of converts

to Protestantism elicited from Dr. Doyle, on 7th March 1827, some data regarding the adhesions to Catholicism in his diocese. "In these days of change and 'conversion,' when our political enemies have introduced a religious farce to amuse those English people whom they have so long deceived, it may not be improper to mix something serious with what is ludicrous." It appeared that the number of converts in thirty-seven (from which only returns had reached Dr. Doyle) out of forty-five unions of parishes was 248. "These conversions, however, are neither novel nor surprising to us; they exceed somewhat in number the ordinary average of other years, but that is probably owing to the prevalent religious excitement which the Almighty employs as a means of 'aggregating to His Church some of those who have been pre-ordained to eternal life.' Amongst those converts there were none found who went about to sell their faith—'the gift of God'—for money, or who said, like Judas, 'How much will you give, and we will deliver him up to you?' Those converts have not been taken from the sewers of public corruption, but they have abandoned, in many cases, the hopes and support of life, and broken the strongest ties of kindred and affection, to find in the bosom of the Catholic Church that peace and security to which from their birth they had been strangers."

In Queen's County an illegal confederacy of the peasantry had begun to knit very formidably. Writing to the Rev. Charles Stewart, 18th January 1827, the Bishop says: "Since your note was handed to me in Dublin, I had scarcely time to read it until this day, and even now I am very much occupied. I left Dublin at six o'clock on Monday morning, and since then I have been travelling on necessary business through the Queen's County. I almost envy you the rest you enjoy; for bodily illness, however distressing, is not so painful as that tribulation of mind in which one circumstanced as I am must generally be involved."

It was no unusual sight at this and a subsequent period to see the Bishop, with crozier grasped, standing on the side of a steep hill in a remote county, addressing and converting vast crowds of the disaffected people.

He had certainly a busy time of it. O'Connell having urged Dr. Doyle to use his influence in promoting the census and Catholic rent, he writes: "The former is in progress throughout these dioceses, the Catholic rent has been collected in this town. I have been among the subscribers, so that, as far as example and approval can promote it, I have done what depended on me. I am confident that the clergy would countenance the collection of it, but they are not disposed themselves to become

they are incapable of escaping the dangers and temptations of this world, and by placing before them in a proper light the obligations annexed to their respective situations in life, it also enables them to become good citizens, faithful friends, dutiful children, wise parents, and, above all, good Christians. The rich family and the family in easy circumstances are able to provide themselves with useful books; but the very titles of these books are not always known to them, or, if known, they may not be easily procured; perhaps the disposition to purchase them may not always exist at a certain time or moment; it may pass away and be lost amidst the distraction of the world. But the Catholic Book Society employs the combined wisdom of several pious and learned men in the selection of books; it conveys them into the houses, and places them before the eyes and in the hands of persons who would seldom think on them, and compels, as it were, those who, 'like the sluggard, will and will not,' to read and reflect upon what their interests require that they should know. But the tradesman, the peasant, the poor labourer, who with difficulty earns his bread by the sweat of his brow—he it is who requires instruction and consolation. Religion alone can render his burden light and his yoke sweet; to him the Catholic Book Society becomes the agent of religion, it enters his humble dwelling, it employs his leisure in the work of his own happiness, or, whilst he rests his weary limbs from fatigue, it expounds to him, through the lips of his own beloved child, those saving truths, those consoling reflections which a just and merciful Redeemer has been pleased often to conceal from the prudent and the wise, and to reveal to the little ones, the simple, and the poor. To him heretofore books of religious instruction were, in many instances, like delicious fruits enclosed within a garden which he was not allowed to enter; the object of the Catholic Book Society is to open the enclosure, and to permit the poor man and his family to feast with the rich man on the common gifts of God—on the fruits, not of the earth, but of heaven."

But this Book Society proposed to itself other duties. It aimed to co-operate with the legitimate guardians of the Catholic faith in their efforts to preserve it intact: "The streets, the highways, bear testimony to the afflicting trials which now in Ireland beset and encompass on every side the sacred deposit of the faith. Calumnies the most unfounded, misrepresentations the most gross and incredible, are everywhere circulated against Catholics, and against whatever they esteem most sacred and venerable. To read the Acts of the Apostles, the apologies of primitive Christians, the letters of those holy Bishops who preserved the faith,

instructing and consoling the true believers in the earliest ages of the Church, and to compare what happened in their times with what is now occurring in our own, it would appear that, with the exception of those cruelties which the temper of the present age would not endure, the Church of Ireland is not inferior in suffering, in patience, in fortitude, or in charity even to the Church of apostolic times. To assist, then, the Catholic Church and the people of Ireland under the present severe and prolonged trial, nothing can be more useful than the perusal of religious books. Such books tend to elevate the soul to God ; they assist to keep before her eyes the example of Christ and of His saints, to enkindle in the heart heavenly desires and affections ; they contribute to enlighten the mind with the knowledge of divine truth, and whilst they assist to allay anger, to subdue pride, and to extinguish all feeling of hatred and revenge, they enable the most illiterate to give to every one that asketh an account of the hope that is in them, and thus arm the Church on every side with those peaceful weapons which alone she uses in her just defence."

The Kildare Place Society underwent about the same time some renewed strokes of chastisement from Dr. Doyle. He expressed himself more than ever opposed to the diffusion of Scripture-reading among weak and illiterate children, without note or comment or previous prayer, or any regard whatever to Church authority. Dr. Doyle showed, moreover, that every great champion of the Kildare Place system was the open and determined enemy of the Catholic claims. "After the *expose* of the Catholic Bishop of Kildare," writes Dr. MacHale, "I am surprised, or rather not surprised, that the Kildare Place Society should be still invested with the public funds. But the statement of the Bishop may not affect these gentlemen, since they can controvert the import of the signature which he is generally thought to assume. The power of his pen does not depend upon his title to the temporalities of the Church, which, with his episcopal brethren, he does not envy to its possessors. But the reader must smile when he is told that the law annihilates such a personage. The mysterious hand of J. K. L., without recognising the body to which it is appended, would be more alarming than if his person were known and defined."

Mr. Topham, in regard to the state of certain schools, read a lecture to Dr. Doyle as long as one of the chapters of St. Paul to Timothy, and appealed to the public to correct the maladministration of that unworthy Bishop. Dr. Doyle's reply, which was written in the third person, thus concluded : "The committee boast of their endeavours to promote Scriptural education, and

yet Dr. Doyle is fully satisfied that the Kildare Place Society is the greatest obstacle to so desirable a result. Dr. Doyle has ever been a friend to Scriptural education when regulated as it ought to be." He expressed his conviction that until the Kildare Place system was wholly discarded, the dissensions and heart-burnings which then prevailed would not be diminished. "On the heads of those," he added, "who oppose obstacles to so great a good let the responsibility descend, whilst all should remember that saying in the Book of Proverbs, that "the soul of the Lord detesteth him who soweth dissensions among brethren."

Dr. Doyle's vigilance on behalf of Catholic interests was not displayed in his capacity of a public writer only. He toiled in private with unflagging zeal to arrest all attempts to reduce his people by proselytism. To preserve the faith of one obscure member of his flock he often bestowed more labour and anxiety in correspondence and other exertions than many of his writings on public events occasioned. Thus, writing to Mrs. Coney, 3d June 1827, he says :—

"MY DEAR MARY,—The gentlemen at our College here are very much interested for a young female who, agitated by many unusual trials, became a Protestant some months ago. She afterwards was sincerely reformed, but is still exposed to great temptations. Her removal from this county would be very desirable, and those who know her are fully satisfied of her virtue and sincerity. She is young, handsome, and capable of being a very useful servant, especially as housemaid. She can do all sorts of plain work, and would gladly fill any situation, even the most humble.

"Could you take her under your own care, and give her some kind of employment? I am sure you could very easily obtain some situation for her, or perhaps she would, if with you, provide herself with a husband, as they tell me she is very interesting ; at all events, I am sure she is an object of charity, and that here, wherever placed, she would be sought after and tampered with, so that, to preserve her in the state of grace and in the practice of virtue, it is most desirable to have her removed and placed with a person who would feel an interest in her."

Another letter will serve to illustrate his anxiety in private on behalf of Catholic interests. The Rev. Mr. Murphy, an Augustinian Friar, had just read his recantation in the Protestant Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. Addressing the Very Rev. Austin M'Dermott, 22d March 1827, he avows himself "sensible of the deep affliction into which you must be plunged by the

prevarication of that idiot ;" but that it is only a just judgment upon the Order for admitting him.

"But what will you do to repair the scandal? Would you think it right to obtain information of the life of that unhappy man, his wanderings and extravagances, and certify them to the public at whatsoever risk? I should not, if in your place, hesitate to do so, provided that the follies and ill-conduct have been all upon his side. But this is a point you should well ascertain, by visiting the houses in which he has been, and discovering what he calls 'persecution,' and whether it deserved that name."

This vacillating priest returned shortly afterwards to the Catholic Church, and read a letter of atonement for the scandal he had caused from the altar of a Catholic chapel. He survived until recently, but was never permitted to officiate as a clergyman subsequent to this scandal. He might be often seen stalking through the purlieus of Dublin clad in sacerdotal rags and followed by a small crowd who collected "alms for Father Murphy."

Another pastoral charge, very intemperate in its allusions to Catholicism, fell about this time from the prolific pen of Dr. Magee. Many persons would probably not have minded it had not the philippics in question exhibited one of the most remarkable political tergiversations which had ever taken place. All the political antecedents of Dr. Magee had been of a most moderate character until his promotion by Lord Wellesley to the archiepiscopal bench of Dublin, which seemed to effect a sudden revolution in his views. Referring to "the vicious circle" round which Archbishop Magee had lately been so furiously driving, Dr. MacHale expressed a hope that "J. K. L., Dr. Magee's first correspondent, might dissipate once more his ill-wrought sophistries to the wind."

But it was not Dr. MacHale alone who called upon Dr. Doyle to answer the Archbishop. Sydney Smith wrote urging him to answer it, as the only man in Ireland competent to do so. "*There* he will find his match in J. K. L., and I will immolate the beast in the 'Edinburgh Review.'" ¹ To find an Irish Catholic Bishop and Anglican dignitary conspiring for the overthrow of a Protestant prelate was in those days a novel spectacle.

¹ Lady Holland, the biographer of Sydney Smith, writes, 28th March 1857: "I rejoice to hear the task you have undertaken, for such men as Bishop Doyle are as rare as they are valuable; and it is a duty to the world, more than to themselves, that their example should be held up to admiration, and their memory kept alive in the minds of their fellow-countrymen. My father had a high respect and admiration for Dr. Doyle, always speaking of him as one of the most perfect specimens of a gentleman at heart that he knew, and of the satisfaction he ever had in transacting business with him, from the respect his honesty inspired—from the conviction, that though a most zealous Roman Catholic, he was, like my father, deeply impressed with the purest fruits of true religion to all good men—the desire of promoting toleration, and religious love, and peace amongst mankind; and it is this quality, so rarely combined with zeal, which makes his example of so much value to the world."

Dr. Doyle disliked religious controversy, but having been taunted by the Rev. Cæsar Otway with preferring politics to polemics, he was led to deviate from his usual course.

His reply to Dr. Magee fills 146 large octavo pages. It was published simultaneously by Coyne in Dublin and by Ridgway in London. Having "submitted it to those to whom the charge had been addressed," he began : "A charge breathing discord and dissension has been lately addressed to you by the most dignified ecclesiastic of the Established Church in your province. This prelate has assured you that you are competent to judge all things. I think differently ; but I am satisfied that you are at least competent to decide upon the merits of his charge. For many of you, individually, I entertain sentiments of the highest respect ; to you all I am bound, as a fellow-Christian, by ties of charity—ties which I hope may never be severed."

He quoted largely from St. Augustine : "I wish earnestly that I were enabled in addressing you to put on the spirit of this great man ; but if at any time the oppression and injustice under which as an Irish Catholic I labour extort from me strong expressions, they are to be received, as in truth they are directed, not against the multitude of my Protestant fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians, but against the vices or insanity of a few furious men—men who either have originated and established in these countries religious error, with its attendants, schisms and dissensions, or who still labour to perpetuate division, to strengthen discord, and prevent, by every means in their power, not only the peace and happiness of Ireland, but also the salvation of a numerous and most deserving people."

J. K. L. then proceeded to repel assault, "not to inflict wounds—to reply to an impassioned philippic, which the voice of the country must condemn, and to defend an injured community from the unprovoked and now reiterated attacks of a Christian Bishop, who claims to discharge an embassy for Christ.

"I had hoped that this most reverend prelate, embarrassed by the occurrences in which he has been involved since his elevation to the See of Dublin, would have said with the Psalmist, in the bitterness of his soul, 'It is good for me, O Lord, that Thou hast humbled me, that I may learn the ways of Thy justice,' and that in the silence of retirement he would have laboured to efface from his literary character and public life those stains which a forgetfulness of his own infirmity and an unwarrantable disrespect for other men had imprinted on them. But whether it be a peculiarity of understanding or a pride not to be subdued which animates him, he appears resolved still to exhibit himself from

his high station as a rallying-point to the insane bigots who infest this country, and as a subject of censure to those who, were he less obtruding, would willingly pass him by unheeded. But the sympathies which the world generally bestows even upon well-merited distress can no longer be collected about his Grace; and what the public should deplore is (to recur to the language of Augustine), that by him and a few other restless enthusiasts the salvation of many is endangered, and the peace and comfort of society incessantly disturbed. To men of this description 'who *will* not to know the truth, that they might act rightly,' I do not address myself; my appeal is directed principally to those who, however prepossessed by early habits of thought, or influenced by alienated feelings, are yet inclined to listen to the accused pleading in his own defence, and disposed to judge impartially between man and man."

To attempt a rapid summary of the enormous mass of learning, logic, and polemical science which filled this portly pamphlet would not be doing justice to J. K. L. One might as well present a few scattered blocks as a specimen of the architecture of York Minster or St. Patrick's, as to seek to convey, by a few disconnected paragraphs, an accurate idea of the artistic comprehensiveness and beauty of Dr. Doyle's work. There are, however, some portions so full of strength that we cannot avoid exhibiting them as a suitable sample. "It is indeed most afflicting to find a Christian Bishop denounce to the world the great and only stay of Christianity as a supernatural religion, and appeal to the pride of the human heart, to the fondest and strongest prejudices of our nature, against the mysterious but wise economy of our faith. If the wisdom of this world were not folly with God—if He had not rejected the prudence of the prudent and the wisdom of the wise, in order to save men by the folly of the Cross, then it might be reasonable to appeal to human pride, to awake the passions, and rally them in opposition to the authority established by the Redeemer."

"Who, says the writer of the charge, will submit himself to authority? Let every creature, says St. Paul, be subject to the higher powers. Who, says this Archbishop, will relinquish the right of private judgment? The arms of our warfare, cries out an apostle, are not carnal, but powerful of God unto the pulling down of every stronghold—destroying counsels and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every understanding to the obedience of Christ. Who, says his Grace of Dublin, will submit to the decisions of fallible men? 'As My Father sent Me,' says Christ, 'so I send

you ; going, therefore, teach all nations—and lo ! I am with you *all days*, even to the consummation of the world ; whosoever hears you hears Me, and whosoever despises you despises Me and the Father who sent Me.’

“ Shall the high-minded and enlightened people of this country submit to the decrees of any Church, says this Christian prelate. ‘ If any one do not hear the Church,’ says Christ, ‘ let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican,’ for that Church is founded on a rock—or, as St. Paul describes her, she is the pillar and immovable ground or foundation of truth.”

Regarding apostolical succession : “ We in union with our Head are the successors of those men ; for eighteen hundred years we exhibit a regular and uninterrupted succession. During that time we have preached the Gospel throughout almost every tongue, and people, and nation upon the earth ; we have stood together whilst the earth has been moved and shaken, empire transferred from nation to nation, and thrones crumbled in the dust. We have been assailed by dangers from abroad and terrors from within ; our own children have often raised their heel against us, and in the midst of peace our bitterness has often been most bitter. The calumnies and persecutions which beset our Divine Master have ever been employed against the entire or some portion of our body ; those who should support us have often deserted or defamed us ; but He who first sent us has remained with us and supported us in every tribulation. We pretend to nought that has not been given to us ; we were intrusted with the care of that divine faith which is one and indivisible, without which it is impossible to please God, and by which the just man liveth ; to preach and preserve this faith is our office and duty—the code wherein doctrines which express this faith is contained has been confided to us ; about the meaning of this code, and of the truths contained in it, Christians often differ and dispute ; we are appointed to settle those disputes, because we are appointed to instruct and to rule the Church, and to give an account to God of the souls of those who are called to believe in Christ. Were our decisions not final we should not be competent to fulfil the duties imposed on us by our Heavenly Master—to punish the refractory, to reject the heretic, to preserve the unity of the Church. Were our decisions regarding the doctrines of faith not exempt from error, there could be scarcely any faith remaining on the earth—for there is no doctrine touching it, revealed by Christ, which the malice or folly of men has not assailed. Were our decisions not conclusive, what could put an end to doubts, to anxieties, and distrust—or how would any doctrine, from that which Paul of Samosata or Arius assailed, down

to the most seemingly unimportant, be finally and irrevocably determined? And if not irrevocably determined, how could the belief in any such doctrine, so brought into doubt or discussion, ever be held on any other ground than that of individual judgment or opinion?"

J. K. L. indignantly denied that Dr. Magee and his colleagues had any connection with the apostles. He upbraided them with having had the impiety to assert that Christ had violated His promise, deserted the Church which He had purchased with His own blood, delivered the beloved of His soul to idolatry, permitted error to overwhelm truth, and the powers of hell to break in pieces the Rock on which He built His Church.

He reviewed the attributes which Dr. Magee had assigned to the Established Church. She was Protestant—"and this," said Dr. Magee, "is the primary character of the Established Church." With both of these positions J. K. L. fully concurred. "To deny that she is Protestant," he added, "would be just as senseless as to deny by circumlocutions the Catholicity of that great and Universal Church from which the Established Church separated herself, and against which she has been vainly protesting for three hundred years."

"Maintaining the paramount authority of the Scriptures," said Dr. Magee. "No," replied J. K. L., "for she admits that the Parliament has a power to alter the religion of the land. It is the Catholic Church which maintains the paramount authority of the Sacred Scriptures, declaring that no power on earth, either Church or Parliament, can interfere with the religion revealed in them. The next difference between her and the Established Church on this subject is, that when doubts arise on passages of the Scripture, difficult and hard to be understood, the Catholic Church decides the meaning of them by the judgment of the Catholic world, to use a phrase of St. Augustine, expressed by her chief pastors, whilst the Established Church leaves such doubts to be decided by the private opinion of each individual."

Dr. Magee asserted that the Reformers purified Catholicism "from the dross of superstition, and restored religion to the true and ancient Catholic standard." "No, religion clearly could not have departed from the Church, nor from the true and Catholic standard, whatever the learned prelate may understand by that 'standard,' unless the Spirit of truth departed from the earth, or that Christ failed in His promise of being with His apostles all days, even to the consummation of the world. . . ."

"The insinuations in the charge respecting a division of allegiance, and the insecurity of that which we owe and pay to the

sovereign of these realms, are slanderous and malignant. They are founded on no facts, supported by no proof—they are contradicted by every page of our history, by the preambles of divers Acts of Parliament, by the statements of our friends, the confessions of our enemies, by the senate and ministers of the King. I omit our own oaths of allegiance, which are incompatible with a division of allegiance, because I cannot submit to vindicate myself or my fellow-countrymen from the imputation of perjury—the grossest insult which men were ever condemned to endure.

“Never again shall I condescend to argue this subject. Let the man who has read history, and observed the conduct of the Catholic clergy and people in the different states of Europe for the last three centuries, and yet harbours this opinion, remain in his prejudice. Let him, if he will, be the foe of our civil liberties on this ground. Whilst he retained such an opinion I should hesitate to receive any favour at his hands, for if I did I should receive it from the hand I scorned.

“But to such a man I would say, not that the allegiance of the Catholic is undivided, but that should the Irish ever violate their allegiance, they will do so, not as Catholics, but as men driven by a cruel and protracted tyranny to take refuge in despair. Some individual of them, stripped of his property, banished from his home, his religion scoffed at, his sufferings reviled—some such man may wrest the child of his heart from the hands of the proselytiser or the embrace of her persecutor—he may take her to the forum, plunge a dagger into her heart, and set a nation on fire by the sprinkling of her blood. In such a case conscience is silenced, the duty of allegiance is erased from the heart, and he who but just before was a good Christian and a loyal subject, now, agitated by revenge, becomes savage as the tiger; he despises life, scoffs at danger and at death, and slaking his thirst with human blood, exclaims with Cato—

‘A day, an hour of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage.’”

The work in which Dr. Doyle had engaged was undertaken through necessity, not from choice. Dr. Magee was daily damaging the cause of the Catholic claims. “I abhor dissension,” writes J. K. L.; “I dislike controversy; I have never, but in the lawful defence of my country or religion, when both or either were assailed—not by vulgar calumniators, but by men of station—opened my lips or dipped my pen in ink to interest the public. I have never exhibited to the disgust or indignation of my fellow-subjects the tyranny, the absurdity, the hypocrisy of the furious

men who assail us, unless when I apprehended that truth or justice imperatively required of me to speak or write in our defence. I have from my youth deeply imbibed the sentiment of Lucilius [here follows a Latin quotation]; and though I may not be able to ascend to the place allotted to the wise and good, as exhibited in the picture of this life by Epictetus, I shall never, God being my helper, cease to combat those furious or deceiving passions which infest the way, embarrass or corrupt mankind, and augment the number of human ills."

Dr. Magee's origin had been humble. He was a man of ambition, and it is said that the archbishopric of Dublin did not terminate his hopes of Church promotion. George IV., moreover, was known to hold the views which found such eloquent expression from Dr. Magee. "Lord Sidmouth," said Sheil, "was understood to have said, when he attended the King to Dublin, that during all his intercourse with political life he had never seen a man of a more ambitious temperament."

J. K. L. did not enter the lists with Dr. Magee on merely sectarian, professional, or personal grounds, although his name had been more than once mentioned with hostility by the belligerent Bishop. Dr. Magee had attacked the Unitarians as well as Roman Catholics; and Dr. Doyle, with hearty liberality, flung the ægis of his protection between them and their influential opponent. "Are the Socinians not men of sound judgment?" he wrote. "Have they not, according to your rule, a right—nay, are they not obliged, to follow the dictate of that judgment in preference to all authority on earth? And yet you exclude them from the kingdom of God, because, in the exercise of their judgment, or in what you consider the discharge of their duty, they differ in opinion from yourself. Your opinion of them, if judged by your own principles, is unjust, uncharitable, unreasonable." Dr. Doyle pursued this subject at length, and his remarks, to the effect that we should condemn no man as lost, rise to an extraordinary pitch of eloquence.

Sundry aspersions cast by Dr. Magee upon Dr. Doyle, the latter rarely noticed. Dr. Doyle was charged with having acted insidiously, and misrepresented the truth through interested motives. "Were I to undertake to repel such charges," wrote J. K. L., "I would seem to confess they were credible, and that deceit, or a wish to misrepresent the truth, could possibly find a place in my breast. I might, did I dwell on the subject, also appear to vindicate the private opinion of an individual, rather than to refute the misrepresentations of the common creed and principles of Catholics which abound in this charge; but indi-

vidual selfishness has not, thanks to God, so far prevailed over my sense of duty as to induce me to mix up the personal concerns of any body with the public interest."

Sheil, in an amusing paper at this period, describes the rather far-fetched spectacle of Dr. Magee undergoing exorcism by the Jesuits at Clongowes College. The various demons of covetousness, ingratitude, pride, and parsimony, having been cast out, Sheil proceeds :—

"Having thus expelled the devil of avarice, Father Kenny was proceeding to eject the devil of polemics, when it was suggested that Dr. Doyle was the best qualified theologian to perform this operation. Accordingly Father Kenny yielded his place to the Bachelor of Coimbra, and the Bishop advanced to the office of exorcism. He did not, however, adopt the ordinary ritual of diabolical ejection ; but in order to allure this devil out, who he knew was always prompt and willing to appear, he challenged him to a controversial disputation respecting the comparative claims of the two rival religions, when instantly a direful hissing was heard, and the devil of polemics sprang from the Doctor into the midst of the Fraternity.

"The young Jesuits immediately assailed it, and the Rev. Mr. Esmonde laid his hand boldly upon the fiend ; but the fierce adder turned upon him, and giving him a formidable sting, he was compelled to let him loose. The fiend went hissing in triumph round the chapel, spitting its venom on the images of the saints and crucifixes, rearing itself aloft, and erecting itself upon its burnished spires. It must be owned that, however hateful from its venomous qualities, it was not destitute of beauty, and its brilliant skin and glossy scales were appropriately emblematic of the Doctor's intellectual qualifications. It was manifest that Dr. Doyle was the only divine competent to contend with this devil, and he was loudly called on to attack it. The fiend, who did not at first appear to entertain any dread of the Carlow theologian, turned round, and seemed to collect and concentrate all its power to make a dreadful spring upon him ; but Dr. Doyle subdued it with a single word. He merely articulated, 'Plagiarism!' and instantaneously the serpent shrunk back, and made an effort to escape ; but Dr. Doyle set his foot upon its head, and crushing it to the ground, commanded it to confess the misdeeds which it had caused the doctor to perpetrate. The fiend, after twisting and contorting itself in vain, assumed a human voice, and answered—

'That it was the devil of polemics,
And all religions have gone amiss
Since he flung his fierce antithesis.

If discord rages through the land,
 If controversy's furious band,
 From north to south and east to west,
 The country with their howls infest.
 The doctor has the fearful merit
 Of having raised this frantic spirit,
 That long hath set, and will for years
 Still set the people by the ears.
 Now, holy father, I entreat you,
 Since I could never yet defeat you,
 And since 'tis by opposing me
 You owe your fame in theology,
 And if you lose an antagonist,
 Your name in the papers will be miss'd,
 I humbly pray you, J. K. L.,
 Don't trample me too soon to hell,
 But long in Kildare Street let me dwell.
 'Twould never answer me or you,
 That neither should have naught to do.'

"'No!' exclaimed Dr. Doyle; 'I will drive thee from the face of the country.'

"He was about to put his menace into execution, when there was a general remonstrance from the Jesuits, who felt the force of the devil's logic and the cogency of the last argument."

Dr. Doyle received from his Protestant friends several letters regarding the reply to Magee. George Ensor writes: "Parts of it are actually startling and overpowering. The great argument of the Catholics, in opposition to the Protestant Episcopal Church, is Christ's transmission of His authority in succession to the chiefs of the Catholic Church, which the Protestants admit by admitting that their ordination comes through the Catholic Church. To deny the Catholic Church after this admission is for a son to claim his father's property by denying his father's right of inheritance. Positively there is no Church, nor pew, nor field-preacher that cannot defend himself better than the Law Church, further than they have it by that sovereign argument, the *ultima ratio regum*."

Mr. Ensor in this letter calls the Archbishop "the antithetical Magee." He certainly loved to discharge from his quiver of points a barbed antithesis. We have already seen the difficulty in which Dr. Magee involved himself by declaring that the Catholics had a Church without a religion and the Dissenters a religion without a Church. In Parliament he averred that the religion of Catholics was politics, and politics their religion. To this declaration Dr. Doyle alludes in an unpublished letter addressed to one of the Commissioners of Education, Mr. Anthony R. Blake: "This saying, though unjust in its application by the person to whom it is attributed, is nevertheless true to a certain extent. Not only politics, but education and every right or franchise we

possess or claim, is resolved into or connected with our religion ; and this religion being the apparent cause and the distinctive mark whereby we are separated from our fellow-subjects, it is found blended with all our privations and wrongs. The very oaths and declarations which shut us out from the constitution are not composed of words expressive of any civil duty ; they are a tissue of absurd theology—a crude effusion of religious bigotry, inconsistent, and either unintelligible or untrue. Whilst, therefore, this religion is thus mixed up or confounded, not by us but by the Legislature, with our civil condition, it is quite impossible for us to separate them. Their union must appear everywhere ; no politico-chemical process can present apart from each other the simple elements which, united, produce that compound of religious degradation and political slavery called an Irish Catholic. This religion, oppressed and degraded in those who profess it, must enter with the Catholic children into the school ; it must seat itself at the same bench and at the same desk with the inheritor of political ascendancy and a dominant creed ; it must crouch before the first-born of the State ; it must yield precedence and practise submission in all things to those who are exalted by the laws ; it must feel the superiority whether of the child of the common bailiff or the son of the knight of the shire ; and if the tongue of this youth who bears about him the mark of this religion should murmur a complaint, should his blood boil or his heart burn within him, should indignation nerve his young arm, and he vent his wrath upon the blameless child of the ascendancy, his religion is condemned, his faith is made answerable for his offence ; no cognisance is taken of the civil condition of the child, or of the thousand provocations to his passions hourly ministered by the penal laws. Whilst these laws continue, they will introduce their virus into politics, into religion, into trade, into legislation, into the distribution of justice, into familiar intercourse, into schools—into all and every possible thing, place, and institution.”

The following letter, dated 24th March 1827, and addressed by Dr. Magee to his publisher, shows the interest he took in the success of his charge and in the progress of the new reformation :—

“I trust the reprint of the charge has been executed. I enclosed a couple of newspapers, containing interesting matter relative to the progress of the reformation in this country, for the use of ‘Blackwood’s Magazine.’ The writers of that periodical are most able, and they may wish to have possession of facts, which, if they please, they can make excellent use of. I send with this letter another paper which will show them that we are

going on from hour to hour—our reformation making continual progress. I will be obliged by your sending the following new works, by your monthly dispatches, through Mr. Goulbourne: 'Modern Jesuits,' 'Spirit and Constitution of the Church,' 'Woodhouse on the Apocalypse,' and 'Muspratt's Annals of St. Paul.'"

On the back of this letter Mr. Cadell writes: "My Lord, I have thought it best to postpone the reprint of the charge, as the demand for it has not been large." How far Dr. Doyle contributed to arrest its success we leave to those who read his conclusive reply to determine.

"The hackneyed expression of *the divine right of tithes*," writes Bishop O'Connor, "was blown up by Dr. Doyle's reply to Dr. Magee, wherein he demonstrated its fallacy, and proved that the right is vested in Parliament; which had such an effect the following year, that the Commutation of Tithes' Bill passed, which had been scouted out of the House year after year when introduced by Sir Henry Parnell, and others before him."

With the exception of a letter to the chairman of an Orange meeting in Dublin, enclosing £100 as his Grace's subscription, the charge to which Dr. Doyle had replied may be regarded as the last flash of Dr. Magee's genius. He had been from youth a most laborious student, and now, in the decline of life, the penalties of an overtasked brain laid their grasp upon him. To the insidious disease which had already killed Swift, and afterwards bathed in darkness the minds of Scott, Southey, Moore, and Plunkett, Dr. Magee succumbed. Unlike the great men we have mentioned, however, Dr. Magee's mental ailment betrayed itself by outward extravagances, which to enumerate in detail might pain the feelings of his friends. But there can be no impropriety in mentioning that towards Dr. Doyle he felt a strange impulse of fascination like that of a moth already singed by a luminary; and the Archbishop has been known not only to leave his card upon J. K. L., but to accost him in the street. Bishop Ullathorne writes: "Dr. Doyle took up his quarters with Coyne the publisher when he came to Dublin. One day Dr. Magee called at his private door, and said, 'Give my card to Dr. Doyle. You need not mention to any one that I called.' Coyne knew his man, and, throwing himself back with a look of indignation, he said, 'Who are you, sir?' Dr. Magee made a confused half apology. But when he next met Dr. Doyle, he said, 'Yours is the prince of booksellers,'—and told the anecdote."

Before inserting this anecdote, we asked Dr. Ullathorne whether the details were given on hearsay. His Lordship replies, "Coyne himself told me the anecdote in 1836."

CHAPTER II.

How to address the scrupulous—Letters—Romantic incident—May a priest's vow of celibacy be dispensed with?—Death of Lord Liverpool—Canning forms a Ministry—His death—Europe in mourning—The Catholic cause nearly wrecked—George Ensor—Pope and Maguire—The horns of a dilemma—Dr. Doyle's visit to Cork—Letters—Forbidden to write by physicians—His metaphysical discussions—Conversational power—Anecdote—Reply to Bishop Elrington—Letter from Devereux—The new Reformation in Carlow—Correspondence—Frightful murder—Mysterious disappearance of episcopal papers.

MEANWHILE cases of conscience from repentant sinners and innocent scruples from saintly nuns were being perpetually submitted to the good Bishop for his decision and advice. His paternal correspondence with nuns was in itself almost enough to exhaust all his leisure. Had not the flame of charity burned with peculiar strength within his breast, he could never have found time for so troublesome an occupation. On the 22d July 1827 he writes :—

“ MY DEAR SISTER,—I wrote a long letter in reply to that with which you favoured me, but having laid it on my table among other papers, I afterwards tore both it and yours in mistake. I cannot now be otherwise than brief, for I do not distinctly recollect the different subjects of your letter. It occurs to me that you complained of a feeling of envy towards a sister, excited by her good conduct. To remedy it, tell your feeling to her—desire her to pray to God with you to purify your heart, that serving Him you may know Him, and love whatever He loves, because His love is ever just. Prefer her society for some time, when you can do so without notice. You have mistaken Cochin ; he, like all others, approves of accompanying the priest in the prayers which compose the order of the mass, as the best method of assisting at it, if we cannot meditate on the passion and death of Christ. This latter is the best of all modes for doing that which the mass was instituted to effect—namely, to commemorate the death of the Lord. You also mention the manner of meditation recommended by St. Teresa. It is good, and should not be relinquished through a sense of our unworthiness, for to our Lord nothing is unclean ; but it is liable to other inconveniences, and requires too great an effort of imagination. I think it much better for you to contemplate our Saviour in some stage of His life, or passion, or glory, preferring, with St. Mary Magdalene di Pazzis, the agony in the garden, where He suffered, prayed, held communion with the angel, and manifested great desolation of spirit with sweetest and most perfect resignation. When your mother comes to see you,

say to her that novices are not permitted to invite any person, unless expressly desired to do so by the superioress. I could wish, my dear child, that asking people to sit, or talk, or eat, or drink in a convent never entered into the head of any one. From these little trifles many evils take their rise. It is very difficult to preserve our heart and our mind in a community; but if its members can have recourse to friends or seculars, there is an end to all pure love of the religious state, and to perfect union of heart.

"You next refer to a mode of examining your conscience for a long time, or for a week. The confession of the year is made in the same manner as for one week—by carrying our reflections back to the commencement of it. The examination for the week can be made by you nearly thus :—Have I been disposed to prefer the Almighty God and the fulfilment of His will, which is my sanctification, to all things else? Have I, with deliberation and intention, neglected the sacraments or any of those prayers which I am bound to perform? Have I performed those duties carelessly and negligently? Have I wilfully transgressed the rule, constitutions, or express directions of my superioress or mistress of novices? Have I with reflection given offence, or neglected to repair such as I may have given inadvertently? Have I sought for objects which might afford gratification to my eyes, touch, hearing, or any other sense, unless as recreation? Have I wilfully occupied my mind with dangerous thoughts, or neglected to turn my heart from them to my Saviour? Have I knowingly deviated from strict truth, spoken of myself with pleasure, or sought the esteem or affection of creatures, or delighted in it? Do I wish to be poor in spirit, chaste, and obedient to the end of my life?

"The above form of examination will answer you very well, though it might not suit another. A short time will suffice to go through it each week. I have left out of it all mention of your correspondence with the divine grace, or the forming or keeping your resolutions, because your disposition is eager and ardent, and your mind unable to judge of the operation of grace, even in yourself. Do not write the sentiments which occur to you either after communion or at prayer; they are the fruit of your imagination principally, and would create for you a world of mental toil and many errors. Refrain, on days of retreat in each month, from any new resolution; be content with renewing the old, and in a longer retreat do not reduce any resolution to practice until approved of by your confessor."

Amid all his cares and occupations he did not forget the friends and aspirations of his youth. A letter to Fr. M'Dermott, his old fellow-student at Coimbra, shows that Dr. Doyle, when in the

plenitude of his fame and power, was as staunch a Friar as the most devoted Religious could wish :—

“CARLOW, 16th June 1829.

“MY DEAR AUGUSTIN,—I write to you at the special desire of our dear old friend Misquita, now a resident clergyman in Calcutta. He tells me of the great numbers of our poor Catholic fellow-countrymen who are in that city and its dependencies, destitute almost of the aids of religion. He presses me not only to request, but to urge our Provincial in this country to send to the scene of his own labours two or three steady clergymen, Augustinians. Should you have such persons, I will have an application made at the Colonial Office in London for their transmission; and were they such as I could vouch for, 'tis probable they might be sent to Calcutta free of expense; but they would, I am confident, be sent from Lisbon, as the Cardinal Patriarch, who is a member of the Regency there, is disposed to oblige us. Until I hear from you I cannot reply to my dear friend Misquita.”

It was about this period that a very curious incident occurred. A young lady, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, took it into her head to fall in love with a handsome curate of the Catholic Church officiating in Dr. Doyle's diocese.¹ The priest gave her no encouragement, but the matter preyed deeply on her mind, and at length fears were entertained lest the foolish but beautiful girl's health should fall a victim to her unrequited passion. A parson sought an interview with Dr. Doyle, in the hope of being able to persuade him to grant a dispensation for the priest to marry. Dr. Doyle listened patiently to the singular tale of which his visitor was the bearer, and then proceeded to explain that the Church, so far from disapproving of marriage, had raised it to the dignity of a sacrament; but that, following the counsel of St. Paul, it laid down that a vow of celibacy once taken could not without crime be violated. The Bishop reminded his visitor that St. Chrysostom writing to Lapsus, who had married after taking a vow of continency, pronounced marriage to be honourable, but that in his circumstances it was worse than adultery. “The early councils of the Church,” he added, “whose views you reverence, all inculcated continency, and that of Carthage declares that the practice was derived from the Apostles. In the previous century, when Jovinian and Vigilantius derided chastity, St. Jerome

[¹ Another curious case was that of the Rev. Mr. Dowling, P.P. of Stradball. Previous to this promotion a young girl followed him from France, as Kathleen followed St. Kevin. He brought her to his Bishop, who at once sent her back to her people.]

laid down the practice and law of the Church, from which it appeared that none but men who had embraced celibacy could be admitted to orders. It is a mistake to imagine that the marriage of divines was of that frequent occurrence in early ages which you allege. Fleury mentions that in the year 893, the first instance of a priest who pretended to marry after his ordination occurred. The people laid violent hands upon the unworthy pastor, and his Bishop solemnly excommunicated him. And it the priest to whom you allude," added Dr. Doyle, "should follow, in a moment of infatuation, the example of Angelic, the same fate awaits him. 'He that is unmarried,' says Paul, 'careth for the things that belongeth to the Lord.' The very ceremonies, which from time immemorial accompany the form of consecration, are designed to remind the ecclesiastic that the Church is his spouse and his flock his children. When you quoted the Scriptures to prove that St. Peter had been married, you should have added that he separated from his wife the moment he became a disciple. It is quite true that marriage is declared by Holy Writ to be honourable in all, but it also teaches (see Matthew xix.) that celibacy is more honourable."

[Dr. Doyle's advocacy of clerical celibacy evoked some retorts from the married clergy. The Rev. Cæsar Otway, echoing a remark of the Bishop's, writes :—" 'We praise marriage that we may censure celibacy?' No, we do not; for if we did, we should censure many bishops and presbyters of our own Church. We would censure our own excellent Primate. True it is we censure constrained celibacy, because it is calculated to make men bad subjects, and bad men who have few ties to their country and no moorings to the charities of human life—men who have, as I fear in your instance, verified the remark Chrysostom made on Jerome, 'that his virginity, though supernatural, was unprofitable, because unaccompanied with charity and meekness.'"]

The number and miscellaneous character of the visitors who perpetually sought interviews with Dr. Doyle on every imaginable pretext defy description. A lady waited upon the Bishop to solicit promotion for a clerical friend. Dr. Doyle received her novel application with that admirable dignity which none knew better how to assume. "Madam," he said, "I admire woman in her proper sphere; I like to see her fulfilling the duties of her state and mission; but when she interferes in the affairs of men—especially in ecclesiastical affairs—she ceases to be a woman."

In 1827 Lord Liverpool died, after having held for fifteen years the reins of government. With the death of this uncompromising statesman perished the great obstacle to the settlement of the

Catholic question. After many doubts, delays, and difficulties, George Canning at length, on the 10th of April, received instructions to form a Government. Of the twelve individuals who composed the Cabinet, three only were hostile to Emancipation. Catholic hope brightened during this short regime. Without holding out to the Catholics any very decided expectations of concession, Mr. Canning was yet known to entertain views favourable to a settlement of their question. He had himself, a very few years previously, introduced a bill to enable Catholic peers to occupy seats in the House of Lords; and his devotion to the Catholic cause was the ground on which he had been deserted by former colleagues. Dr. Doyle admired Canning, and we have been assured by Mr. Stapleton, the private secretary and biographer of Canning, that to his knowledge that great statesman had a high opinion of Dr. Doyle.

[The Administration, however, disappointed him. The following letter, addressed by Dr. Doyle to O'Connell, with whom the Bishop had little or no intercourse since their coolness in 1825, appears in print now for the first time :—

“CARLOW, *June 8th*, 1827.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I am induced to write to you on having seen in one of the newspapers that Mr. Goulbourne and Mr. Croker, the one the representative of Primate Beresford, the other of Trinity College, are ordered by the House of Commons to bring in not less than three bills having for their object the further aggrandisement of the Irish Protestant Church. The last of those three bills is intended, I presume, to facilitate the imposition of ‘ministers’ money’ in cities and towns corporate in Ireland; for the law on this subject, as it now stands, admits in cases of alleged oppression an appeal to the Lord-Lieutenant in Council. This weak defence of the people’s property saved in the course of last year the inhabitants of Wexford from a permanent charge of some hundreds per annum; and considering the character and influence of those who attempted the above rapacious impositions, I am inclined to attribute to them the present effort to amend the existing law after the manner in which the old vestry laws were amended last year. This proceeding in the Commons accords with the tenor of the bill lately introduced by Sir J. Newport, and with the withdrawal of even that insignificant bill; it accords with the conduct of Mr. Spring-Rice and those with him who threatened Mr. Goulbourne when giving notice of the Irish estimate with opposition to the Education Societies, or rather to the supplies destined for the army of the faith in Ireland,

and yet permitted these votes to pass without an effort either in public or private to induce the new Secretary to vest the money in the Lord-Lieutenant with a view afterwards of distributing it impartially. It accords with the policy of those friends of ours who pretend to defer the intended arrangement respecting education until the reports of the education inquiry are all upon the table of the House, though all of those reports which regard the education of the people have been long since printed. Whilst we witness those proceedings, those deeds and omissions on the part of the new Administration, it appears to me, and indeed to every person with whom I have conversed on the subject, that some strong representation of our feelings should be made to the Government, through those friendly members of Parliament who have been so anxious lately that our body should continue in silence and suffering; nor do I think there is any person so well entitled to make such representations as you, who have taken upon yourself the responsibility of giving to the late Coalition the sanction of our general approbation. It has from the beginning of the present changes been doubtful to me whether it were not better for the Irish Catholics to see Canning and the Grenvilles forced to join the Whigs in opposition, rather than to see the Whigs playing second fiddle to Canning, and both truckling to the Court and the Bishops; but as all are not as patient as I am in politics, nor all so averse to the building of buttresses to the oligarchy and the Church by accepting of Emancipation on Canning's principles, I have known how to be silent and to hold my own opinions without interfering with those of others, but I am confident that the public would expect of you that you should do everything in your power, now that the Catholic Association is silent, to save us from being swallowed alive by a cormorant Church without being able to emit a cry.

"With the fate of the unhappy Plunkett ¹ before our eyes, and Wellesley getting worse and worse without one symptom of amendment in any department—with Goulbourne and Croker called on by a Whig Ministry to legislate for Ireland—with our people continuing to starve by thousands, are we to bear our sufferings untold, and not only to stay the indignation of our own people, to weaken the sympathy of foreign nations, but even make the Minister think that what some people call hope renders us insensible to neglect, injury, and even insult?—I remain, my dear sir,

"✠ J. DOYLE."]

Canning's sudden death in the August following produced a pro-

¹ Mr. Plunkett had just been appointed Master of the Rolls in England.

found sensation. Catholic hope drooped, and the cause of constitutionalism received a blow. The Irish liberal press appeared in mourning; even France had hailed him as the "Minister of representative Europe," and wept.

A letter from George Ensor, the distinguished author and politician, refers to the change of Ministry :—

"10th September 1827.

"What was probable has happened—Canning is dead, and the old appetite is returning. The King is a Tory, though he was a Whig when a prince. Toryism is the natural character of the English constitution. The democracy is in this case a parasitic plant. The Whigs were hardly pushed in upholding their consistency to appease the Catholics or secure their favour and to tranquillise the Protestants. The last 'Edinburgh Review' says the opposition to the Catholic claims is not from the highest nor the lowest, but from the middle orders, and this from ignorance. The present Ministry is not likely to enlighten them, for they would willingly suppress discussion; yet how are men to be taught except by discussion? But the fact is, and the reviewers know it, that the cause of opposition is the Established Church. This very article proves to me that the Catholics have lost an advocate by such a statement. But the Whigs are part of the Government, and so is the Established Church, and therefore the Whigs call out for time and opportunities, and the great cause of opposition is pretermitted in the explanation of their Review. Yet this is not the worst of the prospect, for I fear that were Emancipation granted on honourable terms, which is visionary enough, there are evident indications that the restored, or some of them at least, would be among the lowliest of loyal servitors. Yet let us be thankful the veriest devils are cast down; that wizard Eldon, and that vulgarly cunning Peel—a man of ostentatious humility and austere malice—are out, and the whole batch has been shaken. A change of Ministry is equal to two new Parliaments; but there may be a change worse than the Long Parliament. I expect many changes: the Marquis of Anglesea is to be Viceroy, because he was for cutting down the Irish; but he will, no doubt, before he crosses the Channel of St. George, beat his sword into a reaping-hook. I have been long persuaded that the Irish should approach those Dissenters who are approachable. It happens, I don't know how, that the Arians among them are generally favourable to Emancipation, and that anti-Catholicism and Trinitarianism are one and the same. An effort was made in an aggregate meeting to win the Dissenters by a petition for their relief. It was strangely

sudden, but it was a beginning to enlarge the scope of operations. Yet still it is not national, and though it is good so far, yet a greater point should be worked—the repeal of the Union. I never could understand why this supereminent curse should be always regarded with a solemn dread by the Irish. Is it that we are pagans and this Union is the fury? Something should be done to direct the whole Irish against this fury of furies.

“We are building a chapel in Tartoraghan : the best country chapel in the county. Indeed I should say I am building the chapel, for our priest broke his leg about a month ago, so that I am priest and curate on this occasion.

“Your answer to the antithetical Magee is now making a tour among the Quakers. I lent it to one of them, and it is now moving about. I am highly gratified with your approbation generally of my ‘Population.’ Yet I must advise you of my intention to challenge you publicly to discuss your *reserves* about the conclusion.”

Mr. Ensor concludes with the remark that his Protestant brethren are much ashamed of Pope’s inability, alluding to an important polemical discussion which took place about this time in Dublin between Fr. Thomas Maguire, “from the bogs of Leitrim,” as he himself said, and the Rev. Richard Pope, a deeply read Anglican theologian and controvertist. Father Maguire had been previously quite unknown ; but the ability with which he vindicated the articles of his creed at once transformed him into a highly remarkable character. The interest created was immense ; the arena was crowded ; the entire of Sackville Street blocked. Articles of agreement had been drawn up and amicably embraced. Admiral Oliver acted as the Protestant, and O’Connell as the Catholic chairman. Mr. Pope brought to the combat great learning, great fluency, and a powerful declamation. The discussion lasted for six days. “Pope was overthrown,” opines the Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, “and Father Tom, as the champion of orthodoxy, became the object of popular adoration.” During the discussion, Mr. Maguire challenged his opponent to answer the question of the Socinian, and prove from the principles of private judgment that he is wrong.¹ The result was that Mr. Pope became also entangled in an awkward controversy with Dr. Drummond, a distinguished Unitarian divine in Dublin. That

¹ This was a favourite point on the Catholic side. The Rev. Dr. M’Sweeney may be said to have brought the Carlow discussion to an end by saying, “I choose to personate a Socinian : how will you convince me, upon your own principles, of the divinity of the Saviour?—‘The Father is greater than I.’” Considerable uproar ensued. The chairman was appealed to as to whether Dr. M’Sweeney’s opponents had answered the question, and the chairman declined to offer any opinion. (*Report*, p. 126.)

this event was hailed by the unemancipated Catholics as a favourable omen may be gleaned from a letter addressed by the venerable delegate, Devereux, to Dr. Doyle :—

"BROOKS'S, *October 1827.*

"RIGHT REVEREND AND MY DEAR LORD,—I have heard of your Lordship's indisposition. Setting aside the anxieties of your very many friends, you must know that you are public property. The Catholics of Ireland (and I may say of England too) cannot do without you; you ought, then, as in conscience and duty bound, to use every precaution for the preservation of that which all your acquaintance know to be so delicate and to require every care, and in which so many and such interests are concerned.

"Matters at present, as to polemics—from the part taken by Dr. Drummond and the Unitarians—seem to me to be in Ireland in a very favourable state for us; that is, provided that we do not mar our prospects by imprudently intermeddling, attempting to make well better, and forgetting the old saying, 'When certain persons fall out, honest men come by their own.' Better surely for us quietly to look on, and see the thousand sects and the Unitarians at it ding-dong; for if we were to enter the lists against him, it would assist his and our opponents. When the Unitarian has cleared the green of them, it will be time enough for us to step in and give him his quietus; but let us not annoy him while he is so successfully doing our preliminary business.

"I have addressed you, my Lord, on this subject, because there is no one who has so much influence with the laity and clergy throughout Ireland, and that I apprehend it might be essential that this influence should be exercised at the present moment to prevent any such injudicious attack on Dr. Drummond, the open in whose armour must be so visible and so inviting to our ready tilters. To persuade them to keep their lances in the rest must, I admit, be a matter of some difficulty; for Pat, whether he wears a black or a coloured coat, whether he wields the pen or the shillelah, is still the same pugnacious personage, and so loves fight, that if he meet no enemy before him, he would rather fracture the skull of an ally than forego his recreation.

"Now if any one can succeed in repressing this warlike propensity, it is your Lordship. Indeed, so far am I from conceiving that it would be judicious to attack the Unitarian, to my humble judgment it does appear that there might be great advantage in Dr. Drummond's being publicly noticed and complimented by some of our eminent persons for the candour with which he has admitted the irrefutable merits of Mr. Maguire's argument, &c., and that Unitarians generally should be well spoken of by us as

fair and candid men. This people form a rising and powerful body here, every day increasing in numbers and consequence.

"They are eaten up with vanity and self-conceit, and none would be more gratified than they by the flummery of a complimentary notice. It would be no difficult matter to get their high chief, William Smith of Norwich, to allude to such notice in part in praise of our liberality though we differ from him, and contrasting that with the illiberality of the Establishment who at heart agree with him.

"I went this day to pay my compliments to Sir Anthony Hart upon his appointment to the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland. He repeated what he had declared upon his nomination, that he would take no part in politics or religion. I of course congratulated the country, &c. *Entre nous*, Sir Anthony, in his early days, was a Unitarian preacher at Norwich."

A former chapter spoke of the tedious, inefficient, and somewhat calamitous *régime* of Lord Manners in the Irish Court of Chancery. The Great Seal having been at last released from his custody by Mr. Canning, it was intrusted to Sir Anthony Hart, a man who by great integrity and powers of mind had won his way well.

In the autumn of 1827 Dr. Doyle proceeded southward. Writing to the Bishop of Salda, but then Provincial of the Augustinian Convent, he observes (2d October) :—

"I intend leaving this place, God willing, on to-morrow, and hope to see you in Cork before I return. By what route, element, or time I may be carried there is perfectly uncertain even to myself, but as I promised to preach in your chapel (to assist thereby in building it), should I be in Cork this autumn, I will do so, please God, on Sunday the 14th inst., provided the chapel be then prepared, and that you previously wait on the Bishop, to whom I beg you will present my most respectful compliments, and obtain his Lordship's express sanction."

On the 12th of October we find the clergy and Bishop of the diocese entertaining Dr. Doyle at a splendid banquet. A graceful Latin oration in honour of their distinguished guest was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Haly.

[It will be remembered that the houses of the Augustinian Order in Portugal are styled *De Graca*, and the Friars "*Graciani*," which is Bog-Latin for "children of grace." The Right Rev. D. O'Connor, O.S.A., in one of his many communications to us, gossips :—

"The Bishop of Cork, Dr. Murphy, motioned Dr. Doyle to

advance and take his place at the head of the table. 'You, Augustinian,' he said archly, 'child of grace as you are, the post of dignity is your due.' 'I must have a great deal of grace,' replied Dr. Doyle with a toss of the head (a constant habit with him), 'to bear with your Lordship's facetiousness.'"

"During dinner," observes Dr. Russell, O.P., "he seemed thoughtful, and when the cloth was removed asked repeatedly for some letters and newspapers which he expected. When they at last arrived, he eagerly devoured the details of a Concordat with the King of the Netherlands, in which he had been interested."]

He was more communicative to a nun in the County Cork :—

"CORK, 15th October 1827.

"MY DEAR SISTER AUGUSTINE,—The clergyman to whom you intrusted your letter informed me of the improved state of your health. Your letter afforded me more satisfaction than I could express, on account of the sentiments conveyed in it, and the assurance it afforded me of your being well; for although our exile here is painful when God wills that it be prolonged, it is a great mercy that He allows to us sufficient strength to do our duties and promote His views without becoming an encumbrance to our fellow-servants. I am sure you have no attachment to life, and would willingly resign it, that you might, through the mercy of God, enter upon a better life that will never end; but whilst you remain you will not be impatient, nor wish to be removed through any other motive than the pure and interested love of God. I wish, my dear child, as earnestly perhaps as you do, to see you and converse with you, and I did hope that on coming to this county I might be enabled to visit your convent; but being now absent from home almost a fortnight, and having to visit my brother in Wexford (who is not likely to survive the winter) previous to my return, I could not delay longer in Cork. You will, I am sure, excuse me, and not suppose that my affection for you is at all diminished. Indeed, it is often better to deny ourselves those gratifications which are often the companions of charity, but which may very wisely be separated from it if we desire to be crucified to the world and not to live ourselves but to have Christ live within us. I am very much indebted to you for your constant recollection of me in your prayers, especially as my life is so much filled with cares, some of them of too worldly a kind, and tending to separate me from God—in addition to the many infirmities to which Adam's children are all subject. The mercy of God alone preserves me from daily

ruin ; and to obtain this mercy your prayers, I trust, will be useful. But, my dear child, pray without fear or diffidence, for 'he who hesitates is like the wave of the sea, which is carried about by the wind, and such a one does not obtain anything of God.' The old enemy, when he cannot induce you to violate the law of God, will (for he transforms himself into an angel of light) endeavour to tempt you with fears and a lively sense of your own unworthiness ; but be not deceived by him : we have all sinned and done evil, and are not worthy even to look up to Heaven, but we are, nevertheless, the children of God, the redeemed of Christ, and in the multitude of His tender mercies we may confide, and pray with an unlimited confidence. He is all goodness to us ; let us bless Him and adore Him always. May He cleanse our hearts from all guile and malice, that we may see Him ever, as through a glass, in this life, and never be separated from Him.

"Whenever you have an opportunity of writing to me I will be very glad to hear from you. It is possible we may yet meet in this world, but that is of little moment—'we have not here a lasting city : ' if we meet in 'that which is to come,' it is sufficient. I shall remember you to your sisters in Carlow. I leave Cork, please God, on Monday morning. I beg you will present my best respects to your reverend mother and community, and again remind them of praying for, my dear child, your affectionate and humble servant in Christ,

✠ J. DOYLE."

On Sunday, the 14th October 1827, the sermon on behalf of the new Augustinian church was preached by Dr. Doyle. The anxiety to see J. K. L., which pervaded every sphere of society, was intense ; and Protestants as well as Catholics thronged to hear him. The collection amounted to £348.

The committee appointed to conduct the management of the sermon met—Dr. O'Connor in the chair—and gave expression to those sentiments of gratitude and admiration which were excited by a closer acquaintance with his Lordship's person, dignified deportment, and splendid talents.

"I have been much gratified by your letter," he replied. "Be pleased to make known to the gentlemen who passed the resolution how sensible I am of the honour they have done me, and how grateful I feel for the kind sentiments which they entertain towards me. Your own old partiality and the innate goodness of your heart have suggested those expressions of praise and thankfulness which occur in your letter. You have forgotten for a moment the Scriptural admonition—'Do not praise a man in

his lifetime ; ' but you have not caused me to forget my own insignificance and how truly I remain your attached friend," &c.

A letter to his niece, dated 18th October, gives some details of an attack of illness, to which the newspapers of the day allude. Dr. Doyle found a painful sensation in his head, which he attributed to gout ; but there can be little doubt it arose from an overtasked brain. A letter of Southey's, written almost at the same time, says, "Any unusual sensations about the head make me feel as if there were a candle in the powder magazine."

"MY DEAR MARY,—My hopes of seeing you at this time have been entirely deranged. I left Carlow in the beginning of the month, proceeding through Kilkenny and Cashel to Cork, and intending to return by Waterford and Wexford home ; but 'man proposes and God disposes.' In Cork I was taken ill with an affection of my head, which appeared to me of an apoplectic tendency, but, thanks to God, it is only the effect of a derangement of bile, or a slight attack of gout. It induced me, however, to hasten my return home, where for some days I have been in the hands of the doctors. The disease is removed ; but I must give up all business, and remain for a little time at rest, if these folk are to be credited. They would not even allow me to write a letter ; but I encroached a little on their prescription, as in the present instance. I do not think I could, for a considerable time, bear the motion of a carriage so far as to Wexford, nor could I ride such a distance ; so it is quite uncertain when I may be able to fulfil my intention of visiting you and my other friends in that county. As I ought not to infringe too much on the physician's directions, will you have the goodness to enclose this letter, or an extract from it, to Peter, that he may know why I have not seen him. If your young and amiable guest be still with you, assure her and her dear sister of my affection and sincere interest for them."

Dr. Doyle's ill health was of a far more serious character than, in the fulness of his considerateness for the feelings of Mrs. Coney, he avowed. The physicians forbade him to use a pen, but Dr. Doyle could not resist a slight infringement on the prohibition. His brain, although pierced by pain, continued as vigorous as ever : it could not bear inactivity, and it bounded to be free. "When I would go to visit his Lordship," observes the physician, "he invariably sought to draw me into argument by some dexterous or personal allusion, and I not unfrequently fell into the trap. I remember he once provoked me a great deal by contending that medicine was an art, not a science. I, of course,

differed with him, but he unfolded a wonderful array of logic, which I found it not easy to combat." If a friend visited him during this period of abstinence from writing, he was immediately drawn into some speculative argument or conversation. "He used to think of the strangest things," writes a priest, "and put the strangest questions. I entered a room, one day, where he and some other bishops were chatting. 'I have been asking these gentlemen,' said he, 'what sort of stuff could that invisible food have been which the Archangel Raphael brought to the young Tobias.'"

It was during the same period that he one day sauntered into Carlow College, and began disputing with some of the more advanced students on the subject of innate ideas. Dr. Doyle followed Leibnitz and Des Cartes in support of them, notwithstanding that Locke is generally supposed to have conclusively controverted the doctrine. Dr. Doyle supported that ideas of God, of the human intellect, and of infinity were born with us—impressed upon our minds by our Creator—and which, till revived by our own reflections, lie dormant. Locke has it that the mind of man has no innate ideas—that the rudiments or first principles of all our knowledge are communicated to us by sensation; and he compares the mind, previous to the operation of external objects upon the senses, to a *tabula rasa*, or sheet of white paper. Dr. Doyle argued that Locke did not, as generally supposed, settle the question, and that Beattie, Usher, and Allemande, had very ably controverted him. Notwithstanding all the arguments of Locke, he doubtless held in substance the doctrine of innate ideas. He recognised the human understanding as formative of ideas which sensation and reflection are in themselves wholly unable to give. It would appear that the doctrine of innate ideas is at present held by most metaphysicians. In 1858 appeared "The Intellectualism of Locke," a work designed to harmonise Locke's views on the subject of innate ideas with the doctrines now generally held by metaphysicians. Dr. Doyle clothed his argument with the Carlow students in the Latin tongue, but finding that it was exciting their minds too strongly, and likely to consume too much time, he relinquished it. But Dr. Doyle was so fond of oral argument, no matter on what side, that it is not easy to know his true opinions by such anecdotal waifs as these.

[The questions he put to theological students were often most amusing. In examining one he asked, "What should you do in such a case?" "I would go to the Bishop, my Lord." "But, sir, suppose you were the Bishop?" The student was posed. To

a man with a tonsure he said, "I hope you have as much humility in your heart as on your head." The eccentric student, Garratt Brennan (vol. i. p. 369), was not slow in coming forward.

"What is the physical effect of mortal sin upon the soul?" asked the Bishop. "It covers the baptismal robe of whiteness with a black coat." "And if a second mortal sin is committed, what then?" "Another black coat." "And if a third and fourth and fifth?" "Another and another black coat," replied Garratt, "until the baptismal robe becomes like buckram." "Garratt, you have made buckram of the question," said Dr. Doyle, laughing heartily.

Garratt's theology-travestie was most amusing. He argued that eternity would not exceed 999 years, inasmuch as a lease for ever admittedly embraced the same term. When told by Dr. Cahill to take the head of the class, he gravely obeyed. After Garratt had been twenty years pursuing his studies at Carlow, his brother, the doctor, said in ironical congratulation, "You are now as great a fool as any of them."¹]

In society he ate and drank little and talked much. "His readiness in bringing his learning to bear upon any subject that arose," writes Mr. Conway, "the happiness of his illustrations, and the facility of his language, will not speedily be forgotten by those who had the opportunity of witnessing their exhibition." The Bishop of Dromore writes: "I had the honour of knowing Dr. Doyle and sharing his hospitality, and never did I meet an individual whose conversational powers I had so much reason to admire." Few priests ventured to raise their voices above a whisper at any table where Dr. Doyle presided. He talked the whole time in his own grand and rather authoritative voice. Even most of the Bishops, with the exception of Archbishop Kelly, were dumb. They seemed not disposed to hazard a collision of opinion with him. One evening, at a clerical dinner-party in Dublin, Dr. Ennis, to the astonishment of the guests, ventured to dispute a point with Dr. Doyle. The question was that which Bossuet on the Catholic side and Paley on the Protestant have unfolded much lore in discussing. Arguments were for some time interchanged with varying success on the divine right of kings. At length Dr. Doyle half jocosely exclaimed, "I should be sorry, Mr. Ennis, to see you coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin."

[This priest afterwards went on a mission to Rome to appeal against its deprecation of the Queen's Colleges.]

[¹ Dr. Doyle's life may have been prolonged by the occasional hearty laughs which Garratt provoked. One of the last was caused by Garratt, when dining at Braganza, missing his chair and falling back into a mass of ferns, with which in summer time the grate was filled. He regained his seat amid mock salutations as "Bishop of Ferns." The occupant of this see had just been prostrated by J. K. L.]

Dr. Doyle soon got tired of attending to the prohibition of his physician. On the 23d October 1827 the charge of Dr. Elrington, Protestant Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, appeared, and within the next three days Dr. Doyle's reply was out. The object of this charge was to instruct the clergy as to the mode in which they should labour to propagate the "New Reformation." "But I should not notice it," said Dr. Doyle, "had he not incidentally adverted, not only to J. K. L. (which he says is quite notoriously my signature), but also to a small work, 'The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' lately revised and edited by me.

"It is a uniform custom with most of us Catholics, when we censure or refute our adversaries, to select their strongest positions and arguments, to place them in the most favourable light, and then to measure our strength with them. Those who argue against us generally prefer an opposite course—they pass over in dignified silence or with prudent caution our facts, our arguments, and our conclusions, whilst they catch up and parade abroad some mutilated sentence, some disjointed reflection, or some quotation introduced by us—often for a purpose the very reverse of that for which it is stated by them to have been employed. Thus they frequently endeavour to defame some man whom they cannot confute, or to disparage the character of a work to which they find it impossible to reply. If these artifices be unsuccessful, they resort to the commonplaces of defamation, or call upon the Government or Legislature to defend and protect them. Thus Dr. Elrington, on various occasions, has thought proper to cavil with some detached sentence of J. K. L., but has never condescended to reply to any entire one of his productions. He misrepresents either the text or the application of some text found in the 'Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' but prudently abstains from all attempts to confute the doctrine or the arguments of that inestimable little work, of which some thousand copies have, since its revision by me, been distributed in this diocese—a work which is now in process of being stereotyped, and of which I earnestly wish there was a copy in the hands of every person in Ireland who could read and understand it."

The letters of J. K. L. may be considered as the chief text of this strange but clever charge of Bishop Elrington. Lengthy quotations from J. K. L. were introduced. Dr. Elrington warmly impugned the positions of his episcopal rival, and Dr. Doyle as warmly retorted. "Dr. Elrington may think differently," he said, "but will he not allow to J. K. L. or to me the right of private judgment, and of promulgating our opinions in this free and happy country?"

"The greatest talents," said Sheil, "stand in need of a pecuniary excitation." This remark did not apply to Dr. Doyle, who observed to Dr. Elrington, in reply to a taunt, that he lost by all his writings.

Dr. Elrington was a piece of heavy artillery, often formidable in his outbursts, but not easily moved. When Dr. Doyle's strictures reached him, he resolved to reply; but as some delay was likely to arise, we find the Rev. Cæsar Otway, doubtless by Dr. Elrington's desire, coming to his rescue. "I am as certain," wrote Mr. Otway, "as anything on this side of the tomb, that the Lord Bishop of Ferns will not let this letter pass without a reply; and as I know that when he brings into play his vigorous intellect, he will amply and coolly defend himself, therefore it may not become a very inferior person to undertake a full answer, but merely to keep the public in play.

"The human mind throughout Ireland is awakening; private judgment is beginning to ferment; reason is reacting on authority; and emancipation, a blessed, holy, happy emancipation, is dawning on a fine people, after fourteen hundred years' degrading thralldom to the slavery of priests. I, Dr. Doyle, a presbyter of the Church of Christ, have as good a right to take up my parable and prophesy for my native land as you. I see no presumptive right that you have to be the prophet of evil for Ireland; I see no just claim you can have to such wisdom or intuition so as to adjudicate that Popery never shall be obliterated from the hearts of Irishmen. No, Dr. Doyle's wisdom bears no evidence to me that it comes from above, for it is neither gentle, nor peaceable, nor easy to be entreated; there is none of the meekness of that wisdom which St. James speaks of, nor can a fountain send forth salt water and fresh."

With figures and retorts akin to these, Otway filled a broad brochure. Dr. Elrington received no stint of laudation, and persons were found to insinuate that Otway was seeking preferment at his hands. But the Rev. Dr. Wills, in a Memoir of Otway, bemoans the neglect with which those who held the reins of the Established Church treated his claims. "It was notorious and almost proverbial that the path of duty was not that of preferment. And never did this find a stronger case than in the history of Otway."

[A remarkable letter to Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle, and published with others for the first time in this edition, powerfully records the impressions produced by his recent tour :—]

"CARLOW, *October 30th, 1827.*

"MY DEAR SIR,—I wish to state to you something of the impression with which I returned from a late visit to the counties of

Kilkenny, Cork, and Tipperary, especially as I delayed some days in the county last mentioned, where barbarous scenes are frequently occurring. You are so well acquainted with the state of this country, especially of the south, with the several events which happen there, and you know so well the character of those who furnish information to the Government, that no general remarks can be valuable to you. It is quite true that the present murders, burnings, strife, and hatred arise from precisely the same causes as similar and greater atrocities arose in times past. The two parties are still struggling ; the character of the warfare is changed, but the *animus* of those engaged in it is the same. The people are oppressed beyond all endurance, and great portions of them, but not by any means the majority, are savage. The gentry, great and small, with a few exceptions, are not less savage. Some of them are like fiends ; they would devour the people, and insist that they are all lost to every sense of morals and humanity. Whilst the truth, as far as I could ascertain it, is : the peasantry are generally industrious and peaceable, rendered outrageous and cruel only by oppression which human nature cannot—another person would say ought not—to bear. Witness C——k, who was murdered lately, and from whose murder arose several others. He, I was told, after a series of cruelties, set fire to a widow's house, who with her little children were ill of fever, in order by that process to eject them from their tenement. He was only more cruel and rash than many others of the same spirit ; and I sincerely believe, if the influence of the Catholic clergy did not arrest the people, you would have murders, military executions, martial law, or insurrections throughout one half of the counties in Ireland.

“A great number of the real disturbers of the public peace, under the name of magistrates, assembled lately at Thurles, and, as is reported, prayed the Government for the Insurrection Act, &c. If you grant it to them, you assist them to depopulate the country and starve the people : but you also alienate the affection of those who now hope you will extend the strong arm of power, not for their oppression but protection. *If we ever are to be blessed with a change of system, begin now ; give no aid to the real and efficient instigators of the barbarities which occur ; tell them to spare the peasantry, not to instigate them, and no extraordinary aid will be required to curb their passions.* If they be only taught that oppression will not be sustained, fear will make them moderate, for they have no resource but in the Government. Good feeling may then succeed, for fear often introduces charity to the heart, particularly of the high-minded. And as to the peasantry, I am full

satisfied that if permitted to be humane, industrious, and benevolent, they will be so, and even contented so far as is consistent with the deep feeling of dissatisfaction generated in them by the penal laws and the daily parade of ascendancy.

"If, on the other hand, you abet and support by power the tyranny now prevailing, you only chain the passions of the multitude, and every sigh they heave to heaven will be for vengeance against you and your protégés.

"We are much occupied here with the emigration plan. I have no doubt it is unwise in principle, but may be a useful, nay, a necessary expedient to relieve our present distress. We look forward with great anxiety to the measures to be adopted respecting education. For my part, I am full of confidence on that head. The Orangemen are still continuing the farce of the new reformation, and, ludicrous as it has become, it still assists Lord Farnham and his friends to keep the different religionists divided. The Church has with this view embarked herself entire in it. I have had the patience of Job with them, and only through respect for the Government, not willing to disturb anything until I see how Parliament will proceed in the next session.

"I have been infinitely pleased with the treatises published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of whose committee I am happy to perceive you are a member. I had collected materials wherewith to compose some elementary books for schools on reasoning, on husbandry, agriculture, &c., but having seen the list of some of the treatises intended by your committee to be published on those subjects, I relinquished my plan, and presume to submit to you whether you would think proper to ascertain, if the committee would permit me to have republished (they could appear with or without such modifications as might fit them for schools in Ireland) such of their treatises as relate to the subjects above alluded to. I could have them printed here on very cheap terms, and am sure I would thereby promote the views of the Society. It occurred to me to write on this matter to Sir Henry Parnell or Mr. Brougham, but as I had troubled you with such an enormous letter, I thought I might as well add this last outrage on your patience, and intrust this affair also to your care and patriotism.

"Pardon, my dear sir, the almost unpardonable length of this letter. I shall not again trespass on you for a long time, and remain, &c.

✠ J. DOYLE."]

In November 1827 we find Dr. Doyle at St. Martin's with his step-brother, Father Peter. To his niece he writes to express the

"disappointment felt at not being able to see you, though in the extremity of the county. I came here from Borris to see this good man after his late illness, the most dangerous he has yet had."

There are three letters before us written by the Bishop on the 23d November. The first is to the Secretary to the Catholic Book Society ; but it contains no views which are not embodied in extracts already given. The second letter intrusts to Father Stewart the drawing of a handsome episcopal seal which Dr. Doyle desired to have engraved, and displaying the motto, "*Fortitudine vincit.*" The third letter is addressed to a nun :—

"23d November 1827.

"MY DEAR MARY PETER,—I don't know whether the gratitude I feel for the beautiful vestment you sent me, or displeasure for your having procured it, prevail most in my mind. In all truth and sincerity, I dislike presents in all shapes and forms ; nor are they ever necessary to testify to me the affection of my friends : *that* is easily known, and it loses most of its value when anxious to show its sincerity by gifts ; but I forgive you this extraordinary kindness, because your heart is not satisfied unless it overflows ; but I certainly blame Rev. Mother for having permitted you to incur such expense unnecessarily, she knowing my views so well, and even the impropriety of permitting you to indulge your disposition in regard to expenditure. In addition, then, to all your other kindnesses to me, have the goodness to prepare her for one of my best scoldings ; and she knows how well I can discharge that duty even towards my oldest friends.

"If you were only reasonably anxious, my dear child, about my health, your good mamma would have satisfied you that it was quite re-established ; but as you wish to know it from myself, I can truly assure you it is excellent, and that I take considerable care of it—at least, much more than, in my own opinion, it deserves. I think occasional illness is a very good thing for such a person as I am, who have little time for reflection, and who is perplexed always with a variety of concerns.

"I am rejoiced to hear you are all in such good health, and especially that you are cheerful, and beginning to return to God confidence as well as gratitude for His gifts. I assure you there is scarcely anything more acceptable to our Father in heaven than a boundless confidence on the part of His children ; for when we hide our faces from Him or distrust His mercy, He leaves us to suffer the just punishment of our diffidence in the estrangement in which we place ourselves."

Next day Dr. Doyle sends to the Catholic Association a sub-

scription of £5, adding : " Many things occur to me with regard to the state of our public interests which I would be disposed to express, had I not imposed silence on myself until the views of the Administration are developed at the opening of Parliament. I think they have given us a sort of pledge to alter substantially the whole frame and tenor of the vestry laws, which in their present state are quite insupportable ; nor do I doubt that they will also do everything that is possible towards the adjustment of our great question."

Dr. Doyle went on to say that there was one subject, totally unconnected with politics, to which he was rejoiced to find Mr. L'Estrange had turned his attention. He alluded to the establishment of a model school, than which nothing was more wanting. Besides a large apartment where reading and writing and the elements of whole numbers should be taught on the most approved system, there ought to be at least two other rooms, for expounding to pupils the theory and practice of design, abridgments of natural history, elements of mathematics, including algebra, proportion, something of logarithms, geometry, and some plane and spherical trigonometry, even a little of conic sections, and a tincture of chemistry. At present, in our more expensive schools, attention is chiefly devoted to the languages. Our schools of drawing and natural science—such as exist at the Royal Dublin Society—are of little use to the country at large. " Our common schools serve for the instruction of children only ; but what is greatly wanted is a supply of masters well instructed in the elements of science—above all, in mathematics—who would develop and form the immense mass of talent always to be found among the middling classes of society in Ireland. There is no benefit which the Catholic Association could confer upon the country comparable to the establishment, on a broad basis, of a model school. If this were attempted, and the attempt made with sobriety, discretion, and zeal, I have no doubt it would receive aid from men of all parties, who, differing on many things, are agreed in their love of Ireland. It would be the means of preparing for generations yet to come more individual wealth, knowledge, happiness, power, and fame, than any other measure which could be undertaken with equal ease in Ireland. Had I at my disposal but five thousand pounds, with a fund, whether by subscription or otherwise, of five hundred a year, I would erect such a school in this town—for here I could find men competent and willing to conduct it ; but the times are past when Catholic Bishops were enabled to promote learning or the works of mercy. In Dublin, however, I am confident that the attempt would be

successful. This subject has a good deal occupied my mind, and I was led imperceptibly to dwell upon it."

In December 1827 paralysis struck down Dr. Marum, Bishop of Ossory. An old intimacy existed between Dr. Doyle and this polished prelate. The moment he heard of his dear friend's illness, he hastened, at much personal inconvenience, to Kilkenny, and remained like a ministering angel by his bedside. A local journal records: "The eminent and justly celebrated J. K. L. arrived last night, and evinced the greatest sympathy and sorrow at seeing his brother prelate in such a hopeless condition." Dr. Marum died on Christmas Day following, and Dr. Doyle presided at the solemn service of the funeral.

Dr. Marum may be said to have witnessed the murder of his brother, and the shock was so terrific that he rapidly sank under it. Mr. Marum fell a victim to agrarian outrage. His murderers had pursued him for some distance, and he ran for safety to the residence of the Bishop. When in the act of bounding over the rails in front of the house, an assault from behind deprived him of life. When the Bishop rose at the dawn of day and proceeded to the window, the first sight which presented itself to his eyes was the mangled corpse of his brother impaled on the rails in front of his door.

Bishop Marum reposed great confidence in Dr. Doyle, and we had hoped to be able to give a selection from their correspondence; but we are informed by M. Marum, Esq., J.P., that all his efforts to discover his late uncle's papers have been unavailing, and he infers that they must have been destroyed. The absence of proper episcopal archives in Ireland is much to be regretted, and the disappearance of such papers as many of the leading prelates thought fit to preserve is not a little singular. In the course of our inquiries after documental materials, we received some curious and authentic proofs of the carelessness with which many valuable episcopal manuscript collections were posthumously treated. "The fate of Dr. Troy's papers," writes the Archbishop's nephew, "has been involved in mystery. It was conjectured that they were burned, but I can hardly believe it." Dean Meyler told us that he was surprised to find round some soft goods he had ordered in a Dublin shop a portion of Dr. Troy's manuscripts. Dr. Troy's family were very anxious to procure the Archbishop's correspondence with the Catholic Primate, Dr. O'Reilly, who lived in eventful times, but not a vestige of that prelate's papers has been preserved. They fell into the hands of an attorney, whose literary taste and talent were confined to drawing up a tolerably grammatical bill of costs, and making some occa-

sional "hand searches." The papers of Dr. Canfield, Bishop of Ferns, have been also destroyed. Bishop Kirsella of Ossory, with whom Dr. Doyle was very intimate, died in 1846, but his papers have also disappeared. Valuable documents were known to be in the possession of the late Archbishop Kelly of Tuam. His executor, Dean Burke, tells the singular story that he himself placed all the Archbishop's papers in a large box, corded it with his own hands, and deposited it, as he thought, in a most careful place; but when, some time after, he went to examine the literary treasure, he found that it had vanished, and from that day to this no trace of its fate could be found. The voluminous papers of Primate Curran were found, in the year 1841, scattered about the hayloft of a grocer in Drogheda. Many of these papers, now in our possession, we may use at a future time.

Dr. Doyle's papers ran a narrow escape of being scattered and lost. The Right Rev. Dr. Nolan, during the three years of his episcopate, employed himself at intervals in returning to the writers some letters of the highest historical interest and importance. Had not this labour been cut short, in 1837, by his death, "The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle" would probably never have appeared. Dr. Doyle not only most carefully preserved every letter addressed to himself, but recovered many of his own, including those to Fr. Peter Doyle, which still remain at Braganza. During the four years he was dying, he had ample opportunities of destroying his papers, if such had been his desire.

CHAPTER III.

Bishop Elrington again flings the gauntlet at J. K. L.—Reply—Dr. Doyle exhausted from labour and reading—"The New Reformation"—Dr. Doyle's private life—Simultaneous meetings—Letter from O'Connell—Politics and potatoes—Correspondence with Sir John Sinclair—Bishop O'Connor and J. E. Devereux—An attempted intrigue with Rome—Strolling friars—A liberal meeting dispersed by force of arms—Archdeacon T——'s exploits with the cat-o-nine tails—Correspondence with various parties—"The Satrap of England."

THE biographers of Dr. Elrington, last Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, tell us that the passion of his youth was a life on the ocean wave. He was led, however, to forego it for a life on the stormy sea of polemics and politics. "In 1792," remarks Mr. Wills, "he engaged in a controversy, arising out of a charge of Dr. Troy, the eminent R. C. Archbishop of Dublin, which he carried

on at intervals until 1804, with great vigour and ability." Lord Cloncurry handles Dr. Elrington roughly for having accomplished the suppression of the Historical Society. A foe of no ordinary obstinacy, he now proclaimed anew his hostility to Popery in general, and to J. K. L. in particular. He published an angry Appendix to his charge, filled with logical retorts upon Dr. Doyle. The newspapers of the day print a further retaliation from J. K. L.

"I have been occupied in reading Tull's Book on Husbandry, with a view of forming out of it a small treatise for the use of the farmers and their children in this country, when some person brought to me an 'Appendix to the Bishop of Ferns' Charge.' Before I opened it, the first reflection which occurred to me was, 'Will these men never suffer the country to be at rest? Will they not only devour the fruits of the public industry, but interrupt or trouble every man who thinks or labours for the common welfare? A sad, a miserable state of things—a state without a parallel in time or place—in which men who should be the promoters of arts and science, the heralds of peace and union, the teachers of the ignorant, the husbands of the widow and fathers of the orphan, are driven, even against the impulse of their own heart, by their unhappy position in society, to disturb, to exasperate, to impoverish their fellow-citizens—to mar as well the labours of the benevolent, the designs of Government, and counteract the very operations of nature in the soil and climate of their own unhappy country!'"

Dr. Elrington querulously complained that J. K. L. had failed to recognise his station in the Church. Dr. Doyle repudiated all such intention. He had transcribed the entire title-page of Dr. Elrington's charge, including his title, "with a number of large letters, having any meaning or no meaning, but which I found there as set down by himself." It transpired, however, that a bookseller reprinted it, and prefixed, without Dr. Doyle's knowledge, a title-page of his own.

"In this title-page, it appears, he omitted to set down all the titles, and additions, and alliteration of the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. If some vain, empty, new man—as Cicero calls them, *novi homines*—had thus complained, it would not surprise me, for in such men common-sense, delicacy, good taste, are absorbed in an all-devouring self-love; but such a complaint to proceed from the Lord Bishop of Ferns only shows 'that a man is twice a child.' I never in my life thought of withholding from his Lordship what he was justly entitled to. Can any person suppose that I alone in these countries do not know that his Majesty the King can confer titles or annex them to baroni

or offices ; and that in the Greek and Roman states, previous to the coming of Christ, certain persons were called 'Bishops ;' that it is and must be perfectly within the competency of the sovereign in a Christian state to create office and officers, and call them 'Bishoprics' and 'Bishops' ? I have never refused to acknowledge the right of any Protestant Bishop, or Archbishop, or Primate, within these realms, to the titles legally claimed by them or used by them ; I have not even disputed about the validity of their ordination, as many have done ; and whenever I have annexed 'Protestant,' or 'by law established,' to their names or titles, it was for the purpose of preserving a just distinction between them and the Catholic Bishops in the same Sees ; for, in Ireland, were it not for the tithes and citations to the Bishops' courts, nine-tenths of the people would never suppose that by the words 'Bishop of Ferns,' for example, was meant Dr. Elrington. . . . The Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns says I have been angry, and I will not contradict him in words. It is better to refer to my former letter as evidence. I have been accused of wiles and craft, and deep and dark design. I have been likened to all manner of evil things, and called a satyr, and a Jesuit, and a demagogue, a Papist, and a traitor. I have been even called a Vetoist and Jansenist ; but until now I do not recollect that I have been charged with suffering anger to prevail over my judgment. I have been long exercised in imposing restraint upon my passions, and I hope, through the aid of Heaven, never to become their slave. But if my wrath be ever kindled and burn, it will, I should suppose, light upon something more substantial than the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. From this conjecture, and with a heart filled with anguish at seeing myself so uselessly employed, at contemplating even myself driven to the necessity of mixing in religious broils, notwithstanding my natural aversion to them, and the conviction on my mind that they are the greatest curse of Ireland, and the abettors and supporters of them the greatest foes to her peace—notwithstanding this feeling and this conviction, I must proceed, in self-defence, and in defence of the religion which I profess, to remark, but with the utmost possible brevity, on the Appendix of the learned Bishop."

Elaborate and close controversial arguments followed, and he proved the full concurrence of Paley, Locke, and Burke in the opinions already maintained by J. K. L. against the Education and Bible Societies. In indulging in so much mental effort, Dr. Doyle acted quite contrary to the express directions of his physician. Bishop Ullathorne, in a letter to the author, says : "When he exhausted himself with labour and reading, and got quite prostrate, Dr. Kinsella would take him off to his house, take

all books and work from him, and leave him quiet to rally himself. And Dr. Doyle has exclaimed, 'Give me something to do. I don't ask for a Father of the Church; but give me something, for the love of God, if it is only the pagan Tacitus.' Everything about Dr. Doyle," adds Bishop Ullathorne, "interested me, for his writings were my delight when a divinity student. I admired their aptness, fulness, solidity, and classic finish, and the scholarship they revealed."

"I have read with delight J. K. L.'s admirable second letter to Dr. Elrington," writes Mr. Devereux. "He makes him hate himself." And he refers to a newspaper article which, after adducing some curious statistics, adds: "The New Reformation is not only not advancing, but is working the ruin of the old; and what Dr. Doyle at its commencement predicted of it is already approaching to fulfilment, 'that the experiment, if tried and persevered in, would have the effect of arousing the energies of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and of bringing home to its fold many a strayed sheep.'"

Dr. Doyle's private life was hardly less remarkable than his public one. Dr. Esmonde, S.J., thus jots down his impressions of the great prelate. "If he shone the glory of the country as a patriot and the light of the priesthood as a Bishop, he displayed in all the tenor of his private life the humane, generous, and sanctified Christian man. Great as he appeared as a public man, to those who knew him well his domestic virtues were still more wonderful. The noble simplicity of his manners, the bright candour of all his thoughts, the goodness of his warm heart, the charity of his benevolent soul—the tender piety, the ardent devotion—his soaring faith—all combined to exhibit him, even in domestic intercourse, a model to his friends and his flock. While forced by the circumstances of the time to forego the peaceful retirement of the cloister, the spirit of his religious engagement never forsook him. Never did he relinquish his early vows or the fervour of his first devotion. I well know with what pain he mingled in the distractions of the world. Solitude was his delight to the last, and prayer and thought filled up whatever short intervals of leisure he enjoyed. Every day he read the Holy Scriptures on his knees, and there and at the foot of the cross he imbibed the lofty zeal that animated all his acts, and the tender unction which flows through all his imperishable writings!"

His strength of piety was very striking. Archdeacon Dunne—a priest who, in 1852, was considered not unworthy of an archiepiscopal mitre, though circumstances did not enable him to wear it—writing to the author, says: "Often have I witnessed this

renowned Bishop bent in holiest rapture and entranced in deep contemplation before Christ in the Eucharist. Never can I forget the fervent piety with which he celebrated at the altar. He was frequently bathed in tears, which I saw him endeavouring quietly to wipe away with the sleeve of his alb, as they trickled down his manly cheek. This I particularly observed when attending him on an Easter festival at the Presentation Convent, Carlow."

The simultaneous meetings which were held for the first time in January 1828 had no small effect in promoting the settlement of the Catholic question. We find O'Connell very earnestly addressing Dr. Doyle on the subject; but the idea, we believe, originated with Sheil. "I shall take an early opportunity," observed the latter (22d September 1827), "of carrying into effect a project which I before suggested, of establishing a communication between a central committee of correspondence and every parish in Ireland. Thus simultaneous meetings through the whole country may be produced. There are difficulties in the way—but difficulties vanish before the spirit of genuine enterprise. A great exertion ought to be, and, by the blessing of God, shall be made. The whole population of Ireland shall be aroused—a fiercer ardour for liberty than ever yet was raised shall be called up, and the tables of the Legislature shall groan beneath the burden of petitions that shall be accumulated upon them. Let our English legislators learn what they may have to expect from the refusal of all justice to our country. It cannot be too often and too powerfully impressed upon them. Let there be no prostration, no debasement, in the sentiments which those petitions shall breathe; let us demand our equalisation as a right, indefeasible and immutable, and show that, when we ask for liberty, we are animated by the emotions of men who are deserving to be free. The tone and the attitude of Ireland should correspond with her increasing importance and power."

O'Connell writes:—

"MERRION SQUARE, 29th December 1827.

"MY LORD,—The public papers will have already informed your Lordship of the resolution to hold a meeting for petition in every parish in Ireland on Sunday, the 13th of January.

"I should not presume to call your Lordship's particular attention to this measure, or respectfully to solicit your countenance and support in your diocese, if I was not most deeply convinced of its extreme importance and utility. The combination of national action—all Catholic Ireland acting as one man—must necessarily have a powerful effect on the minds of the Ministry and of the British nation. A people who can be thus brought to

act together and by one impulse are too powerful to be neglected and too formidable to be long opposed. Convinced—deeply, *firmly* convinced—of the importance of this measure, I am equally so of the impossibility of succeeding unless we obtain the countenance and support of the Catholic prelates of Ireland.

“To you, my Lord, I very respectfully appeal for that support. I hope and respectfully trust that in your diocese no parish will be found deficient in activity and zeal. I intend to publish in the papers the form of a petition for Emancipation, which may be adopted in all places where no individuals may be found able and willing to prepare a proper draft.

“I am sorry to trespass thus on your Lordship’s most valuable time, but I am so entirely persuaded of the vital utility of the measure of simultaneous meetings to petition, that I venture over again, but in the most respectful manner, to urge on your kind and considerate attention the propriety of assisting in such manner as you may deem best to attain our object.”

Two thousand meetings were convened, and it is computed that upwards of five millions of people attended them. “Thus,” observes the biographer of O’Connell, “aspirations were, at the same hour on a Sunday, after the Holy Sacrifice, offered up for liberty of conscience.” An organisation so grand and perfect had obvious effect upon the Government; and it is said that even the King’s prejudices began to waver before the power which had been marshalled against them.

A new species of task now devolved upon our prelate. The Ven. John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, writing to the author, observes: “One of the chief objects to which both the Bishop and my father directed their attention was the discovery of some means of preserving the potato, so that the superfluity of one season might supply the deficiency of another. And they both tried the experiment of converting the whole substance of the potato into meal, in which state it may be preserved for any number of years. Unhappily the meal thus formed, though perfectly wholesome, was not very palatable. It is, however, a very striking circumstance that those experiments should have occurred a few years before the great famine—a famine caused by the failure of the potato crop.”

Dr. Doyle, in his fifth letter on the “State of Ireland,” would seem to have foreseen the great famine of 1847 (vol. i. p. 428); and in his evidence on the state of the Irish poor (4359), he observes that in the event of a failure of the potato crop disease and famine would decimate Ireland.

The Bishop complied with a wish expressed by Sir John Sinclair, and got a document printed in conjunction with a circular letter of his own, addressed to the clergy of his diocese. He impressed upon them the utility of the plan, and requested them to explain its details, point out its advantages, and urge, in their intercourse with the people, its practical adoption.

Sir George Sinclair, Bart., whose Life has since been written, is the son of Dr. Doyle's estimable correspondent. The author of "Lives of Modern Statesmen" says : "There was a much cleverer boy than either Peel or Byron at Harrow. Sir George Sinclair was their schoolfellow, and was considered a prodigy of talent. Byron tells us that he made exercises for half the school, verses at will, and themes without it." "A frequent and interesting correspondence," writes Sir George to the author, "was carried on between my late revered father and that very estimable prelate, Dr. Doyle, not only upon subjects of an economical and agricultural character, but also in reference to the question of the Roman Catholic claims ; and I myself saw many of the Bishop's letters, with which my father was always much gratified. Posterity cannot fail to take a lively interest in the character and opinions of so remarkable a man as Dr. Doyle."

Later, in 1828, we find Sir John again addressing the Bishop.

"As you insist on the Scots being descended from Irish progenitors, I have endeavoured in the enclosed paper to give some idea of the character of the Irish, explaining the circumstances to which the valuable qualities they possess may be ascribed.

"I am now busy preparing another paper on Catholic Emancipation. I am in hopes that it is in my power to throw *some new light* upon it, which may tend to promote a settlement of the question in a manner that ought to be satisfactory to all parties. Anything is better than a civil war, which must be the result unless the question is settled in an amicable manner by mutual concessions.

"I rely much on the good sense, patriotism, and religious spirit of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland ; for though there must be some intemperate individuals among them, as in all numerous bodies, yet I trust that the majority are sound and real Christians, and more ready to preach moderation and brotherly kindness than anarchy, desolation, and bloodshed. Our friendly correspondence on those subjects cannot possibly do any harm, and may be the source of much advantage to both countries."

Dr. Doyle examined Sir John Sinclair's plan, and thus unfolded his views :—

"CARLOW, 4th December 1828.

"DEAR SIR,—I have communicated your plan for the settlement of the Catholic question to some of the most intelligent among my friends. I have myself also considered it; but the novelty of the plan itself, and the want of precedents in any way analogous to it, leave me unable to form a decided opinion on the merits of it.

"How could Members of Parliament or Judges be independent under the operation of an annual law? There may be also other offices where the tenure of the occupant should be certain. Perhaps these difficulties might be surmounted, but I doubt whether these alone would offer themselves. I am of opinion that Government could satisfy the sensible portion of the community even now by a general and final adjustment, and might disregard the violent of all parties; for even in Ireland, the great, the vast majority of Catholics and Protestants would, after some declamation to save their honour, willingly acquiesce in any reasonable legislative enactment; and that the same results would follow in Great Britain, it is, I think, not difficult to divine. The great evil to be dreaded is the leaving the question open; for so left it will, as certainly as our existence, produce the total ruin of this country, and possibly even of England.

"I am rejoiced to find that your experiments continue to produce new and useful discoveries. Had we but internal peace and our currency secure, we might begin a new race of improvement. Perhaps a good Providence will so provide for us."

A few words regarding Sir John Sinclair, that most zealous and useful patriot, may not be irrelevant. Educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, he was called to the Scottish bar in 1775, and five years later became Member for his native county. From this date until his death, half a century afterwards, he constantly appeared before the public as an author, and there was hardly any topic in the whole range of political, economical, statistical, or even medical science, which did not engage his inquiring mind. No useful public measure ever needed the advocacy of Sir John Sinclair's pen; and while in Parliament his votes were always on the right side. In the celebrated conflict on the Regency question in 1789, Sir John joined the Opposition, and although a warm private friend of Pitt's, frequently denounced, at a subsequent period, many of that great man's most favourite measures, including the land and income taxes. Sir John Sinclair's works fill at least eighty volumes. The high estimation in which he held Dr. Doyle is traceable in the trivial fact that he gave, as a literary curiosity

in his last work, a facsimile of the Bishop's signature on the same page with that of Wilberforce and Scott.

The reader has already seen that Dr. Doyle's interest in the lowly religious Order to which, in the first impulse of his youthful piety, he had attached himself, continued throughout life undiminished. In January 1828 we find the Bishop addressing the Augustinian Provincial on behalf of a young Regular who had had some differences with his Prior.

"MY DEAR AND VERY REV. FRIEND,—I trouble you, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Roche, one of our brethren, who called on me some time ago, apparently much dissatisfied and distressed. He wished, for a variety of reasons, to be permitted by you to seek a livelihood out of the Order, and I told him that if you permitted him to accept of a retired situation in England, I would procure it for him. Since then he wrote to inform me that he had solicited such permission of you, but that you did not reply to his letter, and he prays I would beg of you to favour him with an answer. As he does not ask more than merely a reply to his letter, I have no difficulty in requesting of you to write to him. I do not, however, in any way suggest to you the kind of reply—whether favourable or otherwise to his views; but I do not wish to conceal from you that the Prior treats him with severity—a quality very congenial to his self-satisfied disposition, but entirely unsuited to Roche's timid and almost scrupulous nature.

"Perhaps I ought, on account of my friendship for you and my interest in all that concerns you, to inform you, but in the strictest confidence, that in Canning's lifetime a proposition regarding the Regulars in this country was submitted at Rome, and that this late Ministry, I believe, followed it up—nor is it likely to be abandoned by that now in power. I need not add that the views respecting them are not of a fostering kind, and that if they be not upheld by the Bishops in this country, they are not likely to continue many years even as they are. To secure this protection when it may be required, I am sure nothing would conduce more than to put an end to strolling Friars, and form them into communities of at least three persons, and oblige them to observe regular discipline, so far as is consistent with the laws of the country—that is, in everything except dress; but, still more, to prevent the degradation (for such it is in Ireland) of clergymen begging *ostentim* for their own support, and directing them to maintain themselves as much as possible by the receipts of their chapels, the offerings on account of their ministry, the frugal use

of their little funds, and, above all, by employing themselves in conducting schools and other liberal occupations."

Mr. Devereux would seem to have been Dr. Doyle's informant. On the 1st of December 1827 the former writes from London : " I have heard nothing since about the intrigue going on. I repeat, that if the former Administration had remained an attack would have been made, if any plausible plea or sanction could be obtained from Rome—first, against our Regulars ; next, our nunneries ; thirdly, Maynooth, which so sorely sticks in the gizzard of our enemies—but I don't believe the present Administration have so much absurdity of feeling, or, if they had, sufficient nerve to carry any such attempt into effect. We are, however, not the more obliged to any British Catholics here who patronise such intrigues."

Dr. O'Connor, afterwards Bishop of Saldes, acknowledged Dr. Doyle's friendly hint, promised to provide for the happiness of Mr. Roche in some other convent, and then went on to say :—

" On the subject of your Lordship's confidential communication I have but little to say, though much to feel. I have, however, again and again to thank you for it, and I console myself with the reflection that in the hour of trial we shall have at least one advocate whose name, character, and influence will not be wanted to our cause. That cause, I should hope, is the cause of religion and of God. We engaged in it under the most solemn obligations as such, and we have only to entertain the humble hope that the substance may not be confounded with the mode. Our mode of subsistence is not the most agreeable to flesh and blood, or to our natural pride, but perhaps it is not the less pleasing in the sight of the Almighty. We would all very naturally wish to improve our condition when it could be done with a safe conscience. There are none of us, I am sure, so perfect as to be attached to the *osteatim* mode of subsistence, so as not to be willing to yield it up for some more certain and less humiliating one, provided it were not at the expense of our extinction. If such should unhappily be the case, we must only bow to the just decree of God punishing us for our sins. I know of no abuse of that nature among us. Religion always prevailed in Ireland notwithstanding this mode of subsistence. I believe some such mode would be useful in future times, to preserve the recollection of evangelical poverty among the clergy. All our brethren are the friends and promoters of education and instruction among the people. We all feel grateful for your counsel. We confide in your protection."

"DUBLIN, 8th February 1828.

"MY DEAR AND VERY REV. FRIEND,—I am glad I wrote to you of Mr. Roche, as you were thereby enabled to see what certainly I did not suppose you could ever doubt—that I would not sanction, still less enable or assist, any one to withdraw himself from the just authority established over him. He is not strong-minded, and I hope his misstatement is rather the effect of confusion in his mind than of a wilful purpose to deceive. During his time in our college his conduct was most exemplary; but he is not able to sustain himself under harsh treatment, and his timidity only augments his embarrassments.

"All the hopes you entertain of my efforts to serve the Regulars upon any or all occasions which may arise are well founded. I shall never fail to exert my best energies in their favour; and with my brethren of the prelacy I can truly and with pleasure assure you, that I expect to meet only with feelings and sentiments in the Regulars' regard which correspond to my own. What I mentioned to you is not known to *any one prelate* in Ireland—to the extent at least to which I have been informed of it; and, from the changes incident to our times, such plans as were on foot may alter or cease altogether. My sentiments, however, with regard to the observance of religious discipline, and the abolition of the bad custom of placing individual Friars in isolated, or in any places, are not mine only; and the abuses arising from a want of improvement in those respects will not be corrected, nor the feelings arising from them allayed, by all you or I can say of the past or present merits of religious orders. Whatever I wrote to you on these subjects, or on that of the mode of support, arose solely from my anxiety to find the religious orders in Ireland, should a day of danger to them arrive, in such a position as would enable me to plead for them with effect, and not find myself embarrassed by anything which should offend public opinion or furnish argument for my adversaries. You will, I hope, never do me the injustice of considering me other than the zealous friend of the institute to which I have the honour to belong."

Dr. Doyle greatly disliked the system of strolling Friars. If, however, their vows imperatively called upon them to beg *osteatum*, he desired that they should not wander to any considerable distance from their convents, and he wished them to be, in all cases, home by nightfall. He disapproved of their sleeping in farmers' houses along the route, or partaking, to the smallest extent, of that exhilarating refreshment which the Irish are rarely without, and which it would be almost an insult to their hospitality to

refuse. Should the Friars find themselves at any time too far from their convent to return before dark, Dr. Doyle said that they ought always, in such cases, to sleep beneath the roof of the nearest priest, and not in the houses of the peasant laity.

[Since our first edition appeared, the following letter has been found among the papers of the late Rev. P. Brennan, P.P. Dr. Blake became the saintly Bishop of Dromore; Fr. Brennan preferred St. Bridget to St. Agatha, and closed his career within the shadow of the Round Tower of Kildare.

“DUBLIN, *February 7th*, 1828.

“MY DEAR REV. SIR,—The Very Rev. Doctor Blake being obliged, on account of the state of his health, to retire from the Presidency of the Irish College lately established by him in Rome, the prelates, who recently assembled in Dublin, have commissioned his Grace, Doctor Murray, to provide and appoint a successor to Doctor Blake, and his Grace not having a clergyman fitted in all respects for the above situation whose services in the archdiocese might be dispensed with, and being well acquainted with your qualifications and fitness for the above office, has requested of me to ascertain whether you think proper to comply with his desire of your accepting the same. His Grace wishes me to add, that the college, the discipline, and studies therein are now established and in operation; that the number of students at present is ten or twelve, which number will be increased; that the revenues of it are sufficient and well secured; and that your allowance as President (to be fixed at the next assemblage of the Irish prelates) will be, not indeed ample, but sufficient to enable you to live according to the rank you would hold in Rome as President of our National College, and such as may justly be expected from the liberality of the Irish prelates and the revenues of the establishment over which you are invited to preside.

“For my part, I have only to add, that neither my personal affection for you nor the consideration of the loss which our diocese would sustain during the years, few or many, of your sojourn at Rome, shall prevent me from leaving you at full liberty to accede to the proposal and wishes of our revered Metropolitan, and that in the event of your doing so, your title to your present parish would remain undisturbed during your absence from Ireland, or until you might think proper to resign the same. I am desirous to address a copy of this letter to the Rev. James Maher, hoping that you and he will consult thereon with each other, and after you will have done so, that you will

inform His Grace whether either of you, or which of you, will accept of the afore-mentioned offer of President of the College.”]

In 1827, a certain Archdeacon of the Established Church, the member of a powerful family, with an Earl and an Archbishop at its head, which had zealously devoted itself to the proselytism of the Irish peasantry, published a notice that none of the tenants over whom he had control had any favour to expect who did not send their children to his school, and procure certificates from two evangelical ladies mentioned in the notice. The tenants who obeyed this mandate were liberally rewarded, while those who disregarded it underwent retribution at his hands; labourers were dismissed, and the houses of others thrown down. Catherine Heney swore that having, in obedience to the Catholic pastor, refused to send her five children to the Archdeacon's school, she was ejected from her cabin, and obliged to seek refuge in a pig-stye, where she lay upon heaps of filth in a fever, surrounded by the wretched offspring for whom she was no longer able to procure the necessaries of life. This affidavit was sustained by a vast number of similar depositions. The struggle between might and right continued for some time—the parson menacing all who displayed a conscientious contumacy with the terrors of this world, while the priest threatened retribution in the next. The gentry took part in the contest, and a meeting was held at Loughrea to check as far as possible the Archdeacon's terrible zeal. The Bible Society convened another at Ballinasloe; Eneas M'Donnell attended it, and moved an amendment which Lord Dunlo put from the chair. The meeting lasted for three days; during the first two the Archdeacon did not actively interfere, but on the third the aspect of affairs underwent a material change. “The moment the doors were opened,” observes Sheil, “the Archdeacon placed himself at the entrance, and under his direction a number of Protestants of the lowest class, with, as it is alleged, arms under their greatcoats, were specially admitted, and stationed by the Doctor's orders in the assembly. He felt the importance of carrying the day, and an effort was deemed advisable to put M'Donnell down. For this purpose the room was filled with police, and the Archdeacon stood with an attitude, looked with an air, and spoke with an intonation of command.” Mr. M'Donnell was informed that he had no right to speak. The chairman proposed resolutions favourable to the objects of the Society, and left the chair. Mr. M'Donnell moved that the Hon. Gonville Ffrench, a magistrate, and the son of a peer, should take it. Mr. Ffrench advanced, but the Archdeacon, turning to the police, exclaimed, “Do your duty.”

The police rushed upon the people ; another body, which had been stationed outside as a reserve corps, charged upstairs with swords drawn and bayonets fixed. "They drove the Catholics before them," remarks Sheil, "and mingled invectives against their creed with ferocious exclamations." The people fled : the open windows afforded shelter to many, and women precipitated themselves upon the adjoining roofs. It was not the Archdeacon's fault that a general carnage did not ensue. The Catholics assembled four days afterwards, and at that meeting Mr. M'Donnell pronounced a severe invective upon the Archdeacon. He reminded his hearers that the Doctor had been a soldier, and in the barrack-yard of Cork had presided over the torturing of a woman named Winifred Hynes ; that although a divine, he was not the best qualified person to superintend the morals of a district in which he professed to have the cure of souls ; that he was by nature cruel ; and that, in the absence of the common executioner, when the sentence of whipping was to be executed in the town of Loughrea upon two culprits, the Archdeacon proposed that he should take the lash into those hands which had so often distributed the sacramental bread, and whip the malefactors through the town ! The Archdeacon, smarting under Mr. M'Donnell's scourge, sought to file a criminal information against his castigator, who now made the Archdeacon's case if possible worse by causing to be read in court innumerable affidavits, the first of which detailed how Winifred Hynes, having stolen a brass candlestick, was ordered by the Archdeacon, then adjutant of the Galway Militia, to be brought out, and in presence of the regiment she was tied up hands and feet to the triangle, preparatory to receiving fifty lashes. The woman vehemently resisted the effort to remove her clothing. "The said adjutant," records the affidavit, "went up to the drum-major, cursed and damned him for not tearing off her clothes, and in a great passion, giving him a blow with a stick, ordered him to tear and cut them off, which was done." Her quivering flesh was then mercilessly scourged. "That during the said horrible exhibition," proceeds the affidavit, "Mr. Davis went up to the said adjutant, and told him, in the hearing of deponent, that Peter Hynes, the husband, was absolutely fainting in the ranks at seeing his wife thus exposed, and begged of said adjutant to allow Hynes to retire to his room, upon which he replied that he might go where he pleased, and he did not care if the devil had him." Similar affidavits were read impugning the moral character of the Archdeacon, not only in the army, but since his adhesion to a more ascetic rôle. Amours were set forth with minuteness, but we will be readily excused for not entering into them. As regards the Archdeacon's exploits

with the cat-o'-nine-tails in the public streets of Galway, they were circumstantially described in an affidavit of the sheriff who had officially witnessed them. Notwithstanding these affidavits, the court made the conditional rule absolute, and sentenced Mr. M'Donnell to twelve months' imprisonment. The Government, however, creditably interfered, and liberated Mr. M'Donnell long before the expiration of his sentence. In Kilmainham jail he received from Dr. Doyle a letter dated 26th February 1828.

"I cannot condole with you, for though you must feel the privations you suffer, it is impossible that sorrow or grief should have access to such a mind as yours, because you are compelled to pay that tribute which innocence and justice have been yielding to guilt and oppression, often in all times and countries, but almost always in Ireland. I am far from thinking that the publication of truth is always innocent; but I am equally clear and certain that when a man once infamous—whether by conduct notoriously criminal, or by the just sentence of the law—assails any person or persons, such person or persons have an incontestable right to employ in their own defence or justification such infamy of their assailant as was before public in a legal sense.

"The doctrine of libel was settled in Catholic times on the immutable laws of truth and justice; but since then religion has been rejected, corrupt judges have perverted the law to screen the guilt of power and to favour the oppressor of the weak; or ignorant judges, not acquainted with or unable to comprehend the great principles of morality involved in the law of libel, apply it by hazard, or agreeably to their own feelings or interests.

"In writing to you, I do not know what I could state more becoming myself or agreeable to your feelings than my full conviction that every part of your conduct, as it appeared before the public, was, in my judgment, entirely free from all moral transgression; and that if you suffer, it is not for wrong committed by you, but by those who, whatever they may endure otherwise, are exempt from fines and imprisonment in this life."

Dr. Doyle in this letter refers to a "late and distressing occurrence in his own family," namely, the death of his half-brother, Captain Thomas Doyle. In a note to his niece also adverting to this loss we catch a glimpse of the austerity with which the Bishop observed the Lenten abstinence, notwithstanding that the vigour of his constitution was on the wane:—"I am getting fat with ling and potatoes; and though poor Tom's death shocked and afflicted me exceedingly, the cares and distractions in which I live prevent

me from thinking or suffering from anything that happens. I apprehend that my own death is not far distant. I was very near it last autumn."

These perpetual cares are also alluded to in his correspondence with nuns.

"CARLOW, 24th February 1828.

"MY VERY DEAR CHILD,—I am generally so beset with cares, that a letter such as yours affords me the greatest satisfaction, and you may always write to me under the impression of doing a kindness to one greatly interested for your happiness. I am quite happy at knowing from yourself, and also from Rev. Mother, that you are approved of by our dear sisters as deserving of their society in this world, and, I hope, of the glory which awaits them in the next. If I supposed that the delay of your reception would retard the coming of that glory for an instant, nothing could prevent me from being present with you on the early day you mention. But as your desires of union with our Lord will increase as the fulfilment of them will be deferred in this life, and as in all things I only wish for your sanctification, you will not think it unkind of me to defer your reception to the Sunday following, when, please God, I will be with you. In the interval I would wish my dear child Ellen to write me an account of all her dispositions: let the community decide as to her fitness to be received; and on considering both, I will determine whether her postulation ought to be prolonged, or whether she may be admitted with you to 'the holy habit of religion.'

"My dear child, I wish I could convey to you all the hopes I have of your ardent desires to be united to our blessed Lord, who is the Word of God, the Wisdom of our Father, our Redeemer, our Judge, and the only full and perfect source of our happiness in the kingdom purchased by His blood; and that during this holy time of Lent all your aspirations may be the fruit of charity, rather even than any compunction for a misspent time. Charity covers a multitude of sins; and if you exercise your heart and soul in the love of God our Saviour, penance will seem to you what it really is—rather the resource of the unfortunate than the inheritance of the chosen children of the Lord. Yet I am satisfied that you and Ellen observe the fast and abstinence as it is understood by the Rev. Mother, but not to any greater extent.

"You should make the general confession you mention to either the ordinary or extraordinary confessor, unless you prefer doing it to myself during my visit to Mountrath previous to your reception. But in this, dearest child, consult your own feelings only, for it is

the mercy of God to indulge us in this respect, and we should fulfil His views by availing ourselves of what He has permitted."

In April 1828 we find a private correspondence between him and George Ensor, having for its object the organisation of a great "Ulster meeting" in support of the Catholic claims. Here is a racy bit :—

"You allude to my not being at the Castle festivities. It is a glorious pastime for Irishmen, when their country is in *extremis*, to sport with the satrap of England, to jostle among gentry with bags and swords on a collar day ; and how honoured to have the privilege of the *entrée*—that is, to be smuggled as maskers by a back door into the satrap's presence. As to the Protestants being so captivated, I do not wonder ; but that the Catholic Irish can swallow hook, line, and rod, exhibits their deglutition equal to the far-famed craters. They seem to wonder that Anglesea's sword is sheathed. When York was warlike, this fellow carried arms : the royal prate is conciliation, and he grounds them ; and the surprised Irish leap into his arms, and sob their unutterable gratulations in his bosom. These things almost make me despair. I used to pray for Ireland, but I have given that up—for, however I might begin, I ended with curses—the baseness of man turning me for the instant from the goodness of God. I have been stung by what you say of your unsuccessful efforts respecting education. Your proceeding was masterly ; by proposing a far superior scheme of instruction, you discredited them as you honoured yourself and people. What can the principal Catholics of Dublin fear or hope ? Have they got too rich ? I fear the staple of Dublin patriotism is talk—much is said, which, to occupy time, is elaborately unsaid."

Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Messrs. Ensor,¹ Blackney, Talbot, O'Ferral, and others, continued voluminously throughout the following years. He felt, with Wilberforce, that country gentlemen are the nerves and ligatures of the political body.

¹ [Mr. Prendergast the able historian of the "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," and nearly connected with Mr. Ensor, writes on 29th November 1878,—“In consequence of your letter, I waited upon Mr. Ensor's family and sought to obtain Dr. Doyle's letters ; but their mother, they inform me, destroyed them before her death. So there ends all the valuable information they contained. And indeed, now as I write, I recollect Mr. Ensor saying to me, ‘I heard things from Dr. Doyle that I would never tell mortal.’ Mr. Ensor died thirty-five years ago ; so this is an old story. Go on and help to relieve your country of its stain of neglect of literature.”]

CHAPTER IV.

The first stone laid of Carlow Cathedral—French opinion—W. M. Thackeray on Dr. Doyle—Letters to Rev. Dr. Donovan, Mariana, and the Duke of Wellington—The force of equity the only force which can subdue the people of Ireland—"Securities"—Dreaded encroachments of the Holy See—Attempted "degradation" of the Catholic priesthood—The Veto and Domestic Nomination again—Dr. Doyle's project for establishing a Patriarchate in Ireland—The Primatial rights upheld—Letter on the Clare election—Letter to Ellen H——g—Banquet at Carlow—Dr. Wolff again—Dr. Doyle "a consummate fox"—He longs to retire from the political arena—Letter to his niece—Care corrodes his heart—He visits Paris with Dr. Murray—He is mistaken for a Jesuit in Brussels, and hooted accordingly—Formidable agitation in Ireland—Alarm of the Viceroy—Letter to Sir H. Parnell—"Dreadful" situation of the King—The "Times" on Dr. Doyle—The Irish College in Paris—Contemplated Concordat—Pennenden Heath meeting—Mr. Hunt's account of Dr. Doyle—Awful excitement—Letters—Lord Darnley.

ON Easter Monday 1828, Dr. Doyle, attired in his episcopal robes, laid the first stone of the new cathedral at Carlow. He impressively invoked the protection of Providence on the temple about to be erected to His worship, and closed the proceedings by a benediction to the multitude. Peter Burrowes and other distinguished Protestants who took a warm interest in the good work were present.

This splendid design was attempted by Dr. Doyle under circumstances which would have discouraged any ordinary person. Thatched cabins had long been used for the celebration of the divine mysteries, and many persons looked to a comfortably slated brick-and-mortar church as a step in the march of progress more desirable than practicable. Catholicism still lay bound in penal chains. Dr. Doyle had no funds raised to defray the expenses of building. His own scanty means and those of the clergy had been encroached upon to the uttermost in providing food and clothing for the famishing people, and in erecting schoolhouses for their education. The Bishop knew, however, that he who once begins a work has half accomplished it, and trusting to Him in whose honour the cathedral was raised, and to the fidelity of that flock of whom he was the pastor, Dr. Doyle, full of hope and manly resolution, planted the first stone as we have described. From the moment that his crosier waved in benediction over it, this splendid temple shot up almost by magic; its Gothic arches pointing heavenward, showing what individual enterprise can do. Dr. Doyle survived but six years from this date, and yet he had the happiness of officiating on innumerable occasions within the new cathedral. Monsignor Meagher, in preaching Dr.

Doyle's funeral panegyric in Carlow Cathedral, exclaimed : " How often on that altar have I beheld this great high priest, lofty and dignified as Simeon of old, when he stood in the sanctuary clothed with brightness and surrounded by the glorious sons of Aaron." The celebrity of Carlow Cathedral is not merely local. Its beauties have been extolled even on the Continent, as the following extract from the "*Biographie Universelle*" shows: " Il eut le bonheur de vivre assez long-temps pour voir terminer cet edifice si ardemment désiré. La Cathedrale de Carlow est sans contredit le plus beau monument ecclésiastique qui ait été élevé en Irlande dans le xix^e siècle. Depuis plusieurs années il rassemblait par tous les moyens qui sont a la disposition d'un dignitaire de l'église, les fonds nécessaires pour cette belle fondation, et l'on peut dire que sans son influence personnelle, sans l'estime et l'admiration qu'il inspirait, la Cathedrale serait encore dans les épures de l'architecte."

In 1841 Thackeray visited Ireland, and recorded his impressions of the country and people in "*The Irish Sketch-Book*." Few men or things escaped the touch of his caustic pencil; but the moment he entered on the scene and site of Dr. Doyle's labours a cordial outburst of admiration broke from the great satirist. "The Catholics point to the structure with considerable pride," he wrote. "It was the first of the many handsome cathedrals for their worship which have been built of late years in this country, by the noble contributions of the poor man's penny and by the untiring energies and sacrifices of the clergy. Bishop Doyle, the founder of the church, has the place of honour within it; nor, perhaps, did any Christian pastor ever merit the affection of his flock more than that great and high-minded man. He was the best champion the Catholic Church and cause ever had in Ireland; in learning, and admirable kindness, and virtue, the best example to the clergy of his religion; and if the country is now filled with schools, where the humblest peasant in it can have the benefit of a liberal and wholesome education, it owes this great boon mainly to his noble exertions and to the spirit they awakened."

The Roman Catechism, of which an English translation was for the first time published by the Rev. Dr. Donovan in 1829, was composed and promulgated by a decree of the Council of Trent, with a command to all Bishops "to take care that it be faithfully translated into the vernacular language, and expounded to the people by all pastors." The Fathers of the Council had examined with patient industry and defined with accuracy the dogmas of faith which were then denied or disputed: but the real economy of the Church, the instruction of ignorance, the

amelioration of discipline, and the reformation of morals, also claimed and engaged their attention. Dr. Donovan submitted the MS. of this much-desired work to Dr. Doyle, who, having examined it, thus expressed his views :—

“CARLOW, 8th March 1828.

“MY DEAR REV. SIR,—It is difficult to estimate justly the importance and value of the work which you have just translated. The ‘Catechism of the Council of Trent’ is the most methodical, the most scientific, the most full and accurate exposition of the Christian creed and morality which has ever been published in an abridged state. But though it be a summary only of our heavenly code, the doctrines set forth in it, the authorities condensed in it, the proofs adduced in it, and the arguments, as well convincing as persuasive, which it presents to the reader, in a style unexampled for purity and precision, are more proportioned to the extent and importance of its subject than to its size or bulk. Be not surprised that I seek to exalt the merits of this work ; for, besides the ordinary use which is made of it by all who have care of souls, and are anxious to discharge their duty, it has been to me, for years past, like a dear friend or inseparable companion. Next after the Divine Revelation, I have learned perhaps more from it than from all the books I have ever perused. My judgment in religious matters has been cast in it, as it were in a mould—my decisions in matters of controversy and morals have been framed on it, and much of the public instruction I have ever communicated has been little more than the unfolding of its doctrines, its authorities, and proofs.

“You know how much I was gratified by your having undertaken the translation of this inestimable work ; this gratification has been heightened by the perusal of your manuscript—which, though it is only such as I had reason to expect from your extensive knowledge, your classical and refined acquaintance with the ancient and modern languages, is yet, in truth, the best translation into English of a Latin work that I have ever read.”

The reader has not forgotten the interest which Dr. Doyle took in Mariana, Catherine, and Sarah Finn, who had conformed from the Established to the Catholic Church. Catherine died in 1824 ; the following letter refers to Sarah, who fell a victim to consumption at the age of eighteen. “She was equally good,” writes the surviving sister, “talented, and beautiful, and meant to devote herself to religion.”

“CARLOW, 25th April 1828.

“MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter, which I received this morning, affected me so much as to make me regret that I should

be still liable to those sensibilities which time, reflection, and a just knowledge of things ought, perhaps, entirely to subdue ; but though we are made new creatures when adopted by Christ, and brought by God into the kingdom of His beloved Son, this adoption and translation, whilst we remain here below, leave us encompassed with all manner of infirmity. I cannot think on the apprehended removal of dear Sarah, even from a place of misery to a state of bliss, without being troubled ; and though for her the destination is the effect of the Divine predilection, yet our nature recoils from it, as if the end of her being among us were not yet accomplished. But 'all the ways of God are mercy and truth,' and if those be blessed who devote a long life to painful exercises, and succeed by such means in becoming pure and holy, how much more blessed are they who are preserved from evil, or who, by labouring much in a short time, deserve at an early period an eternal recompense ? Such, I earnestly hope, is the state of our dear Sarah. I could not say how much I admired her when I saw her in Dublin. So much piety and resignation and zeal for her sanctification, united with those other qualities of mind and heart which assimilated her exceedingly to her whom she loved so much, made me feel an interest for her beyond what I could experience for almost any other person. It is, however, far better that she be no longer an exile from heaven ; and it is indeed a great mercy, though not singular in your family, that she should be made to conform her will to the designs of God, so as to remain in this world or pass out of it without experiencing conflicts which are generally endured by those who are so young. You, my dear friend, have more to suffer, remaining like a trunk from which the branches are torn ; but strength is given proportioned to the trial we have to endure ; and though, like you, I find myself remaining nearly alone of a numerous family, I do not perceive the privation to produce in me any other feeling than one of loneliness, and a sort of occasional dejection which is rather pleasing than painful. I wish my prayers were worthy of acceptance, and I would strive to employ them for dear Sarah ; but I leave prayer in a great degree to those who can perform it with ease and recollection, hoping that God will hear them for me, knowing I am myself very little deserving of attention. I shall write to our good friend Miss Gurley, who I am sure will warmly sympathise with you, and there are few who can pray with more fervour and perseverance than she, especially when the voice of friendship reaches her heart. I shall be greatly indebted to you to let Sarah know how much and how sincerely I am interested for her."

LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. 69

[Bishop Doyle is quoted by Mr. Gladstone in his "Vatican Decrees" as "the prelate who more than any other represented his Church and influenced the mind of this country (England) in favour of concession at the time of Emancipation."]

On the 19th June 1828 Dr. Doyle addressed a public letter to the Duke of Wellington with this end. It was read with avidity, and paved the way to the Clare election.

"I have been at different times," he writes, "engaged in the consideration or discussion of the Catholic claims. I have bestowed on them all the attention and study of which I am capable, and should I now be so fortunate as to render the slightest assistance to your Grace by the further application of that study and attention, I should both gratify my own wishes and contribute something to the public good. It is true that your Grace is supposed by many to have entered fully into the views of those who have doomed the Catholics to perpetual exclusion, notwithstanding that you have thought proper, as head of the Government, to abstain from harsh language towards so large a body of the King's subjects, and even to let in a glimmering, resembling the light of hope, upon the gloom which envelops them. There are others who think that your Grace, like all the statesmen who have gone before you, would be regulated in your policy more by necessity than by preconceived opinions; and that whilst, in compliance perhaps with your own sense of duty, or if not, with the wishes of those on whose support you depend, you would willingly postpone the Catholic question to an indefinite period; yet that you are disposed to watch the course of events, and even to enter into an alliance with your Catholic countrymen, should your foreign allies cease to be your friends. Fear is the beginning of wisdom, and though the Irish were not to be feared, the state of England and of her foreign relations may produce a salutary dread even in your mind; and out of that fear may spring those wise and healing measures which it is our most anxious desire you should adopt. Having before us then the state of Europe, and not of Europe only—knowing as we do the difficulties which beset us at home, we may, though not endowed with more than ordinary foresight, discover that at no very distant period your Grace may be seriously and sincerely disposed to settle finally and amicably the claims of the Catholics. My object therefore is to offer beforehand my feeble assistance to your Grace, so that if the time should come 'when something may be done,' you may avail yourself of it; but should that time not arrive—should peace be re-established on the Continent—our trade and manufactures flourish—our income exceed our expenditure, and England enjoy, as heretofore, both

peace and plenty—then the reflections which I am now about submitting to your Grace may lie, with the parchment of our petitions, buried in oblivion.”

Dr. Doyle went on to say that the Catholics and their opponents were weary of the combat, and anxious to bring it to an honourable and safe conclusion. “Let wisdom then supersede violence, and amicable discussion take the place of force. To you, my Lord Duke, it belongs to proclaim a cessation—not in any ambiguous language, which only serves to excite to new exertion, but in terms plain, distinct, and intelligible. You cannot say to the sea of our troubles, ‘Be still!’ nor to the tempest which rages in Ireland, ‘Do not blow!’ We are a nation grown up to manhood, and the only force which can subdue us, without ruin to the State, is the force of equity.”

The Bishop then proceeded to notice some securities to which no canonical objection could attach. He entered on this subject, *not* because he considered them necessary—“for danger to the constitution is as likely to proceed from Mecca as from the Vatican”—but because some such arrangement would “serve to allay the apprehensions of those whom your Grace is perhaps obliged to satisfy.”

Dr. Doyle observed that the dangers which the opponents of the Catholic claims seemed most anxious to guard against were “the encroachments of the See of Rome, or from the influence which the Irish Catholic clergy are supposed to possess over the laity of their communion.” Dr. Doyle argued that in respect to the latter influence it was not desirable either to remove or diminish it, as it irresistibly tends to preserve order, to inculcate submission to the law, and obedience to every constituted authority. He declared that if the laws were made equal and the government administered impartially, such clerical influence as was liable then to abuse would wholly disappear. “If, after this mode of proceeding should have been adopted, the Catholic clergy were found to exercise an improper influence, the Government, supported by the good sense of the people and assisted by the Catholic Bishops, could make and enforce such regulations as must effectually confine the priesthood to the discharge of their own professional duties.” But as to the desire then entertained in some quarters of neutralising this influence by the employment of gifts or pensions in purchasing the Irish priesthood from amongst the people to whom, by blood and profession, they belonged, Dr. Doyle declared that all such schemes were vain. “The Catholic clergy never will partake of any provision, of whatsoever description, which will render them liable to even a

suspicion of being detached from the people ; and the Established Church never can find her security in the moral degradation of any priesthood." As to "encroachments of the See of Rome," Dr. Doyle reminded his Grace that they were almost obsolete. They chiefly consisted in collations to ecclesiastical benefices—whether the subjects were natives or strangers—and in the legal exemption from the civil jurisdiction claimed by the clergy for both their persons and property, of which privileges the Pope was the official and legally recognised guardian. The statute of Elizabeth, however, abolishing the Papal supremacy and jurisdiction within this realm, and establishing in its place that of the sovereign, put an end to these encroachments, and to all the matters of provision and appeal growing out of them.

"It may appear to your Grace, as it does to many others, that the Catholic Church in Ireland ought to be paralysed by inducing the Pope to co-operate in placing the appointment of her Bishops in the hands of the King, whilst the arrangement entered into for that purpose would be designated 'a security against Papal power or encroachment.' But this would be a step inconsistent with good faith, equity, or any of those principles whereby freemen should be governed, or their hearts united in affection to the throne, leaving out of view the anomaly of a Protestant Government calling in the aid of the Pope to assist them in pulling down the liberties, whether civil or religious, of their own subjects. I would say to those who cherish such views : 'Be generous to the Irish—spare the constitution—do not indulge your jealousy of us to the enslavement of our priesthood. The King does not require the patronage of our Church—he cannot understand our interests, nor be a Protestant and be anxious to promote them. Leave us a free people—let us exert all our energies ; and if you confide in our oaths, which have never been violated, or in our honour, which has never been tarnished, you will not have hereafter to repent of your own generosity or to complain of our ingratitude. You may, by imposing bonds upon us, remove the alarm felt by some timid Churchmen, but you will give a death-blow to freedom in Ireland, and inflict upon our common Christianity the deepest wound. The Catholics of Ireland excite apprehension ! They do, and justly, for they are numerous, powerful, and discontented ; but let them be admitted fully and freely to all the blessings of the constitution, and if their hearts be of flesh—if they have children, and love them—if they have property, and value it—if they have law and privilege, and prize them—if they have a country, and almost adore it—they will be among the best, the most loyal, the most devoted subjects in the realm.' "

Dr. Doyle admitted that the principle of domestic nomination would be very desirable if established in Ireland. The Catholics would, no doubt, be liable to inconvenience as long as the Pope held in his hands the unqualified right of appointing Bishops ; and Dr. Doyle observed that it would be desirable to have the right of electing Bishops vested in those who have the most direct and immediate interest in their appointment, by an arrangement calculated to exclude that foreign influence or encroachment of which the Duke seemed so much in dread. This arrangement would provide at once for the interest of the Irish Catholics, and satisfy those Protestants "who are still so misinformed" as to entertain apprehension of the Papal power. "Were the Government to act frankly and cordially with the Catholic clergy and people, and, availing themselves of the support thus to be obtained, propose to the Pope an arrangement which should render the Catholic Church in Ireland more national, and the appointment of its prelates entirely domestic, there is little doubt that such a proposal, properly urged, would be acceded to." Dr. Doyle considered that the Pope might, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, vest in some one of the Irish Catholic prelates such power in matters of conscience and ecclesiastical discipline as was then exercised by some congregations of Cardinals in Rome, and had often previously been delegated to legates of the Holy See. The Bishop did not make use of the word "Patriarch" in this letter, but it is as clear as his own vigorous style of composition that an ecclesiastical potentate of this character was in his mind. In the year 1825, when the Bishops had met in Dublin to discuss the prostrate condition of the Catholic cause, Dr. Doyle, as soon as they had retired, applied all the energies of his mind to the construction of a plan for allaying the objection to "foreign influence and encroachment" on which the then Premier, Lord Liverpool, perpetually harped. The result of his deliberations was a determination to memorialise the Pope to grant a distinct patriarchate to Ireland. Dr. Doyle submitted these views to his brother prelates, but he could not find sufficient support to warrant him in attempting to carry out the design. Since the riots of 1780, the outcry against the Pope had never been so vehement as at the period of which we write. "No Popery" was chalked on every wall ; the dangers of "foreign influence" formed the daily theme of a hostile press and platform ; an uninterrupted stream of anti-papal diatribe poured from the pulpit and the senate. Dr. Doyle desired to lessen, for a few years, the communications between Ireland and Rome which were then perpetually going to and fro, generally on such trivial matters as dispensations, local

differences, cases of conscience, marriages within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and the like ; and he considered that if a Patriarch were granted to the Irish Church—a title tantamount to “the Pope of Ireland”—the hurricane of jealous wrath against Rome would be allayed, and the Premier cease to urge “foreign influence and encroachment” as his great objection to settling the Catholic claims. England has ever been sensitively jealous of foreign influence. The tempest of indignation which swept through Great Britain at the nomination, by a “foreign power,” of the Catholic episcopacy in England, would, no doubt, have never taken place had the appointments been made by a resident dignitary and a subject of the British crown. These and other difficulties Dr. Doyle would seem to have foreseen. We have heard him taunted with canonical laxity for desiring to memorialise the Holy See on the subject of a patriarchate, but it is known to every theologian that he might with perfect propriety pursue this course. Several questions of importance affecting Irish Catholic interests remained in an unsettled state at this time. Travelling was then slow, and immense delays occurred in corresponding with Rome. Dr. Doyle desired that the patriarchate should exist only so long as peculiar circumstances lasted. The office might be discontinued at any time, in the same way as the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were reduced under the jurisdiction of the great Patriarch of Constantinople. Some of these Patriarchs are schismatical, but there are others quite orthodox, and one has frequently been closeted at Rome with the Sovereign Pontiff. There are several encyclical letters of the Pope at present before us, addressed “to his Venerable Brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic Church,” which proves, if any proof were wanting, that the office of Patriarch is orthodox, and approved by the Holy See.

Other circumstances rendered the idea of a patriarchate less startling to Dr. Doyle than it proved to his brother Bishops. His master at Coimbra was the gifted Patricio, afterwards Archbishop of Evora, and Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon. Dr. Doyle became much attached to this good man, whose name was, in itself, a grateful sound to exiles from the land of Patrick. The Patriarch was, moreover, an Augustinian friar. Dr. Doyle may have considered that in Ireland—which is the great outwork of the Catholic Church in the north-west of Europe—a general with large powers was required, the more so as the privilege had long been allowed in Portugal, where no opponents of the Church or internal difficulties existed. St. Theodosius, in enumerating three patriarchates, averred that they constituted, with that of Rome,

the strength of the Church.¹ St. Gregory also adverted to them in favourable terms; ² and it cannot be forgotten that those of Antioch and Alexandria were founded by him to whom Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build My Church."

Some persons erroneously supposed that because Dr. Doyle suggested a patriarchate under the peculiar circumstances of the time, he was wanting in devotion to the pontifical authority. Touching the prerogatives of Rome, J. K. L. assured his controversial opponent, the Rev. William Phelan, that he would find them in all ages strong and immovable as the base on which Ireland rests, and that it would be a work of less difficulty to turn her adrift on the Atlantic than to unsettle these prerogatives in the order established by Christ. And in reply to Dr. Phelan's assertion that down to the twelfth century the Catholic Church of Ireland had been completely under self-government, Dr. Doyle said: "The Catholic Church of Ireland, or of England, or of France, signifies only that portion of the Universal Church which is found in these countries respectively; and should they, or any one of them, or any portion of one of them, separate itself from the Head, which is the centre of unity and bond of connection to the entire, it ceases from that moment to belong to the Catholic Church! It is a branch which has been broken or lopped off—a tower that has fallen from the mighty edifice which Christ has constructed on the earth."

For further illustrations, *vide* vol. i. p. 313.

It is indeed a strained assumption to maintain that the project of a patriarchate for Ireland was not conformable to Catholic orthodoxy. When the Church sees an opinion dangerous she says so; when "*proxima hæresi*" she proclaims it; when "*erronea*" she makes a note regarding "the proposition," adding "*contra bonos mores*." The Church has recorded no remark of this description in regard to any of the writings of Dr. Doyle.

Archdeacon Hamilton used to say that this great Bishop ambitioned for himself the office of Patriarch, but there is some reason to believe that the person he had in view was Dr. Kelly, formerly Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Maynooth, and from 1828 until his death Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. Dr. Kelly was a deeply-read theologian, and always maintained with jealous vigilance the rights of the primatial chair.³

Some divines of the present day may wonder at the views on

¹ Fleury's Eccl. Hist. xlvii. 1.

² Ibid. 8, xxxv. 208.

³ A sharp controversy long existed as to whether the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, was superior in authority to the Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland. In 1674 the dispute reached a climax in the publication of the "*Primatus Dubliniensis*" of Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, in reply to Dr. Plunkett's "*Jus Primatiale*." In 1728 the controversy was again revived by Hugh MacMahon, Archbishop of Armagh, who published a very learned work, "*Jus Primatiale Armechanum*," because Archbishop

these and other questions to which Dr. Doyle gave expression, but it should be remembered that there is nothing so changeful as theological opinions. They always borrow the hue of contemporaneous events, and are sown by association also. A distinguished Dean and professor of theology assures us that when a student he held views which he believes at this hour to be utterly unfounded, and he has since given ten years as a professor to the refutation of opinions which his own preceptor once taught him. "I have heard," he adds, "a most able man—a first-rate thinker—strongly condemn certain opinions, and I knew the great majority of teachers to have warmly agreed with him at the time; yet these same opinions are now held universally, and not a man would dream of gainsaying them in the same halls where I heard them condemned! Nay, I know a first-rate theologian, a professor and a dignitary, who, during the period of his teaching, held opinions as opposite as any logical terms could define or delineate them."

There is nothing, therefore, to be concluded against a theologian who, thirty years ago, may have held generally unacceptable views as long as these views are not heterodox. The same theologian might hold the very opposite to-day. As long as the Church leaves a certain liberty, sound theologians do not pretend to be despotic. If they possess true wisdom, they must know that it is not wise to be wiser than the Holy Ghost.

Dr. Doyle's points worked well. Ere the year expired the Duke addressed a letter to Primate Curtis containing an expression of opinion favourable to a settlement of the Catholic question.

Peel's Memoirs show (p. 106) that the Clare election proved its turning-point. Lord Eldon was alive to the real character and magnitude of the event, and another master-mind had previously viewed this election as an engine of vast power in promoting a settlement. On the 27th June 1828 Dr. Doyle wrote to O'Connell:—

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is when difficulties press on us that we should increase our exertions, and exhibit in our conduct that decision which is the harbinger of success. I am unable and unwilling to calculate the consequences which must result from your contest with Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, but I am satisfied these consequences will be as useful as they must be important, if the lovers of civil and religious liberty in Clare do their duty to the

Byrne of Dublin had, as he thought, outstripped his authority. The Rev. J. Clinch retorted, on the part of Dr. Byrne, that St. Patrick, although the patron, had never been the Primate of Ireland, and that the Archbishop of Dublin was the first invested with the pall by Paparo. The question is still in abeyance. Dean Meyler showed us a MS. oath which the Canons of Dublin are obliged to take on their nomination, to the effect that they will never, under any circumstances, appeal from the decisions of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Armagh. Old writers speak of Armagh as the Rome of Erin.

sacred cause to which you have devoted anew your time, your talents, your fortune, and your life.

"Farewell, my dear friend : may the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you."

O'Connell's fervid exclamation after reading this letter was, "If I had spent twenty-eight centuries, instead of twenty-eight years, in the service of my country, the sentiments expressed in that letter would more than amply reward me. One spirit animates us all, and we have the prayers of that truly pious prelate for our success. The approbation of Dr. Doyle will bring to our cause the united voice of Ireland. I trust it will be the *vox populi—vox Dei*."

Dr. Doyle's letter having appeared in the morning papers, we find Lord Anglesey enclosing it to Mr. Peel. "I fear the Clare election will end ill ; Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. O'Connell is most mischievous. I, however, still hope that most of the other Bishops set their faces against his proceedings." And so they certainly would seem to have done. The Viceroy, writing to Mr. Peel the 23d June 1828, observes : "O'Connell finds himself so much opposed by some of the most respectable of the Bishops, and by many of the lower clergy also, that he is quite wild." A little deeper we read : "The following letter from one of the most respectable Bishops to a person in my confidence will show that there is a good feeling among the higher clergy." The letter is dated from Maynooth College. "The proposed measure regarding Clare is thought here to be most unwise, and, besides, not likely to succeed." The issue of this memorable struggle is well known. "The priesthood and people heartily united," says a writer, "and, moved as one man by the magnificent appeal of the patriot prelate J. K. L., stood together, and could not be divided." Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald announced his defeat to Mr. Peel : "All the great interests broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had ! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us !"

Sir R. Peel, years after, admitted that he was perfectly overwhelmed by it : "The Clare election supplied the manifest proof of an abnormal and unhealthy condition of the public mind in Ireland—the manifest proof that the sense of a common grievance and the sympathies of a common interest were beginning to loosen the ties which connect different classes of men in friendly relations to each other—to weaken the force of local and personal attachments, and to unite scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the

assumed authority of superior intelligence hostile to the law and to the Government which administered it."

[Allusion to this great event is made in the following letters on the education question addressed to Mr. Spring Rice. The first, dated Carlow, 5th July 1828, is very desirous of obtaining Parliamentary aid for his schools, and adds:—

"We are trying a bold experiment in Clare. You see we are hastening to the crisis which I have mentioned to you as inevitable if justice be not done to Ireland. 'Whosoever is not for us is against us' is and ought to be our maxim."

Seven weeks later he again addresses Mr. Spring Rice. Archbishop Murray, reserved and cautious, was not given to correspondence unless with his suffragan; but Dr. Doyle often turned to good account the pith of his letters.

"CARLOW, 26th August 1828.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am confident you will participate in the pain I feel in transcribing for your perusal a portion of a letter which I this day received from Dr. Murray on the interminable subject of education.

"This communication obliges me to think that the system of delusion—I would almost say fraud—practised so long upon us, and at the enormous expense to the country set forth in the *last* report to Parliament on this subject by its own committee, has even been extended to you and to the other members who sanctioned that report. Why was that committee granted? Why was its report received by the House? Why were you induced to decline pressing your motion relative to that report whilst the Irish estimates were still in progress? Why was the clause which made you silent inserted in the Appropriations Act, and the name of the Lord Lieutenant made a stalking-horse till Parliament should be adjourned, if it was from the beginning intended to pursue with unrelaxed zeal that bad and selfish and sectarian feeling which, as it now appears, had undergone no change, whilst the Irish people, and yourself, and the Parliamentary committee were thus deceived and insulted? For my part, I am more shocked at the baseness of the men who could act thus than at any corruption or injustice to be found in the most gross of our grand jury, vestry, or ministerial jobs.

"But above all, good God! what shall we say of Lord Gower, who could act as he did upon the committee, and yet lend his aid to a Government which employs him, to degrade himself. Dr. Murray mentions something to me of a memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant, to be first presented and then published, pre-

paratory to an appeal to our own people to furnish additional funds for the purposes of education. I will most certainly concur in the appeal, and will, if allowed to compose any part of it, steep it in the most bitter acid ; but as to a memorial to this Lord-Lieutenant, I must be transformed into another man before I become a party to it, unless some new light is let in upon me. I think, however, that you will not be slow to procure such explanation as is manifestly due to yourself.—Yours, ✠ J. DOYLE.”

Extract.—“The education bubble has burst: we shall get nothing. I have seen the Lord-Lieutenant and the Secretary. The former expressed the best of good intentions. He should, however, confer with the Secretary. *He had heard nothing of the clause in the Appropriations Act* mentioned by you, and had only been informed lately by Mr. Blake that there is another sum of money at his Excellency's disposal, in the distribution of which the greatest impartiality would be used.

“I saw the Secretary after the Lord-Lieutenant had spoken to him on the subject.

“His political principles were a sufficient pledge that he would be inclined to show us every kindness ; but he had yet scarcely time to give attention to the subject.

“I came away disheartened, but had scarcely reached home, when I received a note from his Lordship expressing a wish to see me again on the following day. My hopes revived, when, to my utter astonishment, the communication to be made was that *it would be unfair to encourage us to entertain on this subject any expectation of immediate good*. His Lordship was desirous to make this communication to me, as he understood that I am to meet some of the Bishops, and he apprehended from the tenor of the conversation of the preceding day I might be induced to encourage in them hopes which would not be realised.”¹

Meanwhile the scruples of nuns pursued Dr. Doyle. If two

[¹ A long correspondence had previously passed between Dr. Doyle and Mr. Rice on the education question. In one letter the Bishop suggests that “perhaps one day might suffice for religious instruction—the forenoon or till twelve o'clock for one class of religionists, the afternoon or till the usual hour of closing school for the others. When all are free to give it and receive it as they please, you may be assured much of their present zeal will subside. Let the public aid be paid by the Treasury, not by a parochial assessment on the land, as the Commissioners of Education Inquiry seemed to recommend ; this is necessary *to preserve the peace* as well as to protect the landholder. To select the books of religious instruction a responsible person is necessary, otherwise the bigots and fanatics will prolong their reign. Let him be the Bishop of the child, for a Bishop has a regard for character not to be expected from a parson or a priest ; to him also I would restrict the right of complaining of interference with the religion of the children. His right to select books of instruction should not be subordinate to the Commissioners. So it is in the statutes of Maynooth College, by which the B.B. are entitled exclusively to regulate and decide on what is religious or doctrinal. The chief matter is the character of the Commissioners to be appointed.”]

duties of equal worthiness pressed on a sister at the same moment, and that it seemed impossible to execute the two together, an expression of episcopal casuistry was at once solicited on the dilemma :—

“CARLOW, 5th July 1828.

“MY DEAR ELLEN,—I am glad to find that your attention to my suggestion has been productive of so much advantage. . . . You have improved greatly in writing since I last had the pleasure of hearing from you, and a little further attention to it will enable you to become entire mistress of that interesting art. I wish you had enjoyed at our late interview the leisure you desired, to have all your questions answered satisfactorily ; but you are so condescending to all about you as to postpone your own wishes for theirs, and deprive me of the pleasure I should feel in doing all in my power to put your mind at ease. Whenever you are in doubt as to which of two duties pressing on you at the same time you ought to perform, you will commit no fault by whatever choice you make whilst you feel disposed to do that which is most proper to be done—for even if you mistake, the mistake will not be at all blamable. When I recommended you to be exact in the observance of the rule, I did not intend you should take notice of a few minutes of time or of such trifles, for a little more or less in any matters, when not the fruit of gross neglect or contempt, is of no moment whatever. So with regard to eating on the evening of fast days, you may take bread if you feel at all weak or hungry ; but if strong, and no great desire to eat, you may omit it. Fasting is to be avoided generally by you, until you come to your full growth and age. When desired to rest by an elder sister, even in the midst of occupation, you may do so, and resume your employment at another time ; for your ceasing to work, or leaving a matter undone for some while, will not be a loss to any one. When you complain of fatigue, or find yourself wearied, you are not blamable for the consequences ; and it is of little moment whether you leave things unfinished for the morning, or trespass somewhat on the time of recreation.”

And to a young lady who had determined to enter a convent he writes :—

“The day on which you wish to unite yourself with the good community in the service of the Almighty God, who has so abundantly favoured you with His grace of predilection, is, I apprehend, too near for you to avail yourself of it as you desire. The octave day of the Nativity, or the Sunday following it—which is the festival of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin, instituted by our

late holy Pope to commemorate his gratitude to her by whose intercession he believed that he, and the Church of God with him, were delivered from persecution—might answer your views equally well ; but, whichever day you select, you have hereby my fullest approbation of the purpose with which, I trust, God has inspired you, and which you desire to fulfil. What you say of Kildare arises from your not knowing what I should have told you, that in these dioceses henceforth we will have no novitiate except at Maryborough, and that whosoever professes there will be liable to be removed to any other convent within the diocese at the will of the Bishop for the time being."

In July 1827 Dr. Doyle presided over the annual academus held at Carlow College. At its close, he expressed a confident hope of seeing the pupils as much distinguished by learning and virtues in the world as they had already been in college, and concluded by giving them some admirable admonitions on their duties as Christians and members of society.

A banquet was prepared, of which eighty visitors partook. "In the college dining-hall," observes a writer, "there was, in one sense, abundance of religious differences ; for we noticed many persons belonging to, at least, four different sects, yet there was not the most distant appearance of any religious bitterness. We never saw so many men, differing widely both in politics and religion, who were so perfectly happy in the society of each other. Did we not know them, we might have thought that they were all of the Established Church, or all Presbyterians, or all Catholics, or all Quakers. Indeed, we may say they *were* all Quakers, for they all belonged, during that day, to the Society of Friends." It is pleasant to find that notwithstanding the strong truths, political and religious, which Dr. Doyle so often found it his duty to express, the most practical proofs of respect were constantly offered to his acceptance. Dr. Wolff was perhaps an exception. He did not forget Dr. Doyle's trenchant reply from Knaresborough. On the 10th August 1827, the missionary wrote a letter from "Gibraltar, on his way to Jerusalem," to the Society for Promoting the Reformation among Roman Catholics, adding : "Lastly, try not so much to get many as *pious patrons*, for I assure you that Dr. Doyle is such a complete and consummate fox that you will most certainly be humbugged right and left if you have not truly godly men !"

In the following remarkable letter to Mr. Chester, Dr. Doyle regrets that he should have been so often obliged to quit the sanctuary for the political arena. He had a noble example, however,

in Pope John I., who pleaded before Justin the Emperor for a relaxation of the Penal Code which oppressed the Arians.

"CARLOW, 11th August 1828.

"I have been honoured by the receipt of your very kind letter, enclosing a resolution of thanks to me, passed at a meeting of the Catholic Association. I wish I had merited this mark of public favour, so liberally conferred on me by so large and so respectable a body of my fellow-countrymen. The thanks of a whole people, or of those who any way represent them, is a reward commensurate for the greatest services; and to an Irishman, thoroughly devoted to his country, perhaps the thanks of the Catholic Association should be more estimable than those of any other body in the world; but for me, who am conscious of my own infirmity and inutility, and whose pursuits are feeble and constrained when they diverge into politics, the thanks of my own fellow-sufferers serve only to remind me of the calamities which press on our dear country. They compel me to ask why have we a Catholic Association, not indeed usurping empire, yet ruling without laws to guide it, without precedents to regulate it, without power or authority to enforce its injunctions; and why am I compelled often to quit the sanctuary, and participate in the proceedings of those who are an anomaly in the state? God is my witness how much I deplore this state of things, even while I concur in its maintenance, and contribute, however feebly, to its support. But necessity is our charter, and we must continue till it cease. Injustice prevails, and is prolonged against us; and we are bound by that law which is written on our hearts to struggle, to agitate, to strive against its pressure. Our duty is to sustain the hopes of the people, to combine their energies, and direct them to one single and attainable point. Let us not aim at what is above our reach or beyond our competency, or occupy ourselves about business which is not properly our own. Let us burst the Penal Code, and enter into the enjoyment of existing privileges and rights. Then will the Catholic Association cease; then can I and those of my calling return to the work of the ministry, and to that alone; then you, sir, and your fellow-labourers, merged into the great mass of the nation, with the glorious principles of 1688 as a beacon before you, may deliberate about Irish interests, and endeavour, not as Catholics, but as British subjects, to promote them. This is the only result for which I have hitherto laboured, or will labour hereafter. I am grateful, exceedingly grateful, to the Catholic Association; and did I cease to support it to the utmost of my power, whilst those laws which it seeks to have repealed have destroyed more lives by their

operation in Ireland, even during the last eight years, than have fallen in Greece under the Turkish scimitar, I would be a rebel to my own conscience, and the accomplice of those who afflict the oppressed."

Four days later he writes to his niece in Wexford :—

"MY DEAR MARY,—Since James Walsh handed me your letter I have had little leisure to reply to it, but as I am about leaving home on my visitation, and will not return for six weeks, I must discharge my debt to you—though it is now late at night, and this has been with me a day of great labour. It is no wonder that your constitution should be altered by so many and so severe attacks, and it may be that Providence will renew your youth now that you are taught how to use it well. All things, without doubt, work together for the good of the elect, and it often happens that nothing less than continued and severe illness would preserve them in the fear of God and the observance of His commands: unless we sigh after our eternal abode we will not enter into it, and when all things are agreeable to us here below we rather fear than wish for an exchange. I think, therefore, my dear Mary, considering the temporal blessings which have attended you, that if you had not been chastened by the pressure of the cross, you might have become worldly in your disposition, tepid in the exercise of religion, and too little desirous of eternal life. I am sure, however great my affection for you—and there is scarcely any person whom I more love—that what I esteem most in you is that religious disposition, that patience and forgiveness towards others, and that cordial charity to the poor with which our good God has always inspired you. You will not cease to thank Him and to promote His will on earth whilst you remain here, and whether you and I often meet on this side the grave is of little consequence.

"Our mutual interest and affection for each other will not be diminished, and the grace of Christ and the virtue of His holy religion will enable us to serve each other by our mutual prayers. I intend to keep my promise of seeing you at the time I mentioned, if we be still alive. My health is often very good, and sometimes not so; my incessant cares and labours are wearing my constitution—but that gives me no concern. I have lived long enough if I were but prepared to die; but the day or the hour of our departure is known only to God; our business is to be always prepared. Pierce is really a very good boy; I am very fond of him, and hope he will be virtuous. As to his talents, they are sufficient; I scarcely wish to have them better. Great talents are

often a great evil ; those which have been given to me have led me into many useless labours and desires ; they are like riches, which render the way to heaven narrow as the eye of a needle. Go see Peter, and remember me to all friends."

"Pierse" was a nephew of the Bishop's. He inherited much family talent and virtue, but died shortly after his ordination.

The health of the venerable pastor of St. Martin's, Dr. Doyle's half-brother, Peter Doyle, had now broken down. On the 30th of August 1828 he writes :—

"I am not surprised at Peter's attack, but I feel melancholy and sad through anticipating that I am not to see him again in this life ; for I know not the cause, but since Patrick's death my heart has been so attached to him that I fear his death as if my own were sympathetically joined with it ; not that I desire him to live—for it would be better he should die than remain as he is—but his removal leaves me desolate in this world, as (though I love all my family tenderly) he is the only one of them—indeed the only person living—to whom all my thoughts and feelings for years past have been communicated ; and, placed as I am in the midst of a turbulent world, encompassed by dangers and difficulties without number, it is an unspeakable loss to be deprived of the last and dearest of all those brothers who shared my own flesh and blood. But the will of God be done, and I wish He may preserve you, at least, who are so dear to me. There is no use in thinking of Peter's disposition of property—he has nothing to leave to anybody. I regret that but little ; we can all live without legacies. If he had anything, he should give it to the poor. He served every one of us according to his means, but especially by his character, his hospitality, his affection. May the Lord sanctify his soul ! His will is made, whatever it is ; but he has nothing to dispose of except that £100, which will not suffice to pay — and his own funeral expenses.

"P.S.—I tell you alone—and *you will not tell any one*—I am to set out for Paris the week after next with Dr. Murray : we are sent by the Bishops to regulate our College there. We have no political business, though the world will say we have when we are gone. Remember me to all with you. Tell your mother I am quite displeased with her for injuring her leg. She has taken care of it for so many years, and it has served her so faithfully, that she ought not now to be unkind to it."

Meanwhile the agitation of the masses increased to a formidable extent. The Viceroy, writing the 2d of July 1828, observes :

"Such is the extraordinary power of the Association, or rather of the agitators, of whom there are many of high ability, of ardent mind, of great daring (and if there was no Association these men are now too well known not to maintain their power under the existing order of exclusion), that I am quite certain they could lead on the people to open rebellion at a moment's notice; and their organisation is such that, in the hands of desperate and intelligent leaders, they would be extremely formidable. . . . I believe their success inevitable—that no power under Heaven can arrest its progress. There may be rebellion—you may put to death thousands—you may suppress it; but it will only be to put off the day of compromise."

On the 31st of August the Bishop acknowledges a letter of alarm from Sir Henry Parnell:—

"I have endeavoured a good deal to prevent our people from despairing of the force of public opinion, and combining with a desperate party in England. I have no doubt that they have modified their views, and are yet tractable, but every hour exposes us to the danger of anarchy. Indeed the violence of party is manifest to all, and the whole force both of Ministry and of Opposition is required to allay the existing ferment and remove the cause of it. But it *can* be done, and a final adjustment, whatever clamour may accompany its progress, can be carried, and will settle the country. At least this is my opinion, and I will omit doing nothing which may be in my power for the purpose of aiding such adjustment. I hope the King has yielded, as is now stated. If not, peace may or may not be preserved. Such another trial as that of Clare exposes us to the danger of a civil war, in which every being in the country should take a part, and which might not be quelled in two years, nor until the whole kingdom would be a desert. I am unwilling to write what I would wish to speak with you, but I am and have been for some time filled with apprehensions; nor need I say to you how or to what extent I am acquainted with the true state of the country."

It was not the fact that the King had, as yet, yielded on the Catholic question. The "Life of Lord Eldon," by Mr. Twiss, records some interesting conversations between George IV. and the Chancellor. His Majesty said that "he was miserable and wretched; that his situation was dreadful;" that "if he gave his assent to the Relief Bill, he would go to the baths abroad, and from them to Hanover; that he would return no more to England; and that his subjects might get a Catholic king in the Duke of Clarence."

The "Times" of 15th September 1828 has some pungent

lines from the King of Hanover in which Dr. Doyle's name occurs :

" Cornish granite no more tries the springs of our coaches,
No longer our streets glimmer darkly in oil ;
Roman cement on true British brickwork encroaches—
Romish principles spread with O'Connell and Doyle."

A letter, dated 7th September, tells his progress, and shows the goodness of his heart. To a nun who had just concluded her novitiate he writes : " I have only returned to Carlow a few hours ago from visiting several parishes in this county, and I leave to-night for London and Paris. I wished truly to assist at your profession, and had it not taken place previous to the receipt of this, I would have had it deferred till my return, to gratify you and myself. Your apprehensions are unfounded, for your views will never become a snare to your conscience. Make, if you have not made it, your confession to any of the priests who attend the convent ; but be not solicitous about your life, or sins, or future state—for God, who is all-powerful and all-good, has care of you. Tell Sister Teresa I am quite in love with the convent of M—— ; that I am most anxious to visit it, and hope shortly to assure her and you, and each of the sisters, how devotedly I continue your always affectionate servant in Christ."

Dr. Doyle, accompanied by Archbishop Murray, proceeded first to Leamington, from whence we find him addressing Mrs. Eliza [Clare] Magrath, a nun of the Presentation Convent, Carlow :—

" LEAMINGTON, 19th September 1828.

" MY DEAR CLARE,—You will be surprised, probably, to find by this letter, which I send to Ireland by the Archbishop of Tuam, that I am still here ; but I have been prevailed on by Dr. Murray to delay our departure until he would have taken the medicinal waters of this place for some time. He is now greatly improved in health, thank God ; and we set out to-morrow for London, whence we proceed, without further delay, to Paris ; but our route thither is still undetermined. I fear Dr. Murray will resolve to journey through the Netherlands, nor can I with propriety oppose his wishes, though I am mightily anxious to fulfil my mission and return ; the loss of time and money which attends travelling being but badly compensated to me by the pleasure which the view of strange countries affords. However, whilst I am abroad, I am endeavouring to turn all my time to account. I have taken the spa waters here since my arrival, and if my health had not been as good as possible, it would be improved by them. Drs. Murray and Kelly, &c., had taken a

beautiful house here previous to my arrival, and they, with Mr. and Mrs. O'Brien, form a delightful society. The town is filled with Irish, and though at home we might not know each other, here we live as brethren. The English families—indeed all the people of this town—are the most obliging, polite, and kind I ever met with, and compel me to think favourably of the English. The country which surrounds the town is the most fertile, rich, beautiful, and improved that can be well imagined. No poverty appears anywhere; no wretchedness, nor excess, nor disorder of any kind; were they blessed with true religion, the blessings of the reign of the Messiah, as predicted by Isaiahs, would seem to be accomplished among them. We visited the town of Warwick, distant about a mile, on Tuesday last. The Castle of Guy, Earl of Warwick, is the finest Gothic residence now in England—perhaps in the world; the building, the paintings, the pleasure-grounds, gardens, and remains of antiquity which present themselves, could scarcely be described; but to convey any idea of them I should fill several sheets. A chapel of the Virgin is joined to the parish church, and preserved with little alteration; it had been beautified and enriched in Catholic times, and would fill you, did you see it, with delight and sorrow; but so it hath pleased God! There was a Bible-meeting in the town-hall when we were there, but a group of ladies and a few old men, and fewer parsons, composed it; the people did not seem to know of it. I could not discover among any class here a dislike to Catholics or to our religion. I believe the Legislature could now make England Catholic as easily as on the accession of Queen Mary. I think all day and dream all night about home—about our chapel, and how and when we will complete it. I see in every church here some improvement of excellence in the furnishing of the interior which I should like to adopt. There are few or no Catholics resident here."

[Arrived in London, Dr. Doyle, on the 22d of September, writes to Mr. Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle:—

"I thought to have the pleasure of calling on you, and though my hope of finding you in town at this time was but slender, yet I feel quite disappointed at being hurried away this morning to Dover by Dr. Murray; *en route* to Paris, and I hope that on my return I may be fortunate enough to find you in town.

"I was induced, when in Maynooth, to draw up for the Bishops there, and even sign, a memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant on the subject of education. It was such, however, as would, if not attended to, make my case stronger should I be obliged to appeal

to the country on the subject of it. I have some hope that your letter will be productive of good. Indeed, all these things are trivial even when seen in conjunction with the unprecedented agitations which shake the whole frame of society in Ireland—men moving in masses of from 30,000 to 100,000; and all parties apparently intent on trying their strength with each other, whilst the Government looks on as if unconcerned, preparing their graves for its subjects, and for itself a wide desert to rule over; but the heart sickens at the contemplation of our state !”]

Change of scene helped to relieve the gnawing anxiety which preyed upon his heart. The prelates proceeded to Paris. Dr. Doyle, on the previous Sunday, had celebrated mass in the Spanish ambassador's chapel: great anxiety existed to see him, and the congregation was unusually large. A rumour is recorded in the papers of the day that the two Bishops had come to England on a political mission to the Duke of Wellington. But the report was void of foundation. Dr. Doyle proceeded to Paris with the object of settling some disputed points relating to the administration of the Irish College. Disaffection to the presidency of Dr. Magrath had grown up. Dr. Doyle, finding that neither Fr. Brennan or Fr. Maher were disposed to take the office, suggested the Rev. Mr. M'Sweeney, who had distinguished himself at the Carlow discussion, as a fit person to succeed Dr. Magrath. Mr. M'Sweeney was accordingly appointed, and the popularity he enjoyed for twenty years after, as President, attests the judgment which Dr. Doyle evinced.

It is rumoured in the papers of the time that Drs. Doyle and Murray had other business at Paris than to smoothe the difficulty which had clogged the administration in the Irish College, and that an incidental object was to obtain an interview with the Nuncio in their capacity of delegates from the hierarchy of Ireland. In 1825 a plan for effecting a concordat between the British Government and Pius VII. was mooted; but the scheme having met with some opposition, was relinquished, and in lieu of it the Bishops were requested to inform Government how far the Catholics could conscientiously go,—if promised emancipation,—in giving security to the Protestant Church. The Bishops are said to have replied that, in return for the restoration of their rights, nothing beyond their oaths ought to be exacted. Dr. Doyle and his Metropolitan, before their departure, dined with the British ambassador, Lord Stewart de Rothsay.

From Paris they proceeded to Brussels, and here an amusing adventure befell Dr. Doyle. Having visited the Hotel de Ville

and the Burgundian Library, he was rambling through the lower town in search of rare books, when suddenly a crowd of persons collected around him, vociferating in fifty different keys, "*A bas le Jesuit !*" The Bishop felt at first disposed to treat this outcry with scorn, but it increased to such an extent, and at last became so troublesome, that he was obliged, together with Mr. John O'Brien, who accompanied him, to take refuge in a shop. "Well," mused Dr. Doyle, "what a provoking reception in any case ! but to cry *A bas le Jesuit* at one who has been pronounced unfavourable to the Jesuits is really too bad." He attributed the outcry to a hat with a projecting leaf which he wore ; but the appearance of any strange priest in Brussels at that moment was a circumstance sufficiently striking to fill the Belgians with alarm. After the prohibition of the Society of Jesus by Ganganelli, the 21st July 1773, the Jesuits were suppressed in nearly every state. But at the Restoration they reintroduced themselves into France, upon which a great outcry was raised. This panic spread to Belgium, and hence the salutation with which Dr. Doyle was hailed. In 1830 the Jesuits were formally expelled from France. Mr. O'Brien accompanied Dr. Doyle to Antwerp, and from thence to Canterbury, where they parted.

Dr. Doyle reached England in time to attend, if he felt so disposed, the celebrated meeting at Pennenden Heath, convened with a view to express hostility to the Catholic cause ; but a large number of popular leaders made it their business to go and create, as far as possible, a counterpoise by their voice and presence. Amongst the latter were Sheil, Cobbett, Hunt, and, of the Liberal nobility, Lords Darnley and Radnor. Cobbett circulated a report that Dr. Doyle attended the meeting. He had certainly viewed Pennenden Heath, but his visit occurred prior to the assemblage. He had also been within some miles of the meeting on the day it took place, but he finally decided on not attending it. There has been found among his papers a voluminous MS., entitled "*A Dissertation on Popery*, addressed to the Protestants of England, more particularly to the men of Kent," which records his appreciation of the agricultural opulence and general luxuriance of that fine county ; and had he attended the meeting, his views would probably have been expressed to much the same effect.

"Men of Kent, beloved brethren in Christ Jesus, in travelling through your far-famed county in September last, I was greatly delighted with everything upon which my eye rested. At one side appeared the Thames, one of the noblest rivers in the universe, covered with ships, and bearing on its waters, as they flowed to

or from the ocean, the produce of every clime and the fruits of every kind of industry ; your towns and arsenals, spread upon its banks, bespoke at once the wealth, the power, the resources of the British people ; whilst the adjoining heaths or chalk-hills, converted into fertile fields or hop yards, proclaimed the perfection of your agriculture, and the tribute which sterility herself was made to pay to labour, to industry, and art. I saw your fields, your fences, your dwellings, and your mansions, wearing the signs of order, comfort, or magnificence—whilst your levelled hills and your exalted valleys, your teams, your waggons, and your carriages, indicated the wonderful progress you had made in all that conduces to the prosperity or happiness of social life. But you, ‘ the men of Kent,’ were the objects with which my soul was delighted ; your vigour, your strength, your free air and manly gait, your candid aspect, or noble countenance, impressed my mind with those feelings of respect and of regard—of interest, and even affection for you, which were increased and strengthened as I proceeded through your county. With my thoughts and feelings thus occupied, I arrived at Canterbury, a town filled with venerable remains and awful recollections. I stopped, and, heedless of all things else, almost rushed to view your cathedral—the place in England where Christ was first effectually announced—where His cross was first erected—where miracles, and the virtues of His saints, still more miraculous than their works, first proclaimed that He was God, and that Kent and England were united to His empire. But lo ! I beheld, in the place I so much longed to see, an empty cloister and a mouldering pile, having the appearance of what was once the ‘house of prayer’ and the temple of the Most High, but which now might bear upon its porch the inscription which Paul described at Athens, ‘To the unknown God.’ It is a wide and spacious waste, cold and untenanted. Its pillars were raised aloft, its arches were seated in strength, its spire sought the heavens—but these were works of former days ; it now had no altar, no sacrifice, no priesthood ; its aisles were silent as the monuments of the sainted prelates over whom they seemed to bend and weep ; and the only remaining symbol of Christianity not yet extinct which I discovered was a chapel in the cloister, where the verger, who accompanied me for hire, observed that ‘service was at certain times performed.’ To detail the thoughts which crowded on my mind—to convey to paper the emotions which swelled my breast, would not be possible ; but I cried out involuntarily, ‘My God ! and are these the fruits of this Reformation ? Is this the ground which Augustine sanctified and Alfred honoured ? Is this the metropolitan see of

England—the cathedral of Canterbury—the once-renowned seminary of saints and martyrs—the glory of Kent? Where is the Bishop who should here reside, and spread about him benedictions? Where are the canons and the dignitaries, the priests and the altars, the vestments and the ministers, the incense, the lights, the glory which bespeak the majesty and announce the presence of Almighty God? But, above all, where is the loud song or the secret canticle of praise, the deep and awful murmur of the crowd, or the silent whisper of retirement and devotion? Are all these fled from Thy temple, and is it no longer Thy delight, O God, to be with the children of men? But I stopped the current of these reflections, and proceeded to inquire as to the state of religion amongst you; and I came to the conclusion that you, O men of Kent, with all those qualities which ennoble you—with an unbounded zeal for the Divine honour, a thirst for knowledge not to be assuaged, a disposition to piety too strong to yield to any obstacle—that with a magnanimity proportioned to every sacrifice, and a candour worthy of your ancient fame, you had, like the rest of your countrymen, become the victims of those frauds and violence by which the religion first preached to you, and which saved your sainted forefathers, was taken away, and the desolation exemplified in your cathedral imposed upon you under the fictitious title of a reformed faith. Even upon that day, and in the midst of the once hallowed walls of your cathedral, and upon the stone where the sainted Becket shed his blood, I offered up to God my most humble prayer that He would again look upon you with an eye of mercy, and send down His light and His truth, whereby to dispel the errors and darkness in which you have been so long involved; that He would not remember the iniquities of your former guides and rulers, nor avenge upon you the sins of other men.”

Mr. Hunt, the celebrated Radical reformer, gives the following account of an interview with the Bishop :—

“I met Dr. Doyle on board the steam-packet at Calais, and came in company with him from thence to Dover. Having recognised each other, an introduction followed, and an interesting conversation ensued, which continued the whole passage, with the exception of a very short time when the Doctor was suffering from sea-sickness. The subject of the Kent meeting was very early introduced, and I stated that I came home for the express purpose of attending it, and inquired if the Doctor was going thither. He replied that he should like very much to be there, and ultimately decided that, instead of remaining at Dover that night, which he first intended, he should proceed to Canterbury,

to be within reach of Pennenden Heath in the morning. I got to Canterbury early, having ascertained that it would be impossible to procure horses in the morning. I went to the inn where the coach was to stop coming from Dover, and met the Doctor, and informed him of this fact, and he immediately decided to proceed on that night by coach to Chatham or Rochester, where he should be within ten miles of the meeting, and, as I was given to understand, with the express intention of going thither early in the morning, but as a spectator and listener only. I found Dr. Doyle a most liberal and intelligent man, and I was delighted with the information that he gave me as to men and measures in Ireland. I felt no dread that the Doctor would roast me, and he did not discover the slightest fear that I should swallow him alive !”

Dr. Doyle found Ireland, on his return, in a state of fearful fermentation. Part of his own diocese was like a slumbering volcano. Lord Anglesey wrote to Mr. Peel on the 8th September 1828 beseeching him to take the state of the country into serious consideration :—“The public feeling was never at so high a pitch of excitement as at present. The language of both parties is violent in the extreme, and both appear ripe for action. The organisation of the Catholics is very complete. They carry banners ; they form and march by word of command, and in good order.”

Dr. Doyle found it expedient to rein in some ebullitions of popular feeling in his diocese. A letter addressed to the very Rev. N. O'Connor, dated Carlow, 29th October 1828, says :—“I have just now been informed that you have had a meeting in Maryborough, which was adjourned to Monday next, to consider the propriety of establishing in the Queen's County what are called Liberal Clubs. I am incompetent to judge of the merits of such clubs throughout Ireland generally, but I am fully satisfied that in the counties with which I am best acquainted and most intimately connected, the institution of such clubs would not be advisable. There is too much of exasperation and menace, too much of hatred and violence prevailing in some parts of Ireland. We are comparatively at peace, if not in harmony, with our fellow-subjects : let us, for the love of God and of our common country, avoid everything which tends to create jealousy, distrust, or fear in our neighbour ; let us do all in our power to preserve the peace we possess, and to convince ourselves, as well as other men, that, before all and above all, we prize the testimony of a good conscience, and the last and most sacred injunction of our Redeemer, to love one another, without distinction of Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian. I need not add that the political

and social interests of the Catholics of the Queen's County are in perfect conformity with the great and first and last commandment of their Redeemer."

The vigilance displayed by Dr. Doyle in superintending the field of his jurisdiction, and the success with which he preserved it from the stigma of outrage, were certainly very remarkable. It appears from Parliamentary returns in the year 1827, that there was no county so free from crime as that in which he resided. In Carlow the proportion of committals in one year, as compared with the population, was one out of 1475; whereas in Protestant Fermanagh the proportion was one in 375. Some Irish police reports, dated 1828, printed by Sir R. Peel in his *Memoirs*, state the number of murders and outrages of which every county was too often the theatre, but Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and the Queen's County seem exonerated.

Another large element in the popular discontent was the great distress of the masses. "The country is still more impoverished," wrote Lord Anglesey at this period, "and the minds of the people are, if possible, still more alienated, and ruinous expense is entailed on the empire." The Earl of Darnley, hereditary High Steward of Gravesend, with a view to bring the distressed state of Ireland before Parliament, wrote to Dr. Doyle for some data on the subject. Lord Darnley was an able and honest politician, but "he is considered," wrote Sheil in 1828, "to be very proud."

"COBHAM HALL, 17th November 1828.

"I regret much that I had not the pleasure of seeing you during my late very short excursion to Ireland, more especially as the principal motive of my journey was to obtain some information relative to the state of the distressed population of the country, which it is my intention to bring shortly under the consideration of Parliament. As I know no one who has the power to afford more useful information than yourself, as well as the inclination to promote (if it be possible) so desirable an object, I am sure I need not apologise to you, when I request that you will take the trouble to communicate, by letter, anything you may think useful towards its attainment. Facts that can be substantiated will be particularly desirable, to prove at least that the poor of Ireland are in such a state as no wise Government can neglect, or refuse at least to take into consideration.

"I cannot conclude without congratulating you on a Lord-Lieutenant who, I am sure, will do you as much justice as the present unfortunate state of the laws will allow."

Another subject of high importance to Ireland was occupying

the mind of a great thinker. Mr. Brougham, having been consulted on the education question by Lord Melbourne, gave it as his opinion that Catholics and Protestants ought to be educated separately. This fact transpires in a letter from Archbishop Murray to Dr. Doyle. His Grace adds :—

"I am delighted with the drubbing Elrington got, and I would very much wish to see, from the same pen, something like what your Lordship has in contemplation. The Catholic rule of faith, put forward briefly and nervously as the only certain or even rational one, would, I think, be at present of great use. This may have been often done before, but it cannot be done too often. To be read extensively it should appear in a new form ; and, perhaps, if not mixed up with other matter, so much the better. I would be glad, however, that your Lordship would not, on any account, omit to execute your plan of turning into ridicule the *New* Reformation, to the points of which Mr. Lamb acknowledges that many people still attach much value. I would not unnecessarily disturb the slumbers of the *old* lady until after the next session."

CHAPTER V.

Dr. Philpotts enters the lists with Dr. Doyle—Reply and exposure—The Coronation Oath—The Revolution of 1688—Comprehension the true spirit of the Constitution—Seeming conversion of Dr. Philpotts to Dr. Doyle's view—J. K. L.'s letter distributed among the members of both Houses—Lord Bexley's attack—Maynooth silent under calumny—Aneecdote—An apostate priest—A parody—The Bishop's letter to his niece—Impressions of his visit to the Continent—Unpublished fragment—Letter on an agricultural model school—Letters to nuns—Wellington's curious letter—Squibs—Relief Bill submitted to Dr. Doyle—His MS. notes to Lingard.

IT was at this period that Dr. Henry Philpotts, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, ran full tilt against Dr. Doyle in "A Letter on the Coronation Oath." It occupied 330 pages, and embraced a most miscellaneous range, from an attack on the "Edinburgh Review" (p. 3) to a disquisition on "The Nag's Head Fable" (p. 328). Dr. Philpotts laboured to prove that Dr. Doyle, who in 1822 had "employed all the energy and eloquence of no ordinary mind to bring back the misguided multitude to a sense of their wickedness" (p. 190), had of late completely lost himself, and now pursued "the course of stimulating, even to madness, all the worst passions of his people" (p. 194). If Dr. Philpotts conceded "the superior energy and talents of this individual," the words "scurrilous,"

"insulting," "feeble," and "insolent," were in the next breath applied to him. But the prime object of Dr. Philpotts' book was to retard emancipation, which then seemed so imminent, by raising scruples in the King's mind regarding his coronation oath.

J. K. L. was promptly in the field with a well-reasoned reply, which arrested general attention. "No man's signature was looked for so eagerly amongst the English Catholics in my younger days as that of J. K. L.," writes Bishop Ullathorne, "and the debates and journals of the period show their effect upon the Catholic world."

He headed his letter with the appropriate citation from Luke xix. 22—"Out of thy own mouth I judge thee;" and then went on to say that he should probably never have seen Dr. Philpotts' book.—J. K. L. should have been spared the trouble of writing those remarks, and Dr. Philpotts the gratification of perusing them, had not an English peer directed his attention to the work, and suggested whether he might think it right to expose the sophistry and correct the misrepresentation therein contained. Dr. Doyle adopted the suggestion and procured the volume. The cause of the indifference with which he had viewed it was, that in 1825 he had met with two books, one written by Dr. Philpotts and the other by Mr. Townsend, "but both filled with such opprobrious language, such foul misrepresentation, and so totally devoid of good manners and the common courtesies of a civilised age, that I resolved never again to read anything that bore the signature of either." Dr. Doyle regretted that a minister of any Church should deserve what Dr. Philpotts had merited; but when men act as he had done, they are, according to an apostle, to be reproved severely, and in the presence of others. He regretted that Dr. Philpotts should have thrown away so much time and labour in endeavouring "to conjure up in England the fiend-like spirit of religious bigotry that base, wicked, and abominable cry of 'No Popery,' on which, alas! too many rest their hopes of defending a cause which justice and truth and argument have abandoned." But it was his analysis of Dr. Philpotts' interpretation of the coronation oath which imparted a permanent value to this pamphlet. At p. 37 J. K. L. writes: "Now, sir, after stating in the very preceding page that the object of the coronation oath is to recognise, affirm, and sanction the contract between the King and the people, and after quoting from Sir William Temple the above passage laying down the three things essentially necessary to the resettling of the government—of which two relate to the freedom of Parliament, to the moral ability of the law and the purity of its administration, and the other

to that oath which recognises, affirms, and sanctions the whole and entire contract between the King and the people—you have the hardihood to tell the readers of your book, ‘that it was not the *civil* but the *religious* liberties of the people which it was especially designed to strengthen!’ *O alma fides apta pennis!* where is this good faith, so venerated by Pagans; to be found now? Is it to be found among the opponents of the Catholics?

“A partisan and a pleader for right or wrong are amongst the most odious of characters; and were I to endeavour to suppress or keep out of view the great purposes of the Revolution, and single out some one of them, as if it alone or principally was then considered, and do so not to prove its intrinsic value and utility, but to excite vulgar passions against the spirit of that very revolution itself, that thereby I might strike more deeply a stricken people or advance my own fortune, I would say of myself, with Job, ‘Let the day perish on which I was born, and the night on which it was announced a man has been conceived!’”

J. K. L. having taken to pieces Dr. Philpotts’ interpretation of the coronation oath, upbraided him with holding views which threw into shade whatever had been written on equivocation.

Dr. Philpotts suspected Dr. Doyle of a lurking wish to dismantle the Established Church, and to strip her of all rights and privileges. “Having myself nor land, nor tithe, nor stall, nor prebend in the Church, I may be permitted, like the penniless traveller mentioned by Horace, to be amused at what infuses terror into other men.” His wish was, that the Irish Church Establishment should be employed as the law had directed, *i.e.*, in the support of her clergy and her churches, and in the maintenance of the famishing poor. Returning to the coronation oath, he said: “Your chapter on ‘*The King as Legislator*,’ and your other equally erudite essay, headed ‘*The King, as Legislator, is bound by his Coronation Oath*,’ could with great propriety be reviewed here. But as I believe no human being ever denied that the British sovereign was a legislator, or ever asserted that the obligation of the coronation oath at any time departs from him, I know not what I could add to your lucubrations on this subject. If I were embarked in the same ship with you—if I had the same objects in view, and were actuated by the same motives in pursuing them, I might undertake to dress in a new garb those venerable *antiques* which you have laid before us. Were I a bookmaker who wrote for money or for fame, I might also be tempted to surprise the public and serve my own purposes by composing a volume to prove the justice and propriety of the heading of all the statutes annually passed in Parliament, and demonstrating that the Mutiny Act, and the Money Bills, and

great Dr. Philpotts not only refuses to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, but in a most remarkable document, which we publish in another column, addressed to Her Majesty in the form of a special petition, he avows his sacrilegious renunciation of the Queen's spiritual authority, and identifies himself, in so far, with the sentiments and opinions of the Roman Pontiff."

[But Dr. Philpotts' views underwent a still more startling change, and the arguments of Dr. Doyle had doubtless due weight in producing it. From being a strong opponent, he became a warm advocate of Emancipation, and the singular ability with which he justified the removal of Catholic disabilities is praised in Mr. Grant's "Recollections of the House of Lords."]

Dr. Doyle's letter contained a masterly exposition of the coronation oath, and exhibited another specimen of the learning and ability of the author in handling a subject in which a deep knowledge of the laws, constitutional, statutable, civil, and ecclesiastical, was necessarily involved. A critic of the day writes: "If the question touching the King's oath were to be decided by a demonstration, almost mathematically accurate, of its force and limitations, J. K. L. has decided it."

At the Catholic Association, Mr. Conway "gave notice of a motion that Dr. Doyle's answer to Dr. Philpotts should be printed, in order that copies of it might be placed in the hands of the English people and distributed amongst members of Parliament. It was indisputably the ablest reply ever given to the assertions of bigots regarding the coronation oath." O'Connell, a week later, moved that one thousand copies of "Dr. Doyle's justly celebrated letter" should be printed.

This was a critical moment in the progress of the Catholic question. It had many formidable opponents, and Dr. Doyle perceived that some calumnies which had been left unrefuted were working against the settlement of the question. A letter addressed to Dr. Donovan, professor at Maynooth, illustrates Dr. Doyle's patriot vigilance and energy:—

"CARLOW, 4th December 1828.

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—The friends of the Catholics, and the Catholics themselves in England, Ireland, and Scotland, are complaining of the submission of Maynooth to the charges alleged against the Catholic religion and the college by name, by Leslie Foster in the 'Quarterly Review,' and lately by Lord Bexley. Is it possible that an establishment which should be the shield of our defence will be found the only point through which a fatal blow is inflicted upon our reputation and interests? Douay and

Rheims in bad times defended religion against powerful antagonists. In those days colleges and individuals have done their duty, with the sad exception of your house—so far as a defence not of the general interests, but of those interests assailed in the persons of your president and professors themselves, are concerned. I am ashamed and vexed—*Hoc nobis objici posse et non potuisse refelli*. The duty of vindicating yourselves from the alleged charges devolves naturally on the president, but if he be unable, through illness or any cause, to do what all agree in considering of urgent necessity, is there in the house no *esprit de corps*, no feeling for the honour of the establishment, no zeal of God to prompt some member of it to do what is needful? There is in the evidence much that need not be there, but there is in it also abundance of what is sufficient to rebut the special and general charges against it. Dr. Anglade is old and a foreigner, unable to express his sentiments fully, and liable to be taken aside by leading questions, as had already happened to him, but Mr. Kenny repairs Dr. Anglade's greatest *faux pas*. I beg you will see Dr. Crotty and get something done. I heard that when the late 'Quarterly' appeared, Mr. Blake collected materials for a reply. I am sure he would, if applied to, gladly place them in Dr. Crotty's hands, and to suit them to the present purpose could not be difficult for him, and if for him, certainly not for you.

"Write to me and say whether I can give to those deeply interested any assurance that something will be done by some member of the college, for if done by any other, it would accumulate only censure upon your heads.

"P.S.—I can safely assure you that the charges against the college are working more mischief than any occurrence of the present time, and God knows that is saying quite enough."

Maynooth remained, notwithstanding, silent. Dr. Doyle could not help thinking it strange that, when he publicly alluded, in 1824, to the sympathy of the priesthood with the suffering people, the professors should have come forward to criticise the allegation in a public manifesto, but now thought fit to remain stolidly indifferent while charges of a direct and damaging character were made against Maynooth. A leading professor quaintly excused his silence. "Women," he said, "are never admitted or even named in Maynooth; Lord Bexley is an old woman, and we will not notice him."

The attack of Lord Bexley was a public letter addressed to the freeholders of Kent, in which he charged Maynooth with teaching that the Pope possesses and exercises that dispensing power as

regards allegiance, which Catholics had already abjured upon their oaths. All the leading officials of Maynooth, when examined a short time previously, had rejected the right of the Pope to interfere, directly or indirectly, in matters of a temporal nature, and repudiated the notion that any ecclesiastical authority whatever could dispense with or absolve them from any oath or obligation by which they contracted or ratified a duty to their king or their neighbour. Mr. Crowley, then a beneficed parson, but formerly a professor at Maynooth, was examined on the other side, but, in fact, only confirmed the evidence of the priests. "*Q.* What did you believe at that time with respect to oaths? Did you believe that the Pope had the power to absolve you from an oath of allegiance taken to the Crown?—*A.* I did not. I took the oath of allegiance when I returned to Maynooth the second time; and I declared, when I took that oath, that I did not believe that any power upon earth had any power to absolve me from it. *Q.* Did you so believe at that time?—*A.* I did. *Q.* Was that the prevailing opinion at that time in college, so far as you were acquainted with it?—*A.* I believe it was."

From a letter to his niece we learn that other anxieties besides those to which the unsettled state of the Catholic question gave birth occupied the Bishop's ever-active mind.

"CARLOW, 6th December 1828.

"MY DEAR MARY,—If I had half as much leisure as you enjoy, I should have written to inform you ere now of my safe arrival in good health, thanks to God, after my excursion through England, France, and the Netherlands; and why then have you not, with all your good nature, written to let me know how you and all our friends about you are? My thoughts, till lately, were entirely occupied about our new chapel, which is now resting for the winter; it being twenty feet high, and having cost us nearly £1600 sterling; about £3000 will yet be necessary to roof it in, and Providence must be very careful of it, or its advancement will be slow. I hope you will keep your Wexford friends in mind of my claims upon them; the married and the unmarried are alike debtors to every good work, but I must place the latter first, including Miss C——, who deserves to be fined for permitting her sister to precede her; and I don't know whether you or my young cousin, who, I am told, is detained a pilgrim at the Lady's Island, should be foremost among the married ladies 'who are not wearied in doing good,' and whose goodness I hope will all be directed for one season in my favour. I have nothing else to inform you of from this country, with which you are so little

acquainted, for it can be no *news* to you to hear that I am occupied just as usual, reading, writing, praying, preaching, scolding, and very frequently laughing, sometimes at my own follies, and more frequently at the follies of others, as, in common with the rest of mankind, I see what is faulty or ridiculous in others more easily and clearly than I discover it in myself. I have, however, time enough to feel anxious about *you*, and to desire to hear from you of your own, and John's, and your mother's health, of Ally and her family, of Richard D——, who promised to come up to see me about this time (tell him so); and of my young friend John, and his amiable consort. My journey to the Continent proved of great use to my health, though whilst I remained at Paris I was extremely busy; and from the style in which I was obliged to travel and appear, I was overwhelmed with expense. I was quite amused at the reports which prevailed of Dr. Murray and myself going to settle the Catholic question, and still more at the absurdities which my good friend and countryman, D——, would pawn upon me; and not he alone, but other blockheads of Wexford, almost as stupid as the people of Nineveh, who did not know their right hand from their left. But such people amuse me, as Sir Harcourt Lees does!"

We find among the Bishop's papers a fuller record of the impression produced by his visit to France and the Low Countries than that communicated to Mary Coney. "The Netherlands and the north-west of France (the only portion I saw) appear like a well-cultivated garden, teeming with every luxury which the earth in a genial climate can produce. The towns and cities swarming with inhabitants; their buildings improving, or being extended; comfort or abundance everywhere apparent; and the poor either collected in charitable institutions, or exhibiting even in their relative poverty no signs of squalid misery, of shameless nakedness, or extreme distress. In all their cities a magistracy and police are found, not apparently to terrify or punish, but to preserve order and protect the good. Places of public recreation or amusement encompass or embellish every city; and schools of public instruction, galleries of paintings, museums, literary institutions are intermixed with the seats of justice, the temples of divine worship, or the asylums of the sick, the indigent, the orphan, or of the invalid resting from the toil of defending his country. How often, whilst my heart swelled with feelings not to be described, did I turn to Ireland, and ruminat upon her misfortunes? How often did I wish that the Almighty had placed her in some position where she could enjoy those blessings which His Providence seems to have destined for all the nations of the

earth. How much and how bitterly did I lament her sufferings ; how earnestly did I pray that He who holds in His hands the destinies of nations and hearts of men would bring them to a close.

"We may indeed plant what only a future generation can gather," the Bishop goes on to say, "but then the earth would lie lightly on our remains could we secure for those who will tread it some portion of that happiness which other nations enjoy. Nor are we permitted to relax in our efforts for our country's good, even when those whom nature or compact appointed to protect her interests either desert her altogether, or virtually abdicate those duties towards her which, in justice and sound policy, they are bound to fulfil."

This was the guiding principle of his life, and the animating sentiment which pervaded all his political writings. Next to God, his country was the idol of his worship ; next to their salvation, the earthly honour and prosperity of her sons were his sleeping and his waking dream. To her he dedicated the energies of his mighty intellect ; for her he developed the grandeur, and beauty, and truth of his magnanimous soul. For her he deemed no sacrifice too great which honour could brook, and he sympathised in all her wrongs, till every pang she suffered became personal to himself, and stung him to his heart's core. In the day of sorrow he met her, and on the precipice of danger he embraced her. He took his fearless stand by her side, and, attracted by his example, accessions of strength to her cause daily gathered. He sent by his inspiring voice redoubled vigour into her defenders' hearts. Nor did he cease to aid them by the counsels of his matchless wisdom, till, through mazes of difficulty and hazard, she was conducted at last to security and repose.¹

¹ His fragmentary MSS breathe the same tone, and clearly show what thought was uppermost. We select from the mass of his papers the following hitherto unpublished paragraph : "From the time of the invasion by the English to the commencement, it might be said, of Elizabeth's reign, war almost without intermission had been carried on between the two islands. The distinction of English and Irish then prevailed, and the strife between them was savage and relentless. There were many deserters from both sides, and the result was a gradual but slow intermixture of the inhabitants. Religion was not made a distinctive mark of the hostile powers until the lieutenancy of Essex, and from that period till the present, the designations of English and Irish were in a great degree absorbed in those of Catholic and Protestant. Not a single reign has elapsed during three centuries in which the Irish or the Catholics have not been made to feel the weight of that power which still oppresses them, and whilst their fidelity to their kings has remained unsullied, they have been deceived, insulted, abused, plundered by the very men who exercised over them an unspeakable tyranny in the name of the king. For nearly two hundred years efforts were made from time to time to extirpate the entire of the Irish people. There are men still living who have deliberated upon that appalling project. Even this year, or I have been misinformed, it is not one alone—though one may be more prominent than others—but many persons high in station who would willingly engage in that work of blood. Fear, interest, or a feeling of humanity, have hitherto suspended the sword which pressed upon our necks, and the patience, the loyalty, the intrinsic work of our body, as attested by some of the greatest men of both countries, have often not only freed us from danger, but procured for us substantial reliefs. We

Dr. Doyle about this time addressed a letter to Mr. J. R. Barry, in reply to an outline of a plan of an agricultural model school which had been communicated to him. He considered his plan the best that could well be devised; but he apprehended that its very excellence would prove an obstacle to its establishment and practical utility. Every institution should be adapted to the country, with all its peculiar anomalies and circumstances. He did not think that the moral or social condition of Ireland was favourable to the plan of a high and low school on the principle of Fillenberg. That philanthropist who dwelt in a country where society is well organised, and pervaded by the same spirit, might attempt such a plan, but Dr. Doyle doubted whether it could be effected in any country by a society of gentlemen, and he was almost certain it could not be done in Ireland. "Institutions not dissimilar in many respects to Fillenberg's have often prevailed partially in some Eastern nations; they were introduced by several communities of monks on their estates in England and other countries in Europe; and such communities alone could, in my opinion, give to them a permanent existence, and preserve them in a state of good morals, due obedience, comfort, and attention to business. We must have enthusiasm, a sublimated religious feeling, or personal gain, on which to rest foundations of this sort; benevolence, patriotism, or public interest will not, I fear, be ever sufficient to preserve and support them." Dr. Doyle, fortifying his assertion by a number of well-authenticated illustrations, expressed doubts whether the union of the rich and poor in one establishment, or the commixture of their education and pursuits, would, for the present age, be found practically useful in Ireland. But he did not confine his remarks to fault-finding. He told the Trustees for the Promotion of Industry what they ought to do, and thus concluded a suggestive programme:—"During the winter months I would assign to study several hours, and only a few hours to labour, and those in the middle of the day. In summer I would devote the fore and after noon to labour, and the noontime to lecture. During the spring and autumn I would prolong the time of labour and abridge the time of study. Having had many opportunities through life of observing children and young men at college or in school, I am fully satisfied that, if their studies be but varied, they may continue to apply to them, not only without inconvenience, but with advantage, for three or four successive hours. Too quick an alternative of labour and

have ourselves disarmed violence of her weapons; we have proved ourselves worthy of just and equal treatment; the voice of Europe and of the New World has re-echoed our complaints, while the injustice and cruelty of those who oppose our freedom seek to screen themselves in fiction, absurdity, and misrepresentation."

study distracts the mind, consumes time, and might produce heedlessness or general inattention. Application to anything, especially by youth, is not spontaneous ; it is laborious, and requires time."

The following letter to a young nun will be esteemed a relief to formal programmes or the harsher clang of political contention :—

"CARLOW, 9th December 1828.

"MY DEAR CATHERINE,—I regret you did not gratify your own wishes by writing to me, especially as there were doubts or anxieties on your mind. In future you will easily avoid perplexities of that sort by mentioning them to the chaplain, whose advice you may abide by as safely as by mine, and who would at all times be enabled to explain the meaning of any advice I might have offered to you. During the winter and early part of spring, I should not wish you to rise before the appointed hour, until your constitution is entirely formed and matured. In summer and early in autumn you might anticipate occasionally the appointed time by a quarter or half an hour.

"So in taking bread between breakfast and dinner, I wish you to do it, except on fast days : observe the abstinence, but do not fast until you are of age. Nor do I wish there should be any exception to this, unless by the special leave of your confessor, to be obtained each time you would deviate from it. You will do well to approach the holy communion, if you desire to do so, four times in each week, and oftener in Lent and Advent, if your confessor approve of your doing so. In this matter I wish to leave you free from all restraint.

"When the weather is bad, you should not expose yourself to rain, or be abroad too early or late ; you may walk in the school-rooms after the children are dismissed, but if occasionally your exercise should be limited to an hour or so, be not troubled, rather seek to prolong it on the following day. As to business, there is none in which you can be engaged so important as taking necessary exercise, so I should wish other business to remain undone, rather than that should be neglected. I suppose it likely that my dear Ellen may also have her anxieties in these matters, and if so, let her know that what I have said to you may be applied also to her. But don't neglect to tell her of the affectionate interest I take in all that concerns her welfare. I hope to see you all soon ; and till then I pray God to send you Christmas full of blessings, and to preserve you in His holy love. I am sincerely thankful to you, my dear Catherine, for your affectionate recollection of me, especially in your prayers."

[In addressing those guileless creatures he would sometimes

assume a playful tone, which made them forget for a moment their gloomy scruples. Thus :—"Your letter afforded me the most sincere pleasure ; not even the Latin phrases which it contained were sufficient to lessen this satisfaction, though I learned among the Portuguese a proverb respecting ladies who quote Latin and mules who whine, and which, even if you were not on Mount Sion, I would not repeat or write for your perusal." And on another occasion the Bishop writes :—"I am glad that the talent ascribed to you by Mr. Harold had given way to a better one before I saw you, but it is just that 'when a child you should think like a child and act like a child,' and it is equally just 'that having become a man you should think like a man and act like a man.' Pardon me if I have substituted a less estimable sex for yours, that I might preserve the expressions of your favourite apostle."]

On the 11th December 1828, the Duke of Wellington addressed a remarkable letter to his old friend Dr. Curtis, the Catholic Primate. The Duke assured him that he was sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Catholic question, which, by benefiting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it ; but party violence had pervaded the discussion of it to such a degree, that it was impossible to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately.

"If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time," he added, "and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides, for they are very great, I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy."

This letter reached Dr. Curtis while at breakfast with his curates. He handed the letter to one of the priests to read, and thought no more of it until he saw the entire epistle printed in a newspaper. It was published contrary to the intention of the writer, and without the recipient's knowledge. The curate astutely considered that the publication of a letter which contained the first pronouncement by the Duke in favour of a settlement of the Catholic claims could not fail to prove advantageous.

The letter created an immense sensation, and was immortalised in prose and verse. The "Times" thus adverted to it :—

"To catch the banker all have sought,
But still the rogue unhurt is ;
While t'other juggler—who'd have thought ?—
Though slippery long, has just been caught
By old Archbishop Curtis ;
And such the power of Papal crook,
The crozier scarce had quivered
About his ears, when, lo ! the Duke
Was of a Bull delivered."

This advice to bury the Catholic question in oblivion for a short time, and occupy the interval in the consideration of its difficulties, caused infinite perplexity at the time ; but the remark is now intelligible, when we know that the Duke had received secret information from an eminent physician, still living, that George IV., whose hostility to Emancipation seemed so implacable and unwavering, was then suffering under enlarged valves of the heart and cataract of the eyes, and that his life could not last beyond two years at the farthest. This information was specially communicated to our friend D. O. Maddyn. Moore made witty reference to the Duke's advice :—

“Talk no more of your Cheltenham and Harrogate springs,
 'Tis from Lethe we now our potations must draw ;
 Your Lethe's a cure for all possible things,
 And the doctors have named it the Wellington Spa.
 Other physical waters but cure you in part,
 One cobbles your gout, t'other mends your digestion,
 Some settle your stomach, but this—bless your heart !
 It will settle for ever your Catholic question.”

It may indeed be said that the Duke's letter, if not his suggestion, “settled for ever the Catholic question.”

Within the next fortnight, as we are assured by Mr. Fagan, M.P., in his “Life of O'Connell,” an Emancipation Bill was prepared and submitted, by direction of the Duke of Wellington, to Dr. Doyle for approval.

[How home worries were acknowledged with good humour and good breeding various letters show.

A mare, borrowed from the Bishop, fell with the Rev. M. Doyle and broke her knees :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—When I received your letter, filled with the detail of your affliction about the mare, I imagined for some time you had met with some frightful loss or accident, and was highly amused when I came to the conclusion. Certainly your sympathy for the mare must be infinitely greater than mine, as I did not feel the least disturbed by her misfortune. No horse ever stumbles with me ; so I am just as safe as if nothing had happened, and, when the wound is healed, will be as content with the mare as before.”

Nor did he ever forget the gentleman in the Ordinary. The care and grace with which he made appointments is traceable in many letters. To the same he writes :—“I shall always feel grateful to you for the promptitude with which you acceded to my proposal of resigning your parish of Clonegal and accepting

that of Graig, now vacant, notwithstanding the temporal advantages and convenience which you thereby relinquish. I write this both for the purpose of expressing the esteem in which I hold your conduct, and of informing you that the Rev. Mr. Dolan of Hacketstown has agreed, on succeeding you at Clonegal, to make you such compensation for the house and lands which you occupy as I may consider just; and further to request you will, as soon after the receipt of this letter as may be convenient, proceed to Graig and employ any approved priest of this diocese, who is hereby authorised thereto, to induct you into the possession of that parish of St. Bernard's, otherwise Graig, with its appurtenances, rights, privileges, &c., which induction will *ipso facto* divest you of all title to your present parish of Clonegal."

To the Rev. P. Keogh he writes telling him of the appointment of Mr. Doyle in succession to the Rev. Mr. Broughall of Graig.

"Though I did intend to apply to charitable uses within the parish that one-third part of the dues which were reserved for Mr. Broughall, and which his continued absence has left at my disposal, yet considering the increased expenditure attendant upon your situation hitherto in Graig, I hereby discharge you from all obligation of accounting with me for any portion of dues received by you; on this condition, however, that you place in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Doyle twenty pounds sterling, to be expended by him on building or improving a schoolhouse in the south-western district of Graig parish."

On assuming the pastoral staff in Graig, Father Martin, after a time, found some trouble with his sheep.

"The persons who are now troublesome," writes the Bishop, "have ever been and always will be useless for good and active for evil. If they cannot be led by equity and common sense, they must be resisted by every means except violence. As to their putting people down, that is only the language of savages. A man is put down, 'tis true, by being obliged to notice or contend with them; but if they mean that since my administration I ever did or left undone anything on their account, they deceive themselves totally or wish to deceive others. Keep the gallery closed until each person who has paid his contribution in part, or the vast majority of them, pay the residue and express unequivocally their assent to your regulation. Then, when it is opened, place at the door a man furnished with a list of those entitled to seats, and direct him to tell any other person (not a respectable stranger), who would attempt to go there, that he has your directions to refuse admittance to any other. If any person should attempt to enter by force, let him do so; but as soon as you hear of it,

call upon him by name to retire ; and if he refuse to do so, open your most severe rebukes upon him. Not, however, in a manner unbecoming your office or the place where you are. If this mode of proceeding should not suffice, we will then see what further steps should be taken. Lest you might mistake, I give you the rule respecting galleries."

Dr. Doyle went on to say that the subscribers to the building of a gallery or pew are with their family resident in their own house entitled to accommodation in such gallery so long as they continue to reside in the parish ; but should a subscriber or his descendants in a right line remove from the parish or become extinct, the right possessed by him or them ceases altogether. "No person having a right of accommodation on a gallery can sell, bestow, transfer, or alienate such right, because all galleries, pews, &c., which are immovable, become a part of God's house, and cannot be disposed of or held as property by any individual.

"The subscriber or person entitled to accommodation on a gallery may, under the presidency of the parish priest, determine on the sum of money to be paid to the parish treasurer for the general purposes of the entire chapel, its repairs, improvements, &c., by each person who from time to time may wish to become entitled to accommodation in the gallery.

"The parish priest alone, and no other person or persons, is entitled to admit to the gallery such persons as pay the sum so agreed upon by the occupants of such gallery."

"J. DOYLE, *Bishop*."

The wise and the unwise had each their uses.

"We always will want in this town," another letter states, "a man of Mr. Fogarty's description. Such men are necessary in every town. We have enough of talent, &c. We require those whom the world does not greatly esteem. I do not forget your man, but I am at this moment a little embarrassed, for the Jubilee caught me unawares."

Internal strokes of disease among his priests, with their attendant sufferings, he knew as well as his own, and took vigilant means to relieve. To the pastor of Graig he writes :—

"Knowing how subject you are to sudden attacks of illness, I am glad you intend to visit some watering-place in England for the improvement of your health. You have hereby my permission to absent yourself for that purpose from your parish for a few weeks. I pray God to bless and preserve you, and to enable you to resume your sacred duties with increased zeal and strength."

Equally vigilant of the wants of his flock, he thus writes to the parish priest of St. Malin's :—

"This note will be handed to you by the Rev. James Hayden, who is hereby appointed your curate. Mr. Doyle, who has been sent to Graig, and who understands Irish, is directed by me to exchange places with Mr. Hayden during a few weeks of the Station-time, when you are employed in those districts in which our native language principally prevails, and also to attend such sick persons as cannot be understood by yourself; but this latter attendance is only required in cases of indispensable necessity. Mr. Hayden perhaps may in a little time acquire a knowledge of Irish, which by attention and zeal he can do. I have every hope that you will find him an active and useful assistant.

"I regret that the number of young clergymen now unemployed with us obliges me to remove Mr. Moylan from you. I am very sensible of his merit, and would feel very happy at rendering him any service which may hereafter be in my power."

Mr. Moylan had been borrowed from Ossory.

A few priests not badly off, but who, unlike the bulk of their order, had been as poor in their extraction as the twelve Apostles, complained of Dr. Doyle's sternness. "Ah, my Lord," remonstrated his nephew, Dr. Howlett, "you know not what hardships they go through in the discharge of their duty, and some indulgence is fairly due to them." "Hardships!" exclaimed Dr. Doyle; "those men were the sons of poor peasants, and had they not been bred to the ministry, they would now perhaps be up to their ankles in water repairing ditches."

But no prelate was more jealous of the sacerdotal dignity.

"I would not send a clergyman, ordained for the mission," he writes, "to be a tutor anywhere; besides that, we never have men fit for the place you mention who may not more usefully be employed at home."]

Dr. Doyle read a good book with great care and gusto. "My plan of reading," he once said to Bishop O'Connor, "is first to read for information, and secondly to read for knowledge." Some of the margins of his books are very freely noted. We select by way of specimen from the sixth volume of Lingard's "History of England," which Dr. Doyle studied at this period, a few of his autograph annotations.

When Lingard describes a formidable Board of Representatives which was organised at Edinburgh in 1637, and successfully demanded concessions from Charles I., Dr. Doyle writes along the margin, "The Convention Act and the Suppression of Unlawful Assemblies Act prevent this from being imitated." "In 1638

the Covenanters became more daring in their demands, and their preparations for war kept pace with those of the sovereign. Many of the nobility sent their plate to be coined at the mint, and a liberal present of aid was received in the name of the French monarch from Cardinal Richelieu." On this paragraph Dr. Doyle writes : " A precedent which it is feared we might follow." In 1641 the Covenanting divines taught that the " knot of the question could only be cut by the axe of prayer," and fasts were solemnly observed by the godly, that " the Lord might join the breath of His nostrils with the endeavours of weak men to blow up a wicked and anti-scriptural Church." They passed a resolution that " the legislative and judicial powers of the Bishops in the House of Lords were a hindrance to the discharge of their functions, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away." " I would vote for that resolution.—J. K. L."

The people of Yorkshire accused Strafford " of illegal proceedings, by some of which he benefited his own fortune." Dr. Doyle writes : " So he did in Ireland to a prodigious amount."

When Lingard describes the exploits of Roger Moore of Ballynagh in 1641, Dr. Doyle mentions that he is now represented by the family of More O'Ferrall. On the 3d December in the same year, Lord Gormanstown had an interview with Moore and other rebel leaders. " They replied that they had taken up arms to procure freedom of conscience, to maintain the just prerogatives of the Crown, and to obtain for the people of Ireland the same privileges which were enjoyed by the people of England." Dr. Doyle writes : " Gormanstown and Moore combine, and justly." Both Houses had voted that " the Convocation had no power to make regulations binding either clergy or laity, without the consent of Parliament ; and that Bishops and clergymen ought not to hold secular offices or be judges or magistrates." " I wish it were revived," writes Dr. Doyle.

The people of Ireland having drawn the sword against the common enemies of their king, of their rights, and of their religion, declared that " they would never lay down their arms until they had obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish from the English Parliament, the repeal of all degrading disqualifications on the ground of religion, the free exercise of the Catholic worship, the confirmation of the graces, and the exclusion of all but natives from civil and military offices within the kingdom." " These rights," observes Dr. Doyle, " are now claimed."

To procure money in 1646 a new loan was raised. " Every subscriber to former loans on the faith of Parliament, who had yet received neither principal nor interest, was allowed to subscribe

the same sum to the present loan ; and in whom both sums with interest were to be secured to him on the grand excise and the sale of the Bishops' lands." "It might be done again," scribbles J. K. L.

When Charles I. was brought to trial in 1649, he did not uncover, but surveyed the court with an air of superiority which abashed his enemies. While that portion of the charge was read which described him as "tyrant, traitor, and murderer," a smile of contempt quivered on his lips. He was called on to answer, but he demanded by what lawful authority he had been brought thither. He was king of England ; he acknowledged no superior on earth ; and the crown which he had received from his ancestors he would transmit, unimpaired by any act of his, to his posterity. His case, moreover, was the case of all the people of England ; for if force without law could alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, there was no man who could be secure of his life or liberty for an hour. Dr. Doyle writes : "The only trait in his character which I admire—the fruit of magnanimity, not of anger."

On the scaffold, Charles forgave his enemies, and prayed that they might repent. But for that purpose "they must render to God His due, by settling the Church according to the Scripture." "Nonsense, man," exclaims J. K. L., "for will or can the sacred Scripture decide its own meaning ?"

The impressive dialogue on the scaffold between Charles and Bishop Juxon is given at length by Lingard. "The King says, 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown.' The Bishop says, 'You exchange an earthly for an eternal crown.'" "I regret," writes Dr. Doyle, "that the Lord did not vouchsafe to you the true faith."

[Meanwhile his vigilance as a guardian of that faith continued unsleeping. At the time that Bishop Daly was writing clever letters controverting points of Catholic doctrine, a special copy of the evening paper containing one was sent by hand to Carlow, and reached Dr. Doyle when most of the professors had retired to bed. Dr. Doyle rang the bell so loudly that some thought the house might be on fire. As soon as they came down Dr. Doyle said, "When the wolf is on the walk the dog should be on the watch." The letter was answered before dawn.]

CHAPTER VI.

He proves himself "a debtor alike to the wise and unwise"—His goodness of heart—Free schools—Crisis of the Catholic Question—The extinguisher takes fire—Recall of Lord Anglesey—Letter to O'Connell—The King's speech—Alarm of the regular clergy—Correspondence—The law of *premunire*—Lord Anglesey's letter to Mr. Blake—Dr. Doyle consulted—Letter to Sir John Sinclair—Apprehended massacre of Catholics—Letter to Lord Cloncurry—Visit to Lyons—"A country worth fighting for"—Letters from O'Connell, Peter Purcell, &c.—Disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders—Threatened persecution—Correspondence—Dr. Doyle procures amendments in the Relief Bill—Sir H. Parnell—Eneas M'Donnell and the Bishops—Letter to A. R. Blake—A duel—Remarkable conversation between Dr. Doyle and Dr. Maher—Petition to Parliament on behalf of the Jesuits, &c.—Lords Sidmouth and Eldon in the royal closet—Correspondence—Letter from Lord Clifden, and a gift from the Duke of Sussex.

As Dr. Doyle's correspondence is very voluminous throughout the memorable year 1829, we shall obtrude our own remarks as little as possible. In glancing over the pile of documents before us, one is at a loss whether to admire most the political sagacity of the writer, or the exalted sanctity and generous friendship of which they are the evidences. The young nun with her scruples and the sage statesman with his doubts Dr. Doyle had constantly to satisfy. He felt that "he was a debtor alike to the wise and to the unwise;" and he was never more prompt in responding to the influential worldling than to the lowly ascetic. On the 8th of January 1829 he thus addresses a young novice :—

"MY DEAR ELLEN,—I admire your patience, and am very confident that the delay for a little time of your profession will not deprive you of any grace or blessing designed for you by your Father in heaven. You need not trouble your mind with any inquiries about the propriety of seeking to devote yourself irrevocably to God in a religious state. Your wish to become holy by doing the will of God, so far as your knowledge and power extend, is all that is required on your part; the rest is to be determined by the community; so do not give yourself unnecessary trouble, nor again be solicitous about the difficulties of a religious state, for though you are insufficient of yourself to surmount those difficulties, He who calls you to meet them is thereby pledged to give you all necessary support. Study, then, my dear child, to keep your mind and heart tranquil—not busied about many things, however good these things may seem; but abandoned, as it were, to the care of Providence, which will certainly watch over you. What time to be spent kneeling, like all things else prescribed

for you by me, is an observance which you will endeavour to keep, but a departure from it is not sinful, because it is not enjoined by me in virtue of obedience, but only as advice."

A few days later we find the priest of Portarlinton assuring Dr. Doyle that he had suffered seriously in mind and body since he commenced chapel and school building. "Still," writes the good pastor, "it will be a great source of consolation to me if I can effect the completion of these objects in a becoming manner before I am called to trial in a future life." These schools were opened in February 1829.¹ In replying, Dr. Doyle again shows the warmth of his heart :—

"I could not tell you how much and how severely I am grieved to hear that your health is impaired. I am well satisfied that your works should follow you, or even go before you to our expected home ; but I would be selfish enough to wish they were left to accumulate for many years to come ere you are called to receive the reward due to them. I find it difficult enough to proceed with my burden now that I am opposed by tried men attached to me, and still more attached to the common cause in which we are engaged, and I certainly feel the removal of those in whom I confide as if a portion of my own being were taken away with them. I am far, however, from apprehending that your delicacy of health may not be removed. Your stomach is the seat of your disease, and if you could, next summer, give a vacation to your chapels, schools, and cares, and employ the season at some spa, I think it likely that you would, by regimen, afterwards recover and enjoy excellent health. There is one good of which no illness can deprive us—the hope of a better life ; and to direct, as you are doing, one's labours so as to form a basis on which hope may repose, is true wisdom. Among the few things that alleviate our pains, the consolation of friendship is not to be despised ; and if that which I feel towards you could, at any moment, take the place of anxiety or trouble in your mind, I would repute myself happy."

Meanwhile, the Catholic cause had reached a crisis. Lord

¹ On the 4th of June 1830 Dr. Doyle was asked by the Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor to describe the system of literary instruction given in these and other schools of his diocese. He replied that the children were taught to spell and read upon the system of Lancaster, with the improvements lately introduced by Pestalozzi and others : "They are taught also book-keeping, mensuration, geometry, and a portion of algebra ; and some of them learn mathematics." He was asked (4610) if the children were received gratuitously, or whether they paid for their education. "In each of the towns there is a free school ; in the country parishes the children generally pay, but paupers are sent to the school by the priest, who pays privately to the master a certain sum for them, and they pass among the other scholars not as paupers but as paying ; so we seek to screen from the children the wants of their fellows, lest one class should look down upon the other with disregard."

Anglesey, who had come to Ireland with his hand upon his sword-hilt, prepared to deal death rather than yield one iota to the clamorous demands of an injured and impatient people, suddenly espoused their cause with the ardour of a partisan ; and for having addressed a public letter to Primate Curtis, urging the Catholics to agitate with redoubled energy, he was recalled in an angry missive from the Duke of Wellington. The extinguisher had taken fire, and all foresaw that a flame had been enkindled which, if not checked by prompt concession, might terminate in the destruction of the constitution and the severance of the two islands. On the 19th of January 1829 we find Dr. Doyle and others convening a meeting at Carlow for the purpose of addressing Lord Anglesey on his recall, and adopting petitions to the Legislature for the removal of the grievances which proved detrimental to the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

The popular voice had now attained a pitch of violent exasperation. Menace had given place to entreaty ; and indignant demands were substituted for the faltering tones of remonstrance. The cause lost some friends by its new attitude, but it gained in other ways. To this state of things Dr. Doyle refers in a letter to O'Connell on the 12th of January 1829 :—

“ He who speaks often and handles exciting topics will not fail to commit mistakes and to give offence, nor can a popular assembly writhing under injustice be justly condemned even for the excesses into which it may be betrayed.

“ We do not claim exemption from error, but the purity of our principles entitles all we do and say to charitable construction, whilst those who oppose and condemn us, even when their language is fair and their proceedings moderate, deserve reproach, because they are not sustained by any sound principle either of justice or policy. I think I can judge without passion—and I can find nothing in the conduct of our opponents respected. Who can respect ignorance or stupidity? Who can defer to bigotry or monopoly? All opposition is founded on ignorance, religious intolerance, or self-interest. When you proceeded to combat this opposition in Clare, I saw to its fullest extent the difficulties and dangers, public and personal, to be encountered ; but I thought they ought to be braved, and I cheered you upon your way. You were well fitted for that contest, but that which is now before you is of a different and more delicate character. Courage, perseverance, and address were then necessary, but in addition to these you now require Parliamentary knowledge, great fortitude, and that cool deliberation which cannot be circumvented, but know how to turn every occurrence to the best account.

"The *suaviter in modo* and *fortiter in re*, so little suited to us *Irish*, would be always useful to you, but in your approaching struggle will be indispensable. You will have to give 'honour to whom honour is due,' whilst you enforce the rights you possess ; knowing that they belong to you even as the crown belongs to a king. Were I not of a profession which prescribes to me other duties, I should attend you to the door of the House of Commons and share in your success, for success must attend you ; but at home I shall pray unceasingly to Him who holds in His hand the hearts of men, that He may direct and prosper you in all your ways, that He may vouchsafe to give peace in our days, and not suffer His people to be tried beyond what they can bear."

[In passing his priests in review before him he discerned the germ of future eminence in Fr. Philip Healy, then curate, and long after Vicar-General.

"KILDARE, *January 31, 1829.*

"REV. DEAR SIR,—After deliberating for some time, and praying to be directed by Almighty God in selecting a fit and proper clergyman to succeed to the office of pastor over the parish of Clonmore, and those annexed to it, now vacant, I have thought I might act agreeably to the Divine will by desiring that you, of whose zeal, piety, and learning I have sufficient proofs, would take upon you that office in July next. In the meantime, however, I wish you to proceed thither immediately before the first Sunday of Lent, and to take into your possession the parochial house, &c., and to charge yourself with the administration of the parish ; you will thus be enabled to attend at the proper season to the tillage of the small farm attached to the house, and become acquainted at the Easter-time with your future parishioners. From the commencement of your residence there until twelve months will have elapsed, you and your assistant will, upon application to me, obtain an extension of your faculties. Please present my best respects to Rev. Mr. Rigny, and inform him that an assistant, if not equally acceptable, yet not less deserving than yourself, will be sent to him. Hoping that God will enable you to fulfil the new and awful duties thus imposed on you, I am," &c.]

Mr. Rigny was parish priest of Philipstown.

The King's speech, 5th of February 1829, recommended both Houses to take into "deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland." A bill for the effectuation of Catholic enfranchisement—furnished with "wings" to carry it through—was rumoured to be in progress. These aimed at the suppression of the forty-shilling freeholders and religious communities of men in Ireland.

Dr. Doyle's old friends, the Augustinian Friars, were naturally much alarmed at the news. Father, afterwards Bishop, O'Connor, writes :—

“BRUNSWICK STREET, CORK, 13th February 1829.

“MY LORD,—The intense anxiety which the events of the last few days have so generally produced in the public mind, and in which I may be reasonably supposed deeply to participate, will plead my apology for intruding upon your Lordship at a moment when the prelates are assembled in Dublin, doubtless to provide for the integrity of religion at this most important crisis of our national affairs. The confidential information which your Lordship had the goodness to impart to me twelve months ago, relative to the dispositions of Government towards the religious orders in this country, considerably depressed my spirits at the time. Encouraged, however, by that renewed instance of your friendship, I gave free expression to the fulness of my feelings, my fears, and my hopes, and was consoled by your Lordship's assurance of the kind feelings of the prelates, and of your own disposition not only to befriend us, but if necessary to become our advocate. . . . The religious orders have the most unbounded confidence in your influence and protection. At this moment our feelings are at their height, ‘not knowing what a day may bring forth,’ so that it would not only be a great kindness, but an act of charity, *confidentially* to relieve our minds by your opinion and advice, that whatever storm may be gathering may not burst upon us suddenly, or whatever may be the provisions of the Emancipation Bill, we may be prepared for the worst. The Cabinet Ministers speak of legislation on a broad and permanent basis ; our friends in Parliament hail the principle with joy. This would lead us to hope that they would not stoop to notice the few religious establishments that are in the country, nor sully the charter of Emancipation, by embodying therein a persecuting clause against a few unoffending individuals whom they had tolerated before Emancipation ; but then, on the other hand, when we hear them allude to ‘details, and to legislation without compact, and to securities,’ and consider the prejudices of the nation, we cannot be without our apprehensions that some sacrifices will be demanded by them to appease the demon of bigotry.—I remain, my Lord, &c.,

“DANIEL O'CONNOR.”

“DUBLIN, 16th February 1829.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I always derive gratification from your letters. It would be increased if you omitted many expressions of kindness to myself.

"Why do you and your good brethren indulge anxiety to such an extent? Which of us, by thinking, can add a cubit to our stature, or make the hair of our head white or black? Let us confide in God, who is preparing relief, I hope, and not affliction, for our long-suffering country. It is in Him we should place all our trust, and not in princes or in the sons of men, in whom there is no health or safety.

"Nothing whatever is known to us, or any of us, of the intended 'securities.' I am nearly certain the Government intends not to consult us.

"The application made to the Pope was rejected *in limine*, as he would not treat whilst the law of *premunire* prevented its being done in the form usual between courts. The nature of the measure sought for by Government was not, of course, explained. It is only when Emancipation is granted, if it can be granted, that any arrangement can be made with the Holy See relative to Ireland. I have no apprehension whatever that the measure to be introduced into Parliament by Government will hamper the religious orders. Hereafter danger may impend. I wish you to continue fully assured, that as there is no person more likely to become acquainted with whatever may be in contemplation than I am, so there is no one you could select for the purpose who will be more watchful for your safety. I don't think there is the least danger that any of us will be taken by surprise.

"The prayers of the saints are now more than usually necessary to incline towards our Church and every branch of it the Divine favour. Let us be intent on prayer, and whatever may happen will turn to our good. Remember me affectionately to our brethren in Cork, and believe me, &c., ✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—You may be assured, that even if I were entombed in the earth, the Bishops of Ireland would be as careful of your interests as you could well desire. They truly deserve your full confidence."

By "the law of *premunire*" an ambassador from the Holy See was prohibited from approaching the court of England. Whenever any negotiation between the Pope and Great Britain became necessary, all communication was made through the Baron D'Ompieda, the Hanoverian Minister at Rome.

The Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair is next addressed :—

"CARLOW, 20th February 1829.

"MY DEAR SIR,—We all have indeed great cause to rejoice that it hath pleased Providence to dispose those in power to estab-

lish, if it be possible, religious peace in Ireland. Hitherto no obstacle has been raised on the part of the Catholics to the accomplishment of this great and good work. The heads of our clergy have done all in their power to remove a great cause of fear or distrust, by recommending the dissolution of the Catholic Association ; and this proceeding of theirs affords a pledge that they are strongly disposed to assist, rather than impede, the work of peace. They could not do more, unacquainted as they are with the provisions of the intended Act of Parliament ; nor is it possible for me to inform you, as I would wish to do, of the course they will pursue, when a full view of the contemplated measure comes before them. I am certain there is no class of men in the United Kingdom who desire more anxiously to remove all impediment out of the way of a final settlement, and that nothing less than a prospect of danger to the religion of which they are the guardians would move them to do or say anything which might embarrass the Government. On the other hand, the Brunswickers here, though now reduced to a small number, are increasing hourly in violence, and the Catholics in many places apprehend a sudden rising of them to massacre the Papists. I hope these fears are unfounded, but they exist, and nothing can be more deplorable than the exciting language used by the Opposition in Parliament, which, repeated here and commented on, irritates and inflames exceedingly the passions of the vulgar. Let us, however, hope that He who can say to the sea 'be calm,' and to the north wind 'do not blow,' will still these tumults, and enable the Government to perfect what they have so well begun.

"I do not intend going to London this year, though few things would give me more pleasure than to meet you in the midst of the wise and good who abound there, that we might rejoice together, as I hope we could do, at the prospects opening, even thus late, on our too long distracted country."

On the previous day Dr. Doyle expressed his regret to Mr. Cassidy that, in returning from Dublin, he was unable to stop some hours at Monasterevan to speak with him "on our political prospects ; though, till the bill and the introductory speeches appear, we can only speculate. If they emancipate, all things may go well." Referring to the Rev. Daniel Nolan, who had assailed Lord Cloncurry in a letter to the Kildare Place Society, the Bishop adds that he "is, and always was, a most unmanageable sort of being. I hoped when I removed him from Lyons he would cease to give trouble, but his habits were not formed but confirmed when I first knew him. I will oblige Nolan to account

to me for his conduct ; but though I reprove him, how can I repair the injury done by him to Lord Cloncurry ?" His Lordship avowed himself much hurt. The Bishop thus tried to appease him :—

"I wrote immediately to Mr. Nolan, who called upon me this morning, and expresses his sincere and deep regret for having written the letter alluded to. He was, at the time of writing it, as he is at present, suffering under a most painful disease, which sometimes affects his temper ; and was urged, by feelings of dissatisfaction at some then recent occurrences, to indulge in reflections which he now most sincerely regrets. He blames, in his usual manner, Mr. Jackson for having produced his letter, after having applied for permission to do so, which permission he, Mr. Nolan, did not give ; and thus the public injury which your Lordship has received has been aggravated without his concurrence. He acknowledges the exaggerated threat used by him to destroy the Protestant versions of the Bible if circulated among his flock at Lyons ; but says that his approbation of the use of the Sacred Scriptures in schools was confined to those used by Catholics, accompanied with explanatory comments, as prescribed by the superiors in the Catholic Church. The injury done your Lordship is not much diminished by these explanations. I lament it most sincerely ; and Mr. Nolan would regret it more, if possible, than he does, were his health in a less painful or dangerous state."

[Dr. Doyle does not tell all that was said by this most eccentric priest on the occasion of their interview ; but his Lordship told Fr. Maher. "I know Lord Cloncurry very well." "No, my Lord, you don't." "But I do ; he is a perfect gentleman and most excellent Irishman." "Your Lordship was introduced to only one side of his face ; he has got another side, which, unhappily, I know best. He is like a man rowing a boat ; he is looking one way and pulling another." 1]

¹ [Some other amusing conversations between Dr. Doyle and Fr. Dan have been preserved. He had a sense of humour hardly second to Rabelais ; but it was of a character so extravagant as to seem almost incredible. This pastor, it will be remembered, cultivated farming ; and Dr. Doyle would have preferred to see him toiling in another vineyard. When first introduced to Dr. Doyle he wore a frieze coat, and the Bishop could hardly believe he was a priest. "Mr. Nolan, I have been thinking that an additional curate may be desirable in this parish." "So far from it, my Lord, I really thought that the neighbouring parish being now vacant, you would have added it to mine, as my fame in effecting reforms among the refractory must have reached your Lordship." Here the eccentric pastor pointed to a double-barrelled gun over his mantelpiece. This deadly weapon, evidently not meant as a wholesome memento of death, though certainly calculated to remind one of mortality, seemed so much out of place in the rustic retreat of the man of peace, that Dr. Doyle's eye became at once riveted upon it. "That gun," said Fr. Nolan, "effected the conversion of one of the most hardened sinners in this parish. After vainly trying for years to bring him to a sense of his duty, I visited him one morning, gun in hand, and told him to make a clean breast then and there. Instead of doing so, however, he jumped out of bed, and leaping from the window, ran in his shirt across the paddock ; and I, having previously charged with a few grains

Shortly after his letter about Fr. Nolan Dr. Doyle received an invitation to partake of Lord Cloncurry's hospitality. Standing on the hill of Lyons with the patriot peer, he cast his eyes around the splendid country which smiled on every side. The golden harvest was nodding in its weighty ripeness, and the umbrageous pastures, dotted by rich fleeces, teemed and glittered with luxuriance. Dr. Doyle burst into an eloquent soliloquy, and alluding to Cromwell's remark, added, "This *is* a country worth fighting for!"

The following letter from O'Connell is creditable to his memory. Lord Cloncurry charged him with wantonly sacrificing, in his avidity to grasp Emancipation, those same forty-shilling freeholders who had triumphantly returned him to Parliament.

"19 BURY STREET, ST. JAMES'S, 6th March 1829.

"MY DEAR AND RESPECTED LORD,—I use another's frank that this may be as much private as *you* please. Look—if you will do so at my request—at the wings to the new bill. Give me advice and assistance on this subject. It is a critical moment. I desire to do right. I have already exerted myself against the freehold wing here; but I believe that the bills, as prepared by the Minister, will be carried. The Monastic Bill is an absurdity, and I think I will easily *supersede* it. But this is a moment of great value, and advice and assistance are now absolutely essential.

"I shall long to hear from you on these points. At all events, let me know your opinion on the state of Ireland at this moment. Tell me anything you think may be useful.

"I long to be in the House to uphold the honour and character of our country and creed. But at the present moment I only write for advice."

[The three forces which carried Emancipation were pointedly spited—O'Connell by disqualifying him from the Chancellorship; Dr. Doyle by the bill of pains and penalties levelled at the religious orders; and the forty-shilling freeholders by their disfranchisement.]

snipe shot, took aim. I fired, but taking care not to hit him in a vital part. He yelled, and began his confession. After a few words he muttered, "That's all, Fr. Dan!" "Barney," said I, "recollect yourself; you haven't told me one half yet." "What did you do then, Mr. Nolan?" asked Dr. Doyle, scarcely able to maintain his gravity. "I cocked the other barrel, my Lord; and thereupon he made as full and as clean a confession as ever your Lordship did; and within that week there wasn't a sinner in the entire parish who didn't do the same." "Sir, you remind me of the zealots who tied a rope round a Jew and dipped him in a lake to compel him to avow himself a Christian. When at last he said 'Yes,' they let him down altogether lest he should change his mind." To Fr. Dan we mean again to return.]

O'Connell, like Brougham, reluctantly assented to the latter clause, as "the price—the almost extravagant price—of the inestimable good which would result from the Relief Bill." "It is bad repayment to the Clare electors," writes Peter Purcell to Dr. Doyle, "but I believe it will be more felt by the Orangemen in the North. The majority in the Commons is overwhelming, and, thank God, they have no speakers. I have just returned from the House, and I never saw such faces as my Brunswick friends had on. London remains perfectly quiet; and a very good reason for it—the great majority are for us.

"Although you are denied your clerical rank, you will perceive how distinctly Mr. Peel admits your claim and qualification to it. I hope there will be but one feeling now in Ireland regarding the measure, and that it will be received there as our friends feel here—I may say general gratification."

Peter Purcell was a man of kindly nature, a good landlord, a liberal employer, a practical philanthropist. His enterprise did much in supplying facilities of intercourse to Ireland before steam locomotion came into use. He was the greatest coach proprietor, and enjoyed the sobriquet of "Colossus of Rhodes."

The Augustinian Provincial, full of alarm at the threatened extinction of his order, addresses Dr. Doyle :—

"BRUNSWICK STREET, CORK, 12th March 1829.

"MY LORD,—Perhaps you would kindly give me your opinion of Mr. Peel's speech relative to the future existence of religious orders in Ireland. I think it is rather confused in its terms and arrangement, while it seems designed to be orderly and explicit. Although he seems to make a distinction between the Jesuits and the other religious orders, we fear it is but apparent, inasmuch as he says we are not necessary to the existence of the Catholic religion in the country, and have our superior at Rome; and therefore that while he says of us only that we should not extend for the future, we fear he means to confound us with the poor Jesuits, and to suffer us to die a natural death. . . . My own individual opinion is, that as the other religious orders are not equally objected to, abroad or at home, as the Jesuits, the distinction he makes between them is real and sincere; and that while he intends to prevent their future existence in the country, he only intends that we should not increase the number of our convents or of our communities; at the same time guarding against the irruption of foreigners amongst us, and not allowing any extraordinary number even of British subjects to be educated abroad, and sent back to the country to supply the religious orders."

"I think your opinions are all correct," writes Dr. Doyle in reply. "I will endeavour to procure an amendment to remove the penalty from the vows to the foreign obedience. If this were done, the rest could be easily adjusted. Keep this secret."

A week later he writes at fuller length :—

"I think that all your proceedings are wise, though I do not concur with you that the regulars should not petition Parliament, lest by doing so they would furnish evidence against themselves, for this reason, that the amount of their convents, revenues, &c., furnished by the Archbishops to the committees of Parliament, by order of the Lords in 1825, being already recorded, furnishes that evidence which you would now vainly endeavour to withhold. It may or may not be wise to petition, but it should not be done or omitted for the reason mentioned in your letter. If I were you I would petition ; for are you not British subjects, without crime, and guiltless of any forfeiture ? Why not, therefore, hold up your heads, and plead your own cause before the country ? Is it because you are few and weak that you are to be oppressed ? Perhaps that is a good reason for oppressing you, but it is no reason for not lifting your voice and protesting against the oppression. Indeed, I think it might be the better way to let the whole thing pass *sub silentio*, convinced as I am that the law will either be amended or not enforced. But if wiser people think otherwise, and actually petition for you, I would undoubtedly assert my own innocence, nor hide a head which I considered guiltless.

"As some of you will call on me in a day or two, you can bring me a copy of the Dublin petition. If at that time you desire my assistance in the way of petitioning, I shall give it to you with all my heart, leaving yourselves to judge of its utility. But, as Tom Thumb said, 'Petition or no petition,' I will ever remain yours most truly and affectionately,

✠ J. DOYLE."

The amendment which Dr. Doyle promised to try and get inserted ere the bill became law was promptly placed under the notice of Sir Henry Parnell, in company with other important modifications.

[*Private.*]

"CARLOW, 14th March 1829.

"The satisfaction I feel at the prospect of a final settlement of the Catholic question is proportioned to the apprehensions which you know I entertained of the consequences that should result from a continuation of our strife and animosity in Ireland. I regret sincerely that the bill regulating the franchise was found to be a

necessary means of carrying the other, as I am satisfied that a little time and the operation of a better system of government would effectually correct the abuses which that bill removes only by stripping a very worthy class of poor people of what was to them, in a variety of ways, of real and solid value. Such, however, is the anxiety prevailing here for the success of the other measure, that I believe no efforts which may be made to excite opposition to the bill for regulating the franchise will be successful : for my part I shall remain quiescent.

"Will you permit me to notice some particulars of the Relief Bill, and to beg your attention to them when it goes into committee? In the oath, page 2, line 39, might the word 'civil' be prefixed to privilege? I would wish it in order to satisfy the scruples of those who may think that, by the tenor of the oath, as it now stands, they would be debarred from *employing argument in support of the Catholic and against the Protestant religion.*

"In page 8 we are prohibited to wear the habits of our order ; and I fear this prohibition may be construed to extend to the case of officiating in churchyards at funerals, because in the 5th Geo. IV. there is no express mention of wearing a clerical dress. Suppose the following words were introduced : 'Prohibit the wearing or use of any ecclesiastical or clerical dress by a R. C. clergyman officiating at the burial of the dead, in cases where the same is not allowed by law, or in any manner.'

"As to the provision, page 8, which prohibits the use or assumption of the titles there mentioned by Catholic Bishops, it is a revival of a penal law already existing, and a law which, to my knowledge, has not been transgressed by us where it could be observed, for there *are numberless cases wherein we cannot possibly exercise our office unless in virtue of the title by which we hold it.* So that I believe no law can make us more or less observant in this respect than we already are.

"In page 9, line 8, after the word 'vows,' the following amendment, if adopted, would be of great value, and free the Government from the odium attached to the suppression . . . of religious societies of men who are in no way dangerous, but on the contrary useful, many of them being employed in the ordinary work of the ministry. Still greater numbers of them are poor, pious laymen, who devote themselves to the instruction of poor children, or obtain a livelihood by working at mechanical trades. Of this latter description there are two or three communities in this diocese, who are subject only to me, and know as much of foreign power, or influence, or intrigue, as they do of the longitude.

[Dr. Doyle suggested other amendments, which, unless the entire bill were inserted here, would not be appreciated.]

"You will, I hope, pardon this intrusion on your time, but you have been always so indulgent and I so obtrusive, that until this happy adjustment is completed you will have to bear with me.

"I saw Lord de Vesci at Abbeyleix; I regretted exceedingly I could not stop with him, even for a day, especially as the heir of the late Lord Ossory was with his Lordship. He seemed gratified by the assurances I gave him that henceforth, if the bill passed, we should be as quiet as lambs."

Sir Henry in reply said :—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have applied to Mr. Peel to see me on the subject of your proposed amendments. I am glad to find there will be no opposition to the Franchise Bill; there was some danger of the King making such an opposition an excuse for changing his conduct. Everything is going on very favourably, although the opponents have greater numbers than was calculated on when I last wrote."

Eneas MacDonnell was in London at this period, in his capacity of agent to the Catholics of Ireland. He had been in daily correspondence with all the Catholic Bishops, Dr. Doyle alone excepted. He was sauntering through Spring Gardens with a dozen episcopal letters, just received, in his hand, when he met Mr. Dawson, M.P. for Derry (see vol. i. p. 405), bustling along to keep a sharp appointment with the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Dawson noticed the pile of letters, and jocosely asked the agent if he would allow him to bring them to Downing Street, where the Duke, Mr. Peel, and Lord Lyndhurst were sitting in solemn conclave. Mr. MacDonnell acquiesced. "You don't mean to say," proceeded Dawson, "that I am at liberty to place before the Cabinet your confidential correspondence with the Roman Catholic Bishops." "I am perfectly serious," replied the agent; "the only stipulation I make is that you return them to me before noon to-morrow."

Dawson was punctual next day with the letters. "You have no conception," he said, "of what good these documents have been productive. The Duke was greatly pleased. The dates proved that the prelates wrote their respective views without consultation amongst themselves." "Since they were so well received," replied MacDonnell, "I cannot do better than place before his Grace a further supply of fourteen, which this morning's post has brought me." Mr. Dawson bundled the letters into his pocket,

and placed them before the Ministers, with the same result. Mr. MacDonnell had written to the Bishops to elicit their views of the bills then before Parliament, and it was their answers to his request that had been scrutinised by the Cabinet. Dr. Doyle, with rare perception, would seem to have suspected that other eyes besides the agent's might be gratified by the perusal of his unreserved expression of opinion. His reply to Mr. MacDonnell is laconic : " You have been exceedingly kind, and I am greatly indebted to you for the several letters and papers with which you have lately honoured me. I am so little competent to give advice, and you, as I suppose, already so well assisted in that respect by the most competent persons, that you will excuse me from offering to you my opinion on the measures now before Parliament, to which, in truth, I have not had as yet time to devote all the attention they merit."

Dr. Doyle was more communicative to the Right Hon. A. R. Blake, a highly influential personage, who happened to be in London at this juncture superintending the progress of the bills through Parliament and in committee :—

" CARLOW, 14th March 1829.

" MY DEAR SIR,—I was honoured with your letter of the 6th only last night, when I returned here from visiting a district of this diocese. With your letter I received many others, as also copies of the two bills now before Parliament. I have endeavoured, whilst on my visitation, to collect the opinions of the different classes of the people, and finally to form my own, and it is that we have to choose between insurrection and rebellion at some uncertain period, and the settlement offered by the Government. I prefer the latter, and in thus preferring it, I only fall in with the general sentiment of all classes, and, I might add, of all parties, including a majority of the Brunswickers. I doubt whether even you, were you in Ireland, could excite the country to uphold the franchise at the expense of this proffered Relief Bill. Perhaps all this is well, though I would suffer my limbs to be broken on the rack to save the forty-shilling freeholders—not for the political power they give the Catholics, for that, after their disfranchisement, will continue in its relative position the same nearly as it now is, but on account of the favour and protection it would ensure to them after the present agitation will have been forgotten. In this matter I think you have acted as became you, and you should be the last to recognise this duty of a quiescent conduct.

" The provision in the bill relating to titles is in itself idle, for it only revives a penal law which will again fall into disuse. We

cannot avoid using our title in the execution of our duties, and we never assumed it in public.

"The oath, I think, may be taken, for it requires no pledge which a subject may not give to a Protestant State in return for social protection and civil rights. The 'privilege' which we swear not to employ to 'disturb or weaken the Protestant religion' is that derived from law, and is not that inherent right which every Christian man possesses to employ reason and the weapons of the Gospel to enforce truth and oppose or refute error. If, however, the words 'legal' or 'civil' were prefixed to 'privilege,' it would prevent or remove scruples should they occur to any person. I do hope that the provision intended to extinguish the religious orders will not be acted upon. Even if the Jesuits were to be sacrificed to the clamours of a party who do not know how harmless they are in this age and country, there is no reason why the other orders should be involved in their (the Jesuits') fate; but if all the friars who owe obedience to foreigners were to be finally excluded, there is yet no ground whatever for extending the provisions of the bill to those different societies of monks in Ireland who are not clergymen, who are subject to the Bishop of the diocese in which they reside, and to him only, and who employ themselves exclusively in educating the middling or poorer sort of children, or in working at mechanical trades or in tilling ground. If the penalty were attached not to the making or accepting of vows, but to paying obedience in consequence of such vows to a foreigner, the proposed end would be fully attained, and not only the monks left untouched, but the friars also, for these latter might become distinct congregations, subject either to a superior of their own within the kingdom, or to the Bishops of the place, as was the case originally with religious communities.

"If such an amendment cannot now be carried, I am sure it may be introduced hereafter, when the country settles, and men begin to know each other. Confiding in God, who is the God not of dissension but of peace, that He will bring matters to a happy conclusion, I am most truly yours, ✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—You will perceive the necessity of not mentioning my name in any of these matters, unless in a confidential manner."

On the 16th March 1829, Lord Winchelsea, President of the Brunswick Club, accused the Duke of Wellington, in a public letter, of having been actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives in his policy on the Catholic question. His Grace and Lord Winchelsea had been united by bonds of close friendship, and a line of conduct so unexpected greatly surprised and pained the

Duke. "No man has a right," he wrote, "whether in public or in private, by speech or in writing, to insult another by attributing to him motives which disgrace or criminate him. If a gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly in the heat of debate, he is always ready to make reparation. I am convinced that your Lordship will, on reflection, be anxious to relieve yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you." Lord Winchelsea refused any explanation, and a hostile meeting, but without fatal results, took place between the noble disputants. Fr. Maher mentioned the circumstance to Dr. Doyle, adding, "Don't you wonder that the Duke accepted his challenge? With what emotions must not he, who passed unscathed through a hundred fights abroad, have taken his stand to receive the deliberate aim of an old friend!" "Emotions!" exclaimed the Bishop; "no more than if you were about to sit down to breakfast." "Am I to understand," inquired the priest archly, "that your Lordship would have accepted the challenge, and received his aim without fear?" "Most assuredly I should, had not Providence taken me out of this wicked world, and delivered me from the pride of my young heart. From my earliest youth, fear has been a feeling utterly unknown to me; I know not what it is, and unless from the knowledge one gathers from common report, I know not what it is like. Urged by an ambition which filled me in early life, I might have applied myself to the task of mastering a laborious profession; and fired by an indomitable spirit within, I'd have worked my way to distinction and perhaps glory. If forsaken by God, and delivered over to the pride and ambition of an untamed heart, I might have carried all before me in this life. Unconscious of ever experiencing fear in any ordeal, I should have made myself feared by challenging to mortal combat every man who crossed my path. I should have killed somebody, or somebody would have killed me: but God, in His great mercy, preserved me from the rock upon which I might have been wrecked." And then, quoting St. Augustine, he added, "Too late have I known thee, O infinite beauty; too late have I loved thee!" "You have, at least, the fear of God," said the priest. "Even of God," continued the Bishop, "I am not in sufficient fear. I have probably too much confidence in His mercies; but as He did not give me the faculty of fear, I suppose I am not accountable."

[From infancy, indeed, he knew not fear. The child will be remembered who repeatedly rushed forth under the hail of shot and shell at the battle of Ross.]

Dr. Doyle meanwhile worked with vigour and efficiency in

order to neutralise those persecuting clauses of the bill which aimed at the suppression of religious orders. He drew up a petition to "the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled," to which, after his own signature, was added a phalanx of clerical names.

The memorialists offered thanks to God, from whom is every good gift, for the prospect of peace and union ; but added that they had read with deep affliction such clauses as provided for the gradual extinction of religious orders by attaching penalties to the making of vows. They submitted that in every country where the Catholic religion is diffused, the custom of seeking to attain the perfection of a Christian life by the renunciation of property, carnal pleasure, and by the exercise of special obedience, confirmed by vow made to God, has been adopted by large numbers of persons ; and that any enactment which would render such vows legally criminal would be restrictive of the liberty with which Christ hath made His people free.

It has been stated that Dr. Doyle entertained a strong feeling of hostility to the Jesuits. It is pleasant to be able to disprove this assertion by the following extract from his petition :—"The establishment of the Jesuits is situated in the diocese of Kildare ; and the conduct, character, and pursuits of its members are well known to petitioners. They, therefore, most humbly submit their full and unbiassed conviction that the said establishment has rendered, and would, if left undisturbed, continue to render, the most signal services to the cause of education ; and that the members of it teach no morality which is not sound, inculcate no principles which are not pure, and that their pupils, like themselves, are religious without bigotry or ostentation, and as firmly grounded in loyalty to their sovereign and attachment to their country as those of any other seminary within his Majesty's dominions." Dr. Doyle in conclusion observed, "That the communities which the law threatened with persecution were utterly blameless, and ought, as natural-born subjects of the King, to be entitled to the protection of the State." The Bishop forwarded a copy of this document to every parish priest, asking them "to submit the form of petition to your curates ; and if you and they, or any of you, approve of the same, you will please to commission me by return of post to have your name or names affixed to it."

The Friars, alarmed for their safety, anxiously besought Dr. Doyle for aid and advice. The subsequent Bishop of Saldaña was told in reply :—"If I can render you any service through my friends in Parliament, I can do it much more effectually by private

letter than by an introductory one ; and you will, I hope, concur in this opinion, when you reflect with me that the introductions you want may be extensively obtained through Mr. O'Connell, who will doubtless be very anxious to attend to a matter so interesting to religion, and in which his friend, the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange, is so deeply concerned. E. M'Donnell is also in London. He knows every person, and is as devoted a Connaughtman (the country of the religious) as our friend M'Dermott himself. Then, as to the presentation of the petition in the Commons, it should, I think, be intrusted to some member who could bear testimony to the good conduct of the regulars. I would prefer Sir N. Colethurst or Hutchinson of Cork ; they are friends, but not partisans, of the Catholics, and represent a city where friars are numerous. If not these, then Henry Grattan or Mr. Rice, for the latter reason.

"In the Lords, if you could prevail, as I think you could, on the Duke of Sussex or the Bishop of Norwich to take charge of the petition, they are of all others the persons likely to obtain for it a respectful consideration ; but on these matters be guided by Mr. O'Connell when you are in London. You may rely on it I will not neglect doing all in my power to serve you best when forwarding our own petition, in the time and mode most fitted to the end in view. With best compliments to all your holy brethren, I, who am the least of them, remain," &c.

Of Dr. Doyle it may be said that his name, like an ægis, spread its saving influence over the religious orders, and protected them from the fatal stroke of legal proscription. Lord Clifden, in presenting the petition to the House of Lords on the 1st April 1829, said : "It was signed by one of the best and most honest men in His Majesty's dominions, than whom he believed there was not, either in the House or out of the House, a man who more ardently wished for the peace of Ireland, the security of this kingdom, and the general prosperity of the empire—he meant the R. C. Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He was sorry that such a clause was inserted, for it disfigured one of the most useful and beneficial bills which ever came before Parliament." Dr. O'Connor proceeded to London, as Dr. Doyle had suggested, and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, who assured him that the portion of the Act having reference to the regular clergy could be enforced only by the Attorney-General, a contingency which they believed would never take place.

Meanwhile Lords Sidmouth and Eldon were labouring in the royal closet to shape to their purpose the vacillating temper of the King. The biographer of Eldon prints an interesting narrative

of interviews between George IV. and his ex-Chancellor. The King bitterly complained of the pressure which had been put on him by the Duke and Mr. Peel, and compared his position to that of a person with a pistol presented to his breast. The Ministers had threatened to resign, and as no persons seemed willing or competent to succeed them, he was coerced to exclaim, "Go on!" Previous to this reluctant permission, the King had petulantly dismissed his Ministers, and for twenty-four hours after the Relief Bill had been launched there was no Administration.

Dr. Doyle's efforts to get "the wings" amended and modified were successful to a great extent. There was one amendment, however, suggested by Lord Londonderry, an opponent of the Catholic claims, which, it is hardly necessary to say, did not meet the Bishop's views. To Sir H. Parnell he writes—

"CARLOW, 30th March 1829.

"Your labours in the Commons will, I hope, have ended before this arrives in London; but the anxiety we all feel must continue till the measure which excites it will have been disposed of in the Lords. If the amendment in the Franchise Bill, as threatened by Lord Londonderry, were to be adopted, I should be strongly tempted to coalesce with the Brunswickers, and labour to defeat both measures. I would, without any doubt, greatly prefer your own opinion of the clause in the oath—and the other matters in the Relief Bill which I noticed—to that of Mr. Blake, or of those who rely on the imperfection of the measure now in progress as a pledge of its future amendment. The phraseology, perhaps, is not such as to be proof against the ingenuity of lawyers; but the meaning and intent of the Act, to which an honest man ought to look more than to the letter, are sufficiently plain. I am quite certain that the words 'any privilege to which I am or may become entitled,' embrace not only those conceded by the bill, but all and every civil privilege; nor have I any objection to the oath in its right meaning, but it would have been satisfactory to have that right meaning explicitly set forth. I do not think with Mr. Blake on the clause respecting the Catholic custom at funerals; nor do I know of anything after the Act passes likely to produce collision, but that clause, for the men who of all others are most likely to quarrel—the holy ones of both Churches—are those interested in it. Mr. Blake, wholly intent on the success of the measure, has not time to notice these trivial defects. We have petitioned the Lords in favour of the Regulars. I sent the petition to Lord Clifden, and explained to him all I know about them. Having myself once belonged to them, I know how harmless they are, and feel extremely their threatened extinction."

The Bishop, amid all this excitement and overwhelming pressure of correspondence with the exalted, had yet time to commune with and comfort the lowly. Writing to a nun, the 4th of April 1829, he says :—

“MY DEAR CHILD,—I am deeply affected by the account you give me of our dear Catherine. I know not whether I ought to wish her continuance in life, as the end of it would be the commencement of her eternal bliss. Nevertheless we cannot divest ourselves of pain, viewing her separation from us. I think she will recover ; but may God’s will, which is her sanctification, be accomplished.

“I feel very sensibly the protracted illness of Reverend Mother ; but what increases my regret is the conviction I feel that she has, if not created, at least continued and aggravated her disease by thinking of herself, as ‘if by thinking she could add a cubit to her stature.’ Do *you*, dear child, when you are disengaged, encourage her to divest herself of care in those things which depend on God, and do not, by a mistaken condescension, indulge in conversing with her when duty requires that you should be otherwise occupied. I hope your anxiety about those who are so dear to you will not impair your own health. Mamma will go see you to-morrow.”

Catherine died within the next few days.

“MY VERY DEAR CHILD,—Mr. Wall affords me an opportunity of writing to you, of which I gladly avail myself—not more to indulge my own wish than to seek to offer you some relief under the affliction with which it has pleased our Father who is in heaven to visit you, in separating from you her whom you loved so much. We cannot fail to rejoice in the mercy and predilection shown to our beloved Catherine, whom God has brought to Himself, unhurt by the world ; but this gratitude which we owe to Him cannot in you fail to be attended with profound sorrow, nor do I wish you should not feel sensibly the separation which has been made of two minds and two hearts united from infancy by the most tender attachment. What I hope is, my dear Ellen, that being assured, as indeed I am, of the secure and permanent happiness of our dear Catherine, you will think more of it, and of the Lord who conferred it, than on the pleasure you derived from her society and the loss you sustain by her removal. Do not be anxious that God would confer a like favour on yourself, for we ought not to be anxious about anything. He is kind and merciful to us all ; but the special favours He confers on some, whilst He requires of

us to labour in His service, ought only to induce us to bless His holy name, to praise Him in His saints, and to apply ourselves with increased diligence to execute the task assigned to ourselves. When St. Peter asked our Lord what He willed with regard to John, our Saviour said to him, 'What is that to thee? do thou follow Me;' that is, 'I have given to thee your own task, to fast, to pray, to preach, to labour; to live long in trials and afflictions, and to close your career by an ignominious death; attend to that duty which is your portion, the reward of your extraordinary faith and love; but as to John, don't concern yourself about him; I will provide for his happiness as becomes My love for him.' Peter wished that John should be the companion of his own labours, and share with him the glory of serving their common Master, but He who came to 'send not peace but the sword, to separate the son from the father, and the daughter-in-law from the mother-in-law,' He would not permit that the merit of His two chosen disciples should be lessened or their virtue dimmed in its brightness by the indulgence of that affection which grows and increases in society. Perhaps, my dear Ellen, our Lord, who regards with infinite love and care the most unworthy of His servants, has taken from you a friend who would have divided your affections and her own had she remained; and whilst He provided for her happiness, prolonged *your* pilgrimage only that you might labour in His service, and deserve in the fulness of time a crown of glory proportioned to your merits and to the riches of His grace. Praise God, my dearly beloved child, with your whole heart; do not envy Catherine, but imitate her simplicity, her meekness, her zeal to do the will of God in obedience. When grief for her loss surprises you, indulge it calmly for a moment, and then offer your heart to God pierced with grief, and say, 'Thy will be done!' In doing so you will offer to *Him* a most acceptable sacrifice, and you will be strengthened to renew your labours in His service."

Some more welcome news soon reached Dr. Doyle. It is satisfactory to find a Protestant peer addressing him with the courtesies due to episcopal rank, while the Bishop of Exeter was cavilling with a Catholic journalist for applying the words "His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray"¹ to that venerable prelate.

"LONDON, 5th April 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD,—The petition I received and presented. I said a few words in support of its prayer. I could have said more, but I was dissuaded lest enemies should suspect the unjust and

¹ Dr. Philpotts on the "Coronation Oath," p. 265.

obnoxious clauses were not severe enough, and try to make them more so. I think, on reading them attentively, and by talking to others on the subject, that they cannot be made effectual to oppress those who so little deserve to be injured. We have had three long debates on the all-important bill, and yesterday we met at one o'clock in the day punctually, and the debate went on for ten hours. We divided at eleven o'clock ; and had a triumphant majority, 217 for the bill ; 112 against it. We were 147 present and 70 proxies ; they had 79 present, and 33 proxies. Of these, we had nine Bishops present and one proxy ; they had 16 Bishops present and four proxies.

"I think we may now congratulate ourselves that, after 271 years of injustice and insult, from 1558, the Catholics will at length enjoy equal rights with their Protestant fellow-subjects ; 'tis a great and happy event ! I could say much, but I will not trouble you with what is so obvious. *This* I will say, however, that I almost doubt if there is one Catholic who rejoices more truly and entirely than I do in this great act of justice and wisdom.—Believe me, my dear Lord, with real respect and regard, yours very sincerely,

CLIFDEN.

"*P.S.*—Lord Grey's speech, if you have leisure, is worth reading. It was certainly one of the best, most eloquent, and powerful I ever heard, after sitting forty-six years in four different houses of Parliament. Lord Plunkett was admirable, excellent, argumentative, strong ; it is also well worth reading. Nothing could be more feeble than your adversaries."

Henry Welbore Ellis, Viscount Clifden, belonged to a family which had discharged the duties of some of the highest official employments under the Irish Government. He was born on the 22d of January 1761, and married in 1792 Catherine, eldest daughter of George, Duke of Marlborough. For several years he represented Kilkenny in the Irish Parliament. From 1793 to 1802 he had a seat in the English House of Commons for Heytesbury, and was thus the only person who had sat consecutively in four different houses of Parliament.

Within the next few days, Dr. Doyle had the honour of receiving from the royal donor a copy of the Duke of Sussex's speech on the Catholic question, beautifully bound in green morocco, and spangled with golden shamrocks. Inscribed in gold letters on the cover is "Augustus Frederick to the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle ;" while a fly-leaf records, in the Duke's autograph, his friendly feeling for the Bishop. Dr. Doyle's correspondence with his Royal Highness is, unhappily, not within our reach.

It would appear that, until the last moment, the King's views on the great question were painfully vacillating. The Premier, having been engaged in his study at Strathfieldsaye until the small hours, was disturbed before daybreak by the unexpected arrival of Lord Lyndhurst, with the news that his Majesty's sanction had been withdrawn. The Duke at once hurried to Brighton and tendered his resignation; but when the veteran advisers of the monarch were called upon to form a cabinet of resistance, they shrunk from the desperate attempt as vain. The King's scruples and prejudices were at last overcome. Sir Henry Parnell writes to Dr. Doyle on the 13th of April: "My dear Lord,—I have the exceedingly great gratification of telling you that the royal assent was given this day to the Catholic Relief Bill." Lord Eldon mourned at the news; "after all I had heard in my visits," he bitterly writes, "not a day's delay!"

CHAPTER VII.

Joy at the achievement of Emancipation—"Free without a crime or a tear"—Dr. Doyle aids the O'Connell tribute—His visit to Ulster, and to the remains of Oliver Plunkett—His address to the new ten-pound freeholders on the obligation of their oath—The law of charitable bequests—Vicariate correspondence—A national literary institute—He procures the appointment of Dr. Kinsella as Bishop of Ossory—The consecration—Advice to the young Bishop—Future episcopal distinction of some young priests predicted—Rev. W. Clowry's epitaph—Bishop Kelly of Waterford—Curious episode and correspondence—A rescript from Rome slighted—Angry differences between Seculars and Regulars—Letter to a nun—Difficulty of obtaining a plenary indulgence—Proposed check upon infanticide—Letter on the approaching death of his brother—Letter to Mariana.

THE jubilee which prevailed was exuberant and intense, but there was not a particle of vulgar triumph publicly manifested. The illuminations, which in the first glow of exultation had been projected, were with singular delicacy relinquished. Privately, however, much honest jubilation found expression. Monsignore Meagher exclaimed, "Gracious Lord, not only intolerance is struck dumb—not alone the ruling passions stand awestruck and confused—not alone mistaken princes, who had registered in heaven vows of deathless opposition to our claims, have vanished from the earth at Thy call—not alone the chains of bondage are shattered, and measures of justice dealt out ample and complete; but, as if by a miracle of that Providence which sets all human jubilation at defiance, the very rulers who had spent years in

defeating the people's rightful hopes Thou didst take into Thy hands, and bend them into the instruments whereby these hopes were at length accomplished ; and they who never bent to mortal man before—the conquerors by whom legions were vanquished and empires overthrown—bowed at Thy command before the might of a united country—united for justice, for freedom, and for Thee. O illustrious Doyle ! these works are in a chief degree the fruits of thy genius, and eloquence, and toils. *Per quam liberati sumus* : by whom we are free, and free without either a crime or a tear. Let other nations point to fields of carnage, ours is the purer and better fame."

Dr. Doyle arrogated to himself no merit, he claimed no share in the honour of the victory. On the 25th of April we find him enclosing £10 to the committee of the O'Connell tribute, and requesting that his name might be added to it. O'Connell's services, he said, to the great and sacred cause of civil and religious liberty were far too great to be adequately required.

Three days later we find Dr. Doyle preaching the consecration sermon in the new Catholic church of Newry. "There were thirteen Bishops present," writes Mr. Hanna, "including Drs. Kelly and Crolly, successively primates ; and I well remember that during the delivery of the sermon, which I considered to be characterised by chastened eloquence, Dr. Crolly never for a moment withdrew his eagle gaze from the features of J. K. L., whilst Dr. Kelly sat with bent head and crossed arms, never casting a glance at the preacher. After the services were over, I saw Dr. Doyle pacing alone through the churchyard, his figure slightly stooped, his head down, and wrapt in thought, and his hands grasped in each other behind his back."

On his way home he visited the Sienna Convent, Drogheda, chiefly with a view to see the head—still preserved there—of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett, who was decapitated and embowelled in 1681. Dr. Doyle entertained strong admiration for the memory and character of the martyred primate, and, unable to suppress the emotions which crowded upon him, he threw himself on his knees to venerate the relic, even although the Church forbids such demonstrations except to the ashes of beatified persons. Dr. Doyle felt that if Oliver Plunkett were not canonised, he ought to have been. We have seen the relic in question. The features are perfect, though withered, and a portion of the face is blackened but not consumed by a fire into which the head had been thrown after decapitation. The prioress speaks of the extreme edification which the nuns received from Dr. Doyle's saintly manners and deportment during the remainder of his visit to the convent.

He wrote, partly along the route homewards, a pastoral letter on the new ten-pound freeholder's qualification oath, which was read from every altar in the diocese on his return. The object of it was to excite anew, within the humblest freeholders, a lively horror of perjury. He reminded them that the sin was great and grievous, because it offended against the property of God, the interests of society, and the salvation of the soul for which Christ died. "He who commits perjury calls upon Almighty God to witness a lie, and thus dishonours the name and sanctity of the Lord. The perjurer also offends against all the interests of society; for law is maintained, persons and property secured, justice enforced, and crime punished, by bearing testimony to the truth; and he who commits perjury, or swears falsely, defeats, as far as in him lies, all those just and salutary purposes." Dr. Doyle forcibly explained that the man who professes to declare the truth, and presses the Gospel to his lips while concealing it, pronounces his own sentence, and damns by anticipation his own soul. To save a brother from bondage, to deliver a father from death, to preserve a mother from shame—nay, to avert the ruin of the whole world, it is not lawful to tell a lie; but to lie on oath is a crime too hideous for the mind to conceive or for language to express.

Dr. Doyle remarked that many of the freeholders in Ireland—some of them through ignorance—had heretofore committed the crime of perjury. "The rich," as the Apostle James expresses it, "oppressed them by might; they drew them before the judgment-seats, they blasphemed the good name that is invoked upon them, by tempting them, and suborning them to commit perjury; but these freeholders, however tempted and suborned, yet if they swore falsely, they committed sin, and are reprov'd by the law of God as transgressors. Take warning, then, beloved brethren, from evils which have occurred, which are notorious, which have been turned against the perpetrators of them, and which the justice of Heaven, perhaps, employed to punish even the innocent with the guilty; for the whole class of freeholders amongst whom these perjuries were committed have been stripped of their privileges. Only a few days more, and their vices and their virtues and their names will be forgotten for ever."

The Hon. H. Parnell, in a communication to the author, expresses a fear that but few letters from Dr. Doyle would be found among the papers of Lord Congleton, as it was a practice with that peer to destroy all letters unless those of very particular importance. A search having been kindly made at the request of the author, most voluminous collection of Dr. Doyle's letters came to light.

Lord Congleton's high opinion of the Bishop may be inferred from this fact. Among his papers is a letter endorsed, "Dr. Doyle's opinion of me." Mr. W. Maher writes : "I went to Maryborough to visit Dr. Doyle, who held a conference with his priests there. He told us all that we owed you a debt of gratitude we never should forget, and never could repay. He said your labours were incessant ; putting questions that you knew would be of use, cross-examining our enemies, by your writings and arguments securing many friends. In short, gentlemen, said he, if I possessed the talents of Mr. Brougham with my own anxiety for our cause, I protest, were I in his place, I do not think I could do more."

Sir H. Parnell did not forget Dr. Doyle's letter so far back as the year 1819 on the unsatisfactory state of the law of charitable bequests.

" LONDON, 18th May 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD,—In the committee on the Irish annual grants I hope I have made some progress in getting the matter of charitable bequests placed on a more satisfactory footing. I got the committee to examine Mr. O'Connell ; and the result was a resolution, unanimously agreed to, to recommend the alteration of the law which establishes the commissioners. The declared intention of the committee, in recommending this alteration, was, that a new commission should be appointed, half of which should be at least laymen and some of them Catholics ; and also some of the clerical part to be Catholics.

"I endeavoured to have it recommended that the power of prosecution should be taken away ; and I think that if the Catholic Bishops will apply to the Lord-Lieutenant after the session of Parliament, and when they can refer to the report of the committee, they will succeed in getting their powers limited to give information to the Attorney-General of concealed legacies. We are to have Mr. O'Connell this evening. I have hopes he will succeed."

The Bishop replied :—

" CARLOW, 25th May 1829.

"What has been done in the matter of Catholic bequests is of great value, and if acted on in the manner you anticipate will be productive of considerable advantage. I received lately five hundred pounds, confided to me for the purpose of promoting education, but which was upon the point of being sent to Rome, after having been rescued by the ingenuity of some lawyers from the commissioners. I might now appropriate this money, so

that the fulfilment of this trust depends, as in numberless other cases, on the integrity of an individual. We are now in danger of losing a very valuable holding in the Queen's County, leased to a parish priest who died suddenly and intestate a few months past; and though the landlord declares the lease was intended by his father as made in trust, yet we are exposed to lose the holding, though improved by the parishioners. There is another case actually pending, where a legacy left by Mrs. Butler, late of Paris, and designed to build and endow a school in the county, is liable to be litigated by those commissioners. So that if you succeed in reforming the law of 1800, you will remedy one of those practical evils of which we have been so long complaining in vain. This matter, however, is small compared with the annual Parliamentary grants for education and charitable cases in Dublin. They vex and disturb the whole country, and exhibit the Government in every parish in Ireland as hostile to the religion of the bulk of the people."

The allusion to "education" had hardly dropped from Dr. Doyle's pen, when he received the following note from his Vicar, Dr. Dunne:—"I avail myself of the earliest vacant moment in order to communicate to your Lordship the subject of a conversation I had with Lord Portarlington respecting the parish chapel of Emo. He tells me 'tis his wish, if possible, to have the chapel removed to another site, not exceeding half-a-quarter of a mile from the present, which he would build at his own expense, together with a suitable schoolhouse in connection, and ground to the extent of double what we are possessed of already, or more if wanted for burials. Astounded at such a rare instance of liberality, particularly in this land of prejudice, I scarcely knew how to express my gratitude; but if ever I was capable of making a graceful bow you may be sure I showed off on that occasion. On reading over this letter, I feel inclined to crave your indulgence for the, perhaps, too familiar manner in which I have written." Dr. Doyle replied—

"CARLOW, 1st June 1829.

"MY VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—What regards your health is not the least interesting, though not the most gratifying part of your letter. No doubt the physicians whom you mean to consult will recommend to you a trial of the waters of Cheltenham; and if so, do, I pray you, attend to their advice. We will endeavour to manage our affairs in your absence as well as we can.

"The proposition lately made to you is indeed extraordinary. I wish heartily the disposition which you suppose prompted it had

taken a different direction ; but, as it is, good may result from it. I would rather have our present chapel than any one to be built in lieu of it, for I fear that when the plan and estimates of one equally spacious and convenient are submitted to the noble Earl, he may hesitate, and perhaps in the end leave it to be completed by the people, or fall into bad temper on the subject.

“ Pray convince his Lordship that, before you open the subject to the people, it is necessary you should have a formal communication from his Lordship, to be read to them, wherein his benevolent intention towards them should be so expressed as to be obvious to all that a great benefit would result to the public from the contemplated changes ; as otherwise it would be in vain to attempt to induce them freely to relinquish a place of worship and burial endeared to them severally even more than their own homes. Also, that the new building should be entirely completed before the present would be abandoned, and the graves to remain undisturbed.”

A few weeks later he writes :—

“ Continue to attend to the perfect re-establishment of your health. Should you go to England, perhaps you might obtain from the rich and generous friends of Ireland in that country some aid in liquidation of the debts which are due to yourself and your parishioners on account of your new chapel. I know of few things which would be so gratifying to me as your being enabled to fulfil speedily the engagements which yourself and your excellent poor people have entered, with a view of promoting the solemnity of divine worship, and the improvement of public morality. I pray God to bless and preserve you, and to prosper your efforts in His service.”

The formation of a national literary institute for the extension of science to all classes of Irish youth had long been a cherished object with Dr. Doyle, but not until the year 1829 were his views fully unfolded. [His favourite plan was that science should be made to promote the spiritual interests of the Catholic faith by making her sons more fit for the battle of life, as in the Middle Ages she had furthered these interests by rendering the Aristotelian logic the organ of Christian theology.] A short letter of his, recommending the establishment of a model school, had attracted general attention two years previously. He now addressed to O’Connell a pamphlet specially devoted to the discussion of the question :—“ The many testimonies of approbation, and even assurances of support,” he writes, “ which I myself received from men of exalted rank, of different religious

persuasions, and of still more different political views, could not fail to convince me that in Ireland few things would be regarded more favourably than a well-directed effort to establish firmly and diffuse widely a scientific education. There are few undertakings of any magnitude in which men engage which are not doomed to encounter delays and meet with difficulties ; and if the institution, for the establishment of which those interested have already experienced and still calculate on your support, be liable to meet with only such impediments as have till now occurred, its success will realise their most sanguine hopes ; and yet, if it can be accomplished, a greater good will, in my opinion, be prepared for Ireland than is likely to result from any other of the numerous projects undertaken of late years for her advantage. A bold peasantry, 'tis true, is a nation's strength and pride ; but an educated people will be free, and bold, and opulent. The country possessed by such a people will have within her a fund of virtue, of invention, of energy and power, which never can be exhausted. Hence we find that all those great men who created empires, organised governments, framed useful laws, and, as it were, founded on a firm basis public morality and divine worship, considered the establishment of literary institutions as the glory of their age, and the most lasting advantage conferred by them upon their people. Free cities and republics identified with their very constitutions the encouragement of the arts, and of those sciences on which the arts themselves depend. And why not ? for how can liberty be secure, conquests or discoveries made, commerce extend herself and flourish, or how can religion be enlightened, pure or undefiled, unless science diffuse her lights, and compel men to exchange their animal propensities for holy pleasures ? ”

He complained that Ireland, with eight millions of inhabitants, possessed but one university, and that four, at least, would be required. The religious tests and exclusions of the existing university were, he submitted, a libel upon its very name ; for a university, to be such, should not confine its advantages to any particular class. She should not—whatever her system of instruction might be—devote herself almost exclusively, as ours had done, in preparing a limited number of gentlemen for the learned professions, or close, practically, her doors against the middling classes of the people.

So far back as the year 1768, some persons of distinguished position assembled to deliberate on a scheme not dissimilar from that to which Dr. Doyle now directed public attention. They saw how destitute of education the country had been rendered by

barbarous wars and still more barbarous laws. They deliberated about founding an institution where science and the arts should be taught, and they adopted for this purpose a plan submitted to them by Joseph Fenn, "a man," observed Dr. Doyle, "not less distinguished by his mathematical and philosophical knowledge than for his misfortunes. Yes, his misfortunes; for Fenn was a mere Irishman, a Catholic, and a Jesuit! And he, notwithstanding all his deserts, was consequently persecuted till he became deranged, and ended his days in a lunatic asylum. Yes, Fenn, who in pagan Greece or Rome, or in almost any civilised nation, would have deserved a statue from the chisel of a Phidias, was persecuted in Ireland, his own country, which he enriched with his labours, adorned with his knowledge, but on which his privations and sufferings reflect no small disgrace. But the noblemen and gentlemen who assembled in 1768, influenced by the example set them by the law which ignored the existence of the bulk of the people, consulted principally, if not exclusively, for the higher classes; or, if they did not, the Dublin Society—which they founded under the direction of Fenn, and agreeably to the plan which he submitted to them—has, like the other institutions of the country, failed to diffuse extensively the advantages of a scientific education."

Dr. Doyle argued that no man can love his neighbour as he loves himself who would not exert all the means within his reach to give to every youth of talent, how humble soever his sphere or narrow his circumstances, the power of advancing in knowledge, and of increasing, for his own and the public welfare, those gifts of nature which might otherwise remain buried in obscurity, or become powerful, if at all exerted, only to waste and to derange.

The Bishop was anxious "to work the immense mine of human talent which lies buried in Ireland, to separate the fine ore from the baser metals which encompass it, to bring it forth, and enrich by its aid not only this country, but every country on the habitable globe. Our ancestors once peopled Scotland; they afterwards civilised it, and taught it to believe in one only true God. These Scots became a people equally signalised for their virtues and their crimes, but since education, in these latter ages, subdued their fiercer passions, they cultivated literature, so that 'their staple commodity was said to be learning, and their chief export to be learned men.' Thus trade enriched them, their bravery and determination had already made them free. Let us learn from these, our descendants, not how to change the barren moor into a meadow or fertilise the mountain—for nature has exempted

us from this unwholesome toil—but to cultivate our talents, to educate our people, to acquire and secure our freedom, and to possess in peace and security the abundance with which our country teems; let it be our object not to export learning for gain, or send forth the needy scholar to forage India or the Cape for gold, but let us call forth from wheresoever he may be found the apostle to carry the lights of religion to him that is in darkness; the philosopher to guide the councils of nations; the men of letters to occupy the seats of learning, as we did formerly throughout Europe, and to confer thereby blessings upon states and empires. We need not, however, ascend to such hopes and views as these, in order to conceive a strong desire of providing for every class of our people the means of acquiring a scientific education. The amount of the sum necessary for this purpose, as well as the number and class of persons to whom the work to be undertaken ought to be confided, are subjects deserving the most serious attention. The persons to be selected for this purpose should obviously be few in number (for union always, and generally wisdom, is found rather in a few than in many counsellors); but they should be men of science, of zeal, of unblemished reputation, and possessing the confidence of the public. To these men I would commit the privilege of deliberating on the subject in question, of estimating the amount of the grant to be made for building, of determining as to the city or town in which the institution should be founded, of procuring a site for the building, of approving of a plan of the same, and engaging with an architect and builder for the erection of it."

Dr. Doyle suggested that the large sum of money remaining in the hands of the Catholic Association might properly be applied to the support of an institution created by the wants and existing only for the support of the country at large. "If then," he continued, "all of us who dwell in Ireland, and whose fame, and fortune, and interests, and affections are indissolubly connected with the country of our birth, are truly anxious to contribute something towards laying the foundation of her future welfare, we should not overlook the means we have of doing so, by opening to all her children the living fountains of knowledge, and rendering those fountains accessible to all. The heathen said, in the pride of his heart, '*Hæc sat est orare juvem, det vitam, det opes, æquum animum mihi animum ipse parabo*'—'Let the gods give length of days and wealth, and I will myself amass the riches of the mind;' but let us say, 'If Providence confer on Ireland peace, and industry, and equal laws, we will secure to her, by the diffusion of science, whatever is necessary to render her—

'Great, glorious, and free,
The first flower of the earth,
And first gem of the sea.'

"But let not the group confound us—let us take a single captive and view him in this prison of the soul, incapable almost of counting, by notches, the days of his captivity. Let us view him seated amidst the ruins of one of his ancient cities, on the site of some decayed temple, amazed at the lofty grandeur of its mouldering arches, but ignorant, perhaps, that the very soil existed a century before. But let him only be made acquainted with the history of his country—let her heroes, her saints, and her sages pass in review before his enraptured imagination—let the chiding spirit of one of her orators point out to him the mighty wreck of his country, and the gloomy melancholy will confer more real pleasure than the sceptre of a monarch could bestow : but the effects will not stop here ; he will be aroused from his lethargy—he will vindicate his own rights and those of his country, or enrich her with the produce of his labour or his art.

"Such, then," he concluded "is a summary of the thoughts which for some time have occupied my mind on the subject of an improved system of education in Ireland."

It should not be inferred from this philosophic pamphlet that Dr. Doyle was a strong advocate for a system of education which failed to include the important element of religion. His opinions upon the manner in which religious instruction should pervade and hallow education are clearly set forth in an address to his people containing directions for the fitting up of schools : "In all those schools religion shall be the first and last occupation of the child—to raise his pure hands to heaven ; as it is the first duty assigned him by his Creator, so shall it be the groundwork of all the instruction he may receive. Religion shall not be banished like some dangerous infection from our schools. The child shall not be taught to hide the summary of the law of God, to commune with Heaven by stealth, to deceive some petulant inspector, and shield his piety by a lie. No ; in our schools religious instruction shall be the basis of education, and this religious instruction will embrace whatever can contribute to mould the heart to virtue, to subdue the passions, to regulate the affections, and prepare the mind of the child for that world full of danger into which on leaving school he is obliged to enter."

William Kinsella was a favourite pupil of Dr. Doyle. This priest, in June 1829, received his appointment to the See of Ossory through the influence of Dr. Doyle, though the latter has been repeatedly pronounced to have had none at Rome.

Writing to the Rev. Peter Doyle, he says, "We are sending Mr. Kinsella to Ossory. I hope he will be a good Bishop, as the world gives me credit for obtaining his appointment."

Bishop Kinsella's sister observes: "All the priests of Ossory made a strong resistance when informed that their new Bishop would be one of Dr. Doyle's pupils. A meeting of the clergy was held in the diocese, but they dissolved it on learning that all petitioning or remonstrance was vain, as Dr. Doyle's letter in recommendation of my brother had been accepted by the Pope. Dr. Doyle consecrated him in Kilkenny at the early age of thirty-two. 'Well,' he said, after the ceremonial had concluded, 'I have been placing the uneasy mitre on that poor boy's head.'"

In taking a walk with Dr. Kinsella after his consecration, Dr. Doyle, amongst other advice, said, "When you act as a Bishop, be always on the right, and stand to it." "But what if I be in the wrong?" "No matter—be always in the right."

Dr. Doyle was fond of contemplating Bishops in embryo. Among other Carlow priests who made studies under him may be mentioned Cardinal Cullen, Right Rev. Dr. Nolan, Right Rev. Dr. Clancy, and the Right Rev. Dr. Walshe, not to speak of Dr. Maher and Fr. Delany, to both of whom mitres had been offered. A kinsman of Dr. Doyle, addressing the author, observes: "I often heard my aunt, Mrs. Coney, say that Dr. Doyle told her, shortly after the ordination of Dr. Walshe, that he would wear the mitre."¹

As prudent men generally like to hear prophecies before their verification, we may add that Mrs. Coney, who mentioned this fact, died several years previous to the appointment of Dr. Walshe to the see of Kildare.

Most of the priests who studied at Carlow during Dr. Doyle's time attained not a little distinction. Bishop O'Connor informed us that, in his presence, Dr. Doyle prophesied that at a future day Mr. Cullen would rise to great eminence. The gifted Cardinal ceased not to remember with gratitude Dr. Doyle's early interest in him. His Eminence observes: "I feel a personal interest in

¹ The good Bishop was not unmindful of the interest which Dr. Doyle took in his progress. A beautiful letter, addressed to the writer, thus concludes: "I have detained you too long; but the deep interest which I take in the subject will be accepted by you as my apology. Besides the claims which the memory of Dr. Doyle has upon me as an Irishman and a Catholic, there are special reasons which endear his remembrance to me. Well acquainted with him from my childhood, having learned much of what I know from his lips, brought up in the sanctuary under his guidance, having witnessed in his life and in his death his heroic Christian virtues, I should be insensible, not only to his kindness, but also indeed to the inestimable value of intellectual greatness, exalted moral worth, and profound religious sentiment, if I could ever cease to venerate the memory of the great Prelate of Kildare and Leighlin. Your valuable labours will, we expect, be productive of much public benefit. Accept the assurance of our deep and abiding gratitude, and the expression of the esteem and regard with which I am, &c."

your success. When I was very young, and commencing my studies in Carlow College, I had the happiness of knowing Dr. Doyle, then Professor of Theology in that noble and flourishing Catholic institution, and of enjoying his instructions, and receiving encouragement from his paternal kindness. I would now consider myself ungrateful indeed were I not anxious that the memory and the good works of so great a man should be rescued from oblivion and recorded by a skilful hand like yours in the annals of our Church, for the instruction and edification of posterity."

Dr. Doyle, we have heard it alleged, once declared that if God would give him length of days, he should not despair of being able to instruct, under his own eye, a number of priests to send on a mission to England. He did not seem to think that the project of bringing back the Anglican Church to the fold of Peter was by any means Utopian; but the English Bishop, Dr. Baines, differed with him, and said that as soon might we expect the skin of the negro to return to its aboriginal whiteness.¹ Dr. Doyle had, no doubt, a singularly happy way of engrafting his wisdom and tact on minds with which he came in daily contact; and the truth of this remark is shown in the superiority of the Carlow priests.

If Dr. Doyle had the satisfaction of witnessing, in June 1829, the elevation of one of his favourite pupils, he had the sorrow, a month later, of writing the epitaph of another. The following is copied from Mr. Clowry's tablet at Tullow :²—"To the memory of the Rev. William Clowry, whose talents and virtues came forth with him from his mother's womb, and were cultivated by him with the most assiduous care. His zeal, his eloquence, and polemic writings placed his name, when he had only arrived at manhood, among the most distinguished in the Church of Ireland. Having administered this parish for nine years, and fulfilled in that short space a long time, he was taken away, 'lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or death beguile his soul.' *Wisd.*, chap. iv. Obit, A.D. 1829, æt. 35. R.I.P."

[Large fees had followed him as a favourite preacher, and Dr. Doyle dreaded lest he should die a rich man.]

The Bishop also wrote an epitaph this year on the Very Rev. William Chapman, R.C. Dean of Ferns.

Immediately on his return to Carlow, he conducted the public examinations of the lay students, and expressed the satisfaction he

¹ [*Vide* chapter ix. for striking facts in illustration of his scheme for the conversion of England.]

² [The first spire erected after Emancipation was on the crumbling walls of old Tullow chapel. The administrator, proud of the achievement, asked Dr. Doyle what he thought of it. "Though good," said Dr. Doyle, "I confess it reminds me of a new patch on an old vesture."]

felt in knowing that their advancement in science was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in virtue.

During the same month we find Dr. Doyle in correspondence with Dr. O'Connor, O.S.A., who had sought his counsel on the subject of a preparatory school which he projected. He recommended him to follow the entrance course of Maynooth. As to the prospectus itself, it is a commonplace thing, of which copies are found every day in the newspapers, and which may be adapted to any particular school *mutatis mutandis*. He concluded by outlining the course of study for the first, second, and third year. The latter included Irish History.

This correspondence led to the discussion of a much more interesting subject, with which the Right Rev. Dr. Kelly, Bishop of Waterford, is curiously interwoven. Some account of this divine, by way of preface, may be interesting.

He had been a professor in St. John's Seminary, Kilkenny, and previously the occupant of a chair of philosophy at Lisbon. It having been represented to the Propaganda that the Archbishop of Baltimore's diocese had become too large for one prelate effectively to administer, and that a schism had sprung up there, the Bulls for the consecration of two suffragans arrived, and Drs. Kelly and England proceeded to America. The old Archbishop at once surrendered Carolina to Dr. England, but is said to have at first objected to award a corresponding portion of the diocese to Dr. Kelly. [The Bull of Dr. Kelly's consecration is dated 11th July 1820. In a letter to his brother-in-law, October 29, 1821, he writes :—"The Archbishop of Baltimore, from whose diocese mine was cut off, against his Grace's will, is gone to Rome. I feel no interest, *pro* or *con*, nor do I even know what may be the object of this journey, though I fear his unkind reception of me in Baltimore, of which I advised the Propaganda, will prove troublesome to him there."] During this interval, he is said, without wholly relinquishing the crozier, to have resumed the rod, by opening a school at Baltimore. His crushing vigour in the suppression of schism is recorded by himself, and does him honour. Addressing his family in Ireland, he tells :—" *I extinguished the schism in root* by wresting forcibly the church from the schismatics in April, and by retaining its possession since." In October 1821, Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Waterford, died at Rome. It is a prerogative of the Holy See to nominate to all vacancies occasioned by deaths which occur at Rome ; but, in courtesy to the diocese of Waterford, intimation was conveyed to the vicar-capitular that Dr. Kelly should be postulated for. This was done, and in July 1822 he arrived in Ireland. Erect in

deportment, of great muscular strength and colossal proportions, with general attire in keeping with his tight-fitting and shining black silk stockings, erudite, ascetic, determined, and dogmatical, Dr. Kelly was not unfrequently viewed with feelings of awe. But it was soon discovered that he possessed the heart of a true patriot. He was one of the first prelates who sustained the Catholic Association. The vigorous blow by which the Beresfords—so long the scourge of Ireland—were ousted from Waterford, at the general election of 1826, had been planned and inflicted by the Bishop.

Sheil declared that he was “a man of high talents and acquirements, of a firm, decided, and manly character, with a bold and inflexible spirit, and something of a republican simplicity of mind.” Dr. Kelly was a true friend to the people. He once travelled fifty miles out of his road on one day in order to procure the title-deeds of two freeholders, who desired to register the following morning for the Liberal interest, and whose votes would otherwise have been lost. To tithes and minister’s money he was a deadly foe, and consistently resisted the payment of them in his own person. His pertinacity in adhering to a position which he considered to be right is illustrated by the fact that he suffered books from St. John’s library to be seized, bacon from the kitchen, and furniture from the dining-hall, rather than yield one moral inch to his opponents.

Patient of fatigue in pursuing his biennial visitations, and holding frequent conferences with the clergy, he was known often to ride near forty miles before breakfast. While a curate at Inistiogue and after he became a Bishop his attendance at the bed of sickness was edifying and unflinching.

Until 1815, the convent and chapel of the Augustinian Friars of Dungarvan had been composed of four poor thatched cabins. Dr. Robert Walshe, the then Bishop, permitted them to erect a commodious new chapel in the town. Before it had been entirely finished he died, and Dr. Kelly succeeded him. Dr. Kelly viewed as an intrusion the erection of a new Augustinian church in Dungarvan, and he enforced his authority so excessively as to nail up its doors for four years; the Augustinians continued quietly to remonstrate, but all to no effect. Dr. Kelly was inexorable. He seems to have regarded the course pursued as an aggression, and was determined consistently to resist it. Dr. Doyle, having been appealed to by the Friars for counsel and help, thus replied :—

“CARLOW, 30th July 1829.

“I would add to Dr. Keating’s name, after the word ‘Bishop’

*

—‘of Ferns.’ This is not against law ; ’tis the use or assumption of it by himself which the late Act forbids.

“What you say of Dungarvan obliges me to tell you of my relation with Dr. Kelly. He had laboured very much out of his way to procure the appointment of his uncle, Mr. Nolan, to the See of Ossory. I counteracted his efforts for that purpose, and doubtless, he imputes to me the disappointment which he has met with. Under these circumstances, if Dr. Kinsella or myself were imprudent enough to interfere in any place or matter within his diocese, he would consider himself injured ; and no person knows better how to resent an injury, real or supposed. As to the rest, it is right to open the chapel, but with even less *éclat* than if you doing so was not in virtue of a Roman rescript.”

Dr O’Connor, as Provincial, wrote to Rome ; and the matter having been inquired into, he received a rescript calling upon Dr. Kelly, for the sake of peace and religion, to open and bless the new church. One day after high mass, during a visitation of the Bishop to Dungarvan, Dr. O’Connor entered the sacristy as Dr. Kelly was unvesting. The Friar respectfully presented the rescript, and asked, “What answer, my Lord, am I to give ?” “I shall answer it myself, sir,” replied the Bishop. “My Lord,” proceeded Dr. O’Connor, “it is meet that I, to whom this rescript has been intrusted, should apprise the Holy See of the result. Your Lordship will now see the propriety of amicably yielding a point which for five years we have been disputing.” “Perhaps the dispute may last five more, sir,” replied the Bishop sternly. “This rescript shall be answered by no hand but mine.”¹ [Dr. O’Connor when leaving genuflected, as is usual, for the episcopal blessing. “O sir, I dislike those formalities,” was the response.]

Dr. Doyle writes :—

“CARLOW, 3d August 1829.

“MY DEAR VERY REV. SIR,—I am not at all surprised at the result of your interview with Dr. Kelly, because he is prone by nature to contradiction. It was an entire ignorance of the man’s character which led your friends at Rome to hope that he would be led by reasoning to act rightly. I told Mr. Rice in Kilkenny, that even if commanded to open your chapel, he would not do it.

¹ [In the first edition of this work the name of the Bishop was not mentioned ; but a sacerdotal nephew of his, in some public letters, assailed the present writer in savagely personal terms. Letters in reply, spiritedly sustaining the biographer for historic truthfulness, appeared from the late Bishop O’Connor, but the controversy must not be obtruded here. As regards our Rev. assailant, he would do well to remember that they who live in glass houses should not throw stones.]

He will never open it for you. If it is to be opened, it must be in virtue of an order addressed to yourself to go there and do it, and I doubt whether you will be able to obtain such order. I suppose the application to Dr. Kelly to permit the opening of the chapel was made when some old woman was Provincial ; for it was the most absurd abandonment of right I ever heard of. You were entitled by a Roman rescript, to be found, I think, in Burke, to rebuild your convents, &c., within a league, or some such distance, of the old site ; and if any contrary usage crept in, such usage must have been overrated by the rescript of Hayes, *nondum querela* ; so that all your difficulties have been created by yourselves ; and yourselves having referred this matter to Propaganda thereby relinquished your old right, nor can you now in this case resume it. All, therefore, that remains to you is to plead at Rome, and there the Italian *vederemo* will be pretty nearly the same to you as Dr. Kelly's assumption. As to disedification, &c., don't speak of that, for no person minds it when there is question of interest or right ; still less will attention be paid to your pecuniary loss.

"If I thought Dr. Kelly was a good life, I would, like a man tempted to go into Chancery, burn the bond—that is, I would sell the whole concern, and quit Dungarvan ; but that you won't do ; perhaps, though I might do it, you might not. Your only course is, in my opinion, to importune them at Rome for a rescript to yourself such as above mentioned."

Dr. Doyle would seem to have had a presentiment of Dr. Kelly's approaching dissolution. Before the autumn terminated he had fallen with the leaves.

Soon after this event, Dr. O'Connor wrote to the vicar-capitular, Dr. Foran, for a reversal of Dr. Kelly's decision. Dr. Foran, as the representative of the late prelate, hesitated to do so. The following letter finishes this curious episode :—

"CARLOW, 20th October 1829.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I regret that you did not let the ashes of Dr. Kelly cool before you applied to the vicar-capitular for a reversal of the late prelate's decision. It appears very proper to inform the authorities in Rome of the reply you have received, and to urge again that a commission be directed to yourself to open the chapel. If I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect on the subject, the first step on his part would be to send my letter to the vicar, require his reply, and thus, besides new delays, I would find myself implicated in an affair not of my own diocese, or even

of my own province. This is what I should not relish. Had you written to me before you applied to Dr. Foran, I would have interceded with him ; but now how can the man be led to retract his own opinion officially given ? Yet I will write confidentially to him, as he is an old acquaintance of mine ; but I hardly expect to succeed. In these circumstances, you will see the necessity of not mentioning my knowledge of the matter ; nor will I trouble you on it by letter, unless things be more favourable than I expect ; in the meantime you should write to Rome."

Dr. Foran, appreciating the justice of Dr. Doyle's representation, gave at length the required sanction, and on the Sunday within the octave of St. Augustine, 1829, the new church was opened for divine service. Dr. Doyle writes : "I am sincerely rejoiced that the affair of your chapel at Dungarvan is so happily terminated, and to have contributed in any way to that termination is to me a subject also of pleasure. But Dr. Foran, from whom I heard at length on the subject some time ago, is a person incapable, I believe, of acting otherwise than becomes a man of sincere piety and great good sense. I always esteemed him as one of the most able and deserving ecclesiastics whom I have known, and his conduct in your business justifies the very good opinion I had of him."

This, and the incident noticed in the following letter, may be said to have closed the angry differences which had so long divided the secular and regular clergy in Ireland. The Bishop of Limerick desired, among other matters, that the Friars of his diocese should have no privileges beyond the secular priesthood. He did not wish that the Friars should be at liberty to remain longer away from their convents than priests from their presbyteries. The Superior of the Augustinians, in an interview with the Bishop, assumed an independence of tone which gave offence to his Lordship. The following letter is characteristic of Dr. Doyle's justice and impartiality :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I think you would find no difficulty in coming to a good understanding with the Bishop. I see nothing in what is reported of the conversation between his Lordship and Mr. C—— that is not indicative of a conciliating mind ; and if you were to treat with him, and express, as I think you ought to do, your very great sorrow that any cause of offence had been given to him by any member of your Order, but especially by a Provincial of it, you would not fail to find in him a very paternal feeling towards you.

"For God's sake put strife and appeals to law out of your mind. I never knew of one difference in fifty which might not be healed by good temper, patience, and address—whilst all the world know that religion has suffered exceedingly from legal differences between Bishops and Regulars.

"The decree of 1751 does not regard Regulars stationed in convents. Dr. Ryan seems to recognise this, and let you, on the other hand, declare your full concurrence in any diocesan statute which regulates the time and conduct of the regular and secular clergy in their absence from their respective homes. It is right you should do so, and not seek any exemption, *extra septa monasterii*, for your brethren, to which the secular clergy are not also entitled. The admonition to the Regulars to attend the work-house, hospitals, and prisons is what St. Francis Xavier, were he Bishop, would write and advise, and as to the prohibition to solemnise marriage, administer extreme unction, the Eucharist, *per modum viatici*, or in their own churches on Easter day—it is the common law of the Church, of which no Regular complains. In fact, there is no difference worth notice between you, and observations on the decree of 1815, or on referring the matter to arbitration, are, I think, quite unnecessary. I cannot care whether you show this letter to the Bishop or do not."

This letter elicited a voluminous reply, which Dr. Doyle thus notices :—

"Whatever of it you wrote with a view of exculpating yourself with me from an imputation of acting irreverently towards the Bishop was unnecessary, as I never for a moment supposed you had done so, nor did I think at all on the subject from the time I last wrote to you.

"I know you have been a good deal perplexed, and that your apprehension about your own management of the trust confided to you trouble you ; but good-humour, address, and an appearance of yielding when passions are opposed to you, would be of great service in dealing with men. I know that the substance of right is very distinct from the *apices juri*, and that a reference to privilege (a thing odious of its nature) is always calculated to beget opposition. Privilege is like a treasure—it ought to be guarded, but never spoken of.

"I mentioned your affair to the Bishop. He desired I would give an opinion, which he would adopt, on the statute in his diocesan regulations to which the Regulars object. Having read the statute, I did so ; and my opinion was, that the control over Regulars assumed by the Ordinary in that statute was *nil defectu*

juris, except in the latter part, wherein there is mention of administering extreme unction, the Eucharist, *per modum viatici*, or on Easter Day, as well as blessing marriages. I added, however, that the Bishop had a right to enact for all the clergy, secular and regular, a statute regulating the time of their absence from the diocese. His Lordship hoped I could have given him the above opinion in writing, but I had not then an opportunity of doing so, nor do I suppose it at all necessary, as his Lordship appeared fully disposed to abide by the laws of the Church, and the application of them in that case, as made by me."

The following letter to a young nun was written on the visitation to which the Bishop alludes :—

"MOUNTMELICK, 26th September 1829.

"MY DEAR CHILD,—Though I was rejoiced to receive a letter from you, I am distressed to find by it that your fortitude and constancy are so seriously tried. The timidity and anxiety you feel are in themselves trifling, though they weigh heavily on your tender mind; they are permitted by Him who watches over you, in order to prove at this period the fidelity of your co-operation with the graces you have received. But they are not of that description of defects or dispositions which unfit us for a religious state, and there can be no better reason for your perseverance in that state than your exemption from dispositions different from those you feel. It is an excess of zeal, a desire to do more, and to do it better than you are able, which afflicts you. But God, I trust, will teach you to moderate your desires of good, and to be content to offer Him what He enables you to perform. The omission of prayers of habit or devotion through want of time, or because you were otherwise occupied, is no fault whatever; and your anxiety about the children, and about the trifles in your possession, is only an excess of diligence which seldom or never is tainted with the least sin. The dryness and distraction at prayer is only a passing trial, necessary to purify the soul, but does not take away from the merit of your actions, which are, notwithstanding that trial, made conformable to your rule. Have courage and confidence, my beloved child, for God could not be angry with you for evils which you lament only because they would separate you, in some degree, from Him. His favour will return, and you will yet rejoice in Him. Recollect He told His disciples, 'The world will rejoice, but you will be sad; but I will return, and you will fill your hearts, and your joy no one will take away from you!' In the Jubilee you are only to do what the Pope prescribes, for God will have obedience, not sacrifice. Continue to pray for me."

During the great Jubilee at Rome, St. Philip Neri was asked how many thousand persons had succeeded in obtaining the benefit of the indulgence. The saint, who was a man divinely inspired, replied, with more truth than humility, "Only myself and an old woman." Dr. Doyle knew the extreme difficulty of obtaining a plenary indulgence, and throughout the Jubilee of the year 1829 constantly reminded the sinners who surrounded him that it was not every one who said "Lord, Lord," that should enter heaven.

Between satisfying the scruples of nuns on the one hand, and gratifying statesmen by an expression of opinion on the other, Dr. Doyle's pen was rarely idle. During his Parliamentary examinations on the state of the Irish poor of 3d June 1830, Dr. Doyle was asked :—

"*Q.* Do you think it desirable that a provision should be made and continued by law for deserted children?—*A.* That is a subject which formed part of a bill lately introduced by the Right Honourable the noble Secretary of State for our country. I received a copy of that bill, and my opinion of it was sought for. I hesitated before I gave that opinion, but the result was that I would prefer the bill, with very little alteration from its original state, rather than to have no bill; for though I saw it would be an encouragement to vice and immorality upon the part of females, I saw that it would also be a great check upon the part of young men, and I thought it might prevent infanticide.

"*Q.* Do you conceive that the benefit of the check upon infanticide, to which you have alluded, would be commensurate to the mischief that might be created by holding out a premium on desertion?—*A.* I believe a politician would be more competent than I am to form a just notion upon the subject. I have such a horror of infanticide, I look upon that crime as so great, so unnatural, tending to harden the heart of the mother, as well as to destroy an infant, and send its soul away from the sight of the Redeemer, that I would leave society open to many evils in order to prevent the committal of such crime, though it were to be committed in only a few cases. I think, therefore, that something of my feelings and peculiar opinions might bias my judgment on this subject. I would not, on this matter, confide in my own opinions, still less would I wish that others should adopt them."

On his return home, Dr. Doyle found among his letters one announcing the continued illness of his last surviving brother.

"CARLOW, 27th September 1829.

"MY DEAR MARY,—What you mention of Peter's situation has grieved, nay, afflicted me exceedingly. I have all the year past

intended to see him about this time, and will, God willing, go down when the Jubilee will have ended here ; but then what can I do for him, except to witness the painful state to which he, who in this world is most dear to me, is reduced ; comfort has been unknown to him now for many years. I should wish to bring him here and let him end his days with me, where I could watch over him as my heart and duty would dictate ; but I have never mentioned this to him, that he did not express his determination to remain and die where he is. I am sure he cannot be destitute of feeling ; but his feelings I hope are painful only, when he is excited by the presence of some friend. I will do all in my power to increase the attentions necessary for him.

“ The Rev. M——, whom you mention, has been the occasion of many cures being wrought ; but I am not sure that your state of health is such as would warrant you an extraordinary interposition of Providence to improve it. If you have lively faith in God, and seek better health only to serve Him better, you might be favoured with it ; but I would not desire you to leave home for such a purpose. When you are in Ross, you might drive up and pay your devotions in that way ; but privately. Tell your mother to read Thomas à Kempis, and pray for her protégé, and to God to direct me.”

In October 1829, his correspondence with Mariana is resumed. Knowing Dr. Doyle's affection for the memory of Catherine, she sent him anonymously some little mementos of that sanctified and gifted girl.

“ I received, some days ago,” he writes, “ a most valuable package of books, prints, and all things else I could desire, except only a letter from the donor ; but as I imagine that such and so much kindness could emanate only from you, and that some accident prevented you from telling me with how much feeling and how many tender recollections you deposited those mementos with me, I will not, in expectation of hearing from you, delay longer to thank you most warmly for such a token of your continued kindness, and do assure you that I shall preserve it with a care proportionate to the singular esteem I entertained for her who once possessed them ; but these are subjects on which 'tis not good to dwell, if we in earnest strive to die to this world and to live to God. This is not an easy task under any circumstances, but it is made doubly difficult when, leading ourselves into temptation, we either enjoy too much the good we possess, or think too fondly of what has been taken away from us. I hope indeed this Jubilee will wipe away all our trespasses ; yours, if you have

any recorded against you, will be easily brushed out ; and if I could transfer my heavy debts to the old women and brawny men who surround me from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, they would never appear in judgment against me—for these good people, by their fervour and good works, seem to have taken possession of all the stores of heaven."

CHAPTER VIII.

Dr. Doyle's acquaintance with and guardianship of the Misses Anderson—Singular episode—Correspondence with Miss Anderson—Alleged supernatural appearance—Anecdote—Letter to Mariana—Rev. Dr. Harold—A literary bequest—Vicariate correspondence—Pastoral address to the misguided—Its beneficial effect—Eulogiums on Dr. Doyle—A double murder—Rare presence of mind—Retribution—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry on the abolition of holidays, and with the Rev. G. Carr on Temperance Societies.

DR. DOYLE'S acquaintance with two young ladies named Anderson forms a curious episode in this narrative. Of Bessie, the younger sister, a memoir has appeared from some zealous Evangelical pen, under the title of "The Morning of Life." She was born in 1815, of parents who held conflicting religious opinions. Her father was a Protestant and the mother a Catholic. "Her natural disposition was proud and her temper passionate. As a child she used to stamp her foot to the ground from anger" (p. 112). "At the age of ten, Bessie was confirmed by Dr. Doyle, the celebrated Roman Catholic Bishop, and admitted to frequent confession" (p. 13). "As she knelt, and laid her hand on her heart, and said, she had sinned, 'through my fault, my exceeding great fault,' she felt overwhelmed, and uttered the words with the deepest feeling. After confession she felt as if a weight were removed, and that she had been fully forgiven" (p. 14). On the death of her mother she gave vent to great grief, "and determined to spend the night at the end of the garden, by the river, without a bonnet or shawl, hoping that the damp chills of the night air might give her such a violent cold that she should die and rejoin her mother" (p. 18). Sarah, the other sister, was the senior of Bessie by seven years. "Dr. Doyle, who was their guardian, acted like a father to them, and viewed Bessie as his particular charge, expecting she would soon become the inmate of a convent under his direction" (p. 23). Their brothers, however, had been reared Protestants—Mr. Anderson's express commands, and this example had its effect."

The two sisters, extremely headstrong and somewhat eccentric, as we have seen, informed Dr. Doyle that they would no longer remain Catholics. "They had a sincere respect and love for their guardian; nor would it have been easy to find a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church more truly worthy of respect. When he spoke, enthusiasm fired his eye, his words became eloquent, and in his fine open brow there was no deception. For two years this controversy continued. Bessie read the books lent by the Bishop attentively with her sister, and weighed the arguments on each side. When they had finished one book they took it back to Dr. Doyle, pointed out to him what they thought wrong, and brought forward Scripture proofs. Then followed a long engagement, which ended by his giving them a fresh supply of books" (pp. 27, 29).

The biographer continues: "When they had waded through this great book, a day and hour were appointed on which they were to give their final and decisive answer. They went to Dr. Doyle's house; he soon made his appearance, and sitting down between the sisters, he first turned to the elder one, and asked her if she still maintained the same opinion. She answered firmly, 'I will not weary you with a repetition of the opinions I have expressed; but they have not changed.' He then asked Bessie if she agreed with her sister. She said, 'Entirely; our judgments on this matter are quite agreed.' He then rose and stood before them, and, for not less than two hours, gave a most impassioned address, in which, with all the powers of eloquence, with which a deep interest in their welfare inspired him, he appealed first to their reason, and then to their affections and feelings, and ended by saying to Sarah, 'And, not content with throwing yourself into the dark abyss of error and perdition which yawns at your feet, you drag your young sister with you, and will have to account before the judgment-seat of God for the ruin of her soul as well as for that of your own.' He ended, and fell back in a chair overwhelmed with fatigue and emotion. During all the time he spoke, Sarah had not moved a muscle or raised her eyes from the ground; and when he had ceased, a sharp conflict was taking place within her between natural affection and conscience. She saw by Dr. Doyle's agonised countenance the deep grief he endured on their account. She lifted her heart in prayer to God for help in this trying moment, and she received help; conscience prevailed, the struggle was over, and she turned to Bessie, and said, 'We had better return now.' She made an attempt to rise, but fell back, having lost the use of her limbs from a stroke of paralysis, brought on, it was supposed, by suppressing her emotion during that long heart-rending speech, in which her

feelings had been wrought to the highest pitch. Sarah was carried home, and confined to a sick-room for some months ; and during the whole remainder of her life she seldom could walk without help, and then only for a short distance " (pp. 30-33).

"After leaving the Church of Rome, she was sadly grieved and puzzled by the distracted state of Protestantism " (p. v.). "Her becoming a Protestant did not cause any coldness in her intercourse with Dr. Doyle ; on the contrary, the unhappy termination of the last interview he had with Sarah seemed to call forth all the kindly feelings of his nature. He still retained his guardianship over the two orphans. He felt that Bessie was now more than ever thrown upon his care, being deprived of the constant companionship of her sister, from whom she had hardly ever been separated during the last two years, but who was now confined to her bed. He therefore gave Bessie full liberty to resort to his house and enter his study whenever she chose, and she gladly availed herself of this permission. Sometimes when she entered he was busy writing, and would raise his finger to prevent her speaking. She would therefore take a book, and sit down quietly and read, waiting till he was disengaged ; or she would watch his varying countenance as he wrote those stirring papers on political subjects which were published in the journals of the day.¹ Frequently he would enter into a long dissertation on philosophy or science, or else discuss some metaphysical subtlety, till he quite bewildered Bessie, and perhaps himself also. By intercourse with a man of such universal information and deep thought, her intellectual faculties were early and fully developed. He spoke freely to her on many subjects, and found that, though she had not numbered many years, she had powers of mind quite capable of following him " (pp. 34, 35).

She now attended the Presbyterian Kirk. "Her zeal had not cooled in these untoward services, but she felt that her heart had gradually grown cold, and became estranged from God. She had neglected private prayer and meditation, 'and God had not been in all her thoughts.' When she was roused from this spiritual lethargy, anguish and despair laid hold on her. She reflected where she had fallen—what peace she had once enjoyed " (p. 38).

¹ We are informed by an intimate of Dr. Doyle that these repeated visits of Miss Anderson became at last extremely troublesome. When refused admission to the Bishop, she would sometimes spend the entire day in the garden at Braganza, either pacing up and down the walks or constructing a grotto of moss and shells. Dr. Doyle, in appearing to our informant on one morning that he had denied himself to Miss Anderson, pulled down all the blinds in the drawing-room lest she should observe him from the garden. He alluded to her on this occasion as "that poor cracked creature"—W. J. F.

Some years passed away, and the sisters were separated.

"Bessie, one Sunday morning in bed, was awaked by feeling a hand gently laid on her head. She opened her eyes, and finding it was yet dark, wondered who could call her so early; she turned round and saw a bright figure standing by her bed. A black veil covered the face, so that she could not distinguish the features, but the whole figure was robed in light as dazzling as that of the sun, which shone through the covering of the face; it made a farewell sign of the hand, and disappeared. Bessie trembled violently. Being naturally possessed of so much courage, it shows how the flesh quails at being brought even for an instant into the presence of a being from the unseen world; as it is said in *Job* iv. : 'Fear came upon me, and trembling which made all my bones to shake; then a spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up.' She felt convinced that some sorrow was awaiting her, from the black veil the apparition wore; but she never guessed the truth. A letter informed her that Sarah had died about the very hour that Bessie had that remarkable vision. She had appeared in better health than usual for some time past, and had retired to her room feeling comparatively well. Apoplexy came on quite suddenly" (p. 72).

Miss Anderson had begged Dr. Doyle to read a work by Mr. Romain. He complied.

"The author was a Calvinist," he writes, "though put into the English Church by a mob. His work is everywhere tinged or filled with the errors and heresies of his sect, and with these are joined numerous reflections replete with natural piety, gilded over with the truths of revelation. If the orthodox part of his book could be separated from the portions of it which are erroneous or heretical, the former would be useful and edifying; but as it is, it might be likened to the pasture in which the hemlock grows up with the wholesome herbage.

"The folly of those who disobey or despise Christ whilst they disobey or despise the authorities constituted by Him, and at the same time attach themselves with great fervour to some truth of the Gospel and boast of their own assurance of sanctification, is really like that species of derangement by which the humblest persons are led to look upon themselves as kings, or princes, or princesses. The application you would make of the series of texts with which you favoured me is, dear child, totally inapplicable: it is so in every instance. So do not wrong yourself, in your present delicate state, my making such selections. Rather employ yourself in praying to God to direct you. . . ."

"I have read this morning a second time the letter with

which you favoured me by your sister, and I am pained to find that the object of the interview you wish to have with me should be, 'to hear from my lips if you be justified in believing that the Church really wishes to render your mind inert, in order to have it so enfeebled as to lose its relish for the invigorating sentiments that were given to support it ; and if not, how it is that the milk she has offered will not assimilate with them.' I am, my dear child, totally unacquainted with even the possibility of the invigorating sentiments of true piety having any existence except in those believers who are enlightened and strengthened by the Spirit of comfort and truth who abides with the people of God, united by charity one with another, obeying those whom God has appointed to watch as to give to Him an account of their souls, partaking together of the one bread, and having no divisions among them ; no one of them separating from or deserting the congregation of the Lord ; but hearing the doctrine, and adhering to the judgment of those who are sent by Christ to rule His Church, and with whom He and His Spirit always abide. Whatever sentiments will not assimilate with the milk given by them, are not, indeed, cannot be, from God or Christ ; for Christ is not divided ; and God is not the God of dissensions, but of peace. There are spirits of error, but not from God ; and the mode to prove any spirit is, 'if it be found to accord with what is delivered in the Church ;' for not only does Satan transform himself into a spirit of light, but if even an angel from heaven came and taught any doctrine but that which has been delivered by those whom Christ sent, and continues in their successors till the consummation of the world, he should be anathema—that is, separated and cast out. It is these sentiments, then (which appear to give vigour, but only as the over-excited fancy or the fever does in those whom it afflicts), and not the milk or strong food given by the Church, which are to be or can be altered. To a sound constitution it will give strength and life ; to one that is diseased, it will, if taken with patience, humility, and obedience, bring back health and vigour of soul. You observe, 'There was a time when, lulled by the belief on which they ground their fitness for heaven, I too flattered myself that a strict observance of outward worship would do, without seeking to enjoy an intimate communion with God through the operations of the Holy Ghost, who, as a Spirit of truth, of holiness, and of power, enlightens, purifies, and warms each soul that awakes to recover and maintain its dignity.' I regret, my dear child, that you were ever led to think that a strict observance of outward worship—than which few things afford a better evidence of inward purity of heart and piety of mind—

could have exempted you from the sacred duty of seeking an intimate communion with God through His Holy Spirit ; for that is an error found only in very bad or imperfect believers, but nowhere even tolerated in the doctrines of our holy Church. Our catechisms, by which we instruct the children and ignorant, are mainly occupied in expounding the mysteries or sacraments to be practised or frequented ; and our common books of prayer and devotion are filled with the finest sentiments and affections, whereby to exercise our hearts and minds in those virtues which the Holy Ghost diffuses through our hearts. How have you been unacquainted with these ? or who, in your former life, bewitched you not to obey these heavenly truths ? It was not, my dear child, the Catholic Church, or those who teach her doctrines. . . .

"You have, whilst resident here, often heard the Gospel preached, and sinners interrogated as to how they were to escape from the wrath to come ; and that the means pointed out to them were—repentance, that they might not perish ; reformation, that they might please God : but both to be effected by means of redemption, which is in Christ Jesus, to be applied to our souls by faith, by love, by prayer, by the ordinances instituted for that purpose by our blessed Redeemer. But is it, therefore, to be inferred that the preachers you heard often did not believe there was a purgatory ? No ; but the mention of it, the doctrine relating to it, was not then the subject considered, nor applicable to it. So when an Apostle said, 'We are saved by hope,' or that we are justified gratis by Christ, or by His grace, he did not treat of that charity without which faith no man can please God, and without which faith itself is dead. So our Lord, when He said, 'This is eternal life, that they know Thee,' &c., and when He told the Pharisees, 'Give alms, and all will be made clean for you,' did not supersede the necessity of believing and practising the other truths and virtues revealed and enjoined by Him."

On 18th April 1829, Dr. Doyle addresses Miss Anderson, who was then in a wretched state of health, as "My very dear child, for you will allow me still to call you by that tender name. I feel greatly distressed at your continued illness, and not less so at the sentiments which appear to occupy your mind. I will not advert to those of them which advert to futurity ; for why give pain to those to whom our heart tells us consolation should be imparted ? I regret that I did not repeat my visit to you, for your illness, under any circumstances, would not be to me a matter of indifference ; but in the circumstances which induced and attended it, it really was to me a subject of anxious solicitude. Do then, I pray you, give me the little credit I deserve, and be assured that

while I feel it a duty to bless God in every dispensation of His providence, and especially in those which are most nearly allied to the glory of His name and our souls' good, I have not ceased to be what I now most truly remain, your faithful and devoted servant in Christ."

On the 3d of October 1829 the Bishop explains the causes of his delay in replying to a letter from Bessie, and expresses "not only the gratification I felt in reading the verses it contained, but also assuring you that however deeply I lament the hallucination of your mind on religious subjects, I shall be happy to receive the favour of a visit from yourself and your dear sister whenever you will find it convenient to call upon me.

"The several letters which, from time to time, I have written to you cannot but satisfy you that my esteem and friendship for you have not ceased with your departure from the communion of the Catholic Church. I believe, with God's help, I could cheerfully lay down my life for your salvation; nor is there any good office in my power which I would not willingly discharge towards you. But do not, my dear child, weary me with your useless writings on religious controversy. 'If any one loves disputes, we have no such custom, nor has the Church of God.' She cannot err, more than the Gospel itself, in her decisions as to the truths and duties of religion; and until you return to her, and submit implicitly to the Divine revelations as expounded by her, you may be always learning, but you will not come to the knowledge of the truth. I furnished you with ample means of knowing her authority and whatever she requires of you to believe. I do not cease to pray God that He may incline your heart to believe the truths she teaches. I shall continue to hope that He will yet do so; but until He does, do not, I pray you, afflict me by sending to me what I am obliged, in the sincerity of Christian charity, to tell you are the fruits of error and self-love, working through a temperament highly excited by what closely resembles, but is not, religious zeal. . . .

"I do with all sincerity deplore the state of feeling on religious subjects in which you and your dear sister continue. I could not dissemble on such matters; for how could I, if I had any fear of God? I believe, as I believe in the Redeemer Himself, that His Church, spread over all nations, must always hold, and, by the mouth of His pastors, succeeding lawfully to each other, always teach the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; the necessary consequence of which is, that no one is justified in gainsaying her, and that all without her is illusion. Of those who separate themselves from her communion I think

only with grief. Of those whose early education brought them up in a wrong way I think with hope and confidence, because by baptism they were inserted in the body of Christ, and He only knows if they fell away freely and culpably from their first faith. I blame no man, I dislike no man, I envy no man. I look upon all men as my brethren, some of whom are less fortunate than others, but who are all the children of God, to be loved and to be honoured as such by us.

“I thought I ought not to have been more pressing with you than I have been. Perhaps I erred ; but I have endeavoured to place the truth before you in the kindest manner. The Almighty is not accustomed to force our will ; why should I attempt to urge beyond due bounds ? To your first question I have to say, that the Catholic Church teaches that it is by grace we are what we are, and the test of our being new creatures in Christ Jesus is obedience to His ministry and to His laws. To the second question—the Catholic Church teaches that it is by grace, and the operations in us of the Holy Spirit, we grow in knowledge and virtue, even unto perfect men, until, transformed from brightness to brightness by the glory of the Lord, we are introduced into light now inaccessible to us ; and among the many means furnished to us by the good providence of God, for the attainment of this blessedness, the Scriptures hold deservedly a high place ; but as they are means co-ordinate with others, and not substitutes, they alone are not to be used : prayer, penance, alms-deeds, the sacraments are not to be put away because the Scriptures are good. To the third question—the Church teaches us all to confide, in life and in death, in Him who appears before the face of God for us. But through life she warns us to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling ; and in death to remember our sins, and temper our confidence by a holy fear of what those sins deserved.

“As to what you notice respecting the penalties of sin to be borne for a time by the just until they are rendered fit for heaven, and the aid to be derived to us from the communion of the saints, I shall say nothing here. Indeed, I could only repeat what I often said to you, and what you had at length. There are no new discoveries to be made in religion ; like Christ, it was yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The Catholic Church has always rightly believed that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls suffering there are to be relieved by our prayers for them. Also that it is a pious custom to invoke the saints as reigning with Christ, and interested for their brethren here below. The faithful departed for whom we pray are in some respects like the faithful

sojourners here. Christ is made to both sanctification and redemption ; but yet, if any of us who believe say we have no sin, we are liars, and the truth is not in us. We all want to say daily, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' for in many things we all offend. Thus you may see that our adoption does not necessarily exclude sin in this world, nor prevent our temporary exclusion from heaven after death. And as these small offences in this life, from which even the just are not exempt, do not separate them from Christ, neither do the remains of punishment to be borne by them in the next, place them among those who, having disobeyed the Gospel, are to be for ever excluded from the face of God. I am tired writing, my dear child, for I am not well. Excuse, therefore, whatever I have said amiss, and believe me, with the utmost anxiety for your welfare here and hereafter, ✠ J. DOYLE."

The biographer of Miss Anderson cites an "instance of Dr. Doyle's kindly and enlarged Christian feeling," of which we approve not less cordially. "At a certain festival," proceeds the biographer, "it was the custom for many of the Roman Catholics to go round the church at Carlow on their bare knees, stopping before each altar to repeat prayers. Bessie entered the church with her nurse whilst this penance was being performed by several persons. The nurse told the child to do the same, as it was an act which would bring down much blessing on her head. Bessie, knowing she was destined to be 'a religious,' and being accustomed to attend to all the rites of the Catholic Church, obeyed. While she was performing her pilgrimage, the Bishop passed by and told her to rise, that as she was so young she need not finish the penance. Then he turned to the nurse and reproved her seriously for having made so young a child perform such an act, saying that the thing in *itself* possessed no efficacy ; it was the state of the heart and the religious feeling which accompanied it that alone were meritorious. She was too young to enter into its full meaning, and would only attach an undue importance to the action in itself."

Dr. Doyle's allusion to his health in the foregoing letter is the first recorded indication of the progress of that slow but fatal malady which had now marked him for its own. A letter to Bishop O'Connor, written at the same time, also makes reference to it. "I am very weakly," he writes, "but I will, I suppose, improve. I have never been so well as when obliged to use much exertion. When called upon, I work very hard, and if I worked so always I should be always well ;" and in reply to his friend's letter he adds : "Italy will make better friars than Por-

tugal, so don't wish to change." Four years afterwards, all the friaries in Portugal were suppressed by Don Pedro.

An interesting letter to Mariana alludes to the fatal lassitude which had bound him down, but from which, by a vigorous effort of mind and of friendship, he emancipated himself for a moment.

"CARLOW, 31st October 1829.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—A singular sort of indolence has seized upon me, and kept me now in close custody for some weeks, and though I struggled often to extricate myself for the purpose of writing to you, my strength failed, or my enemy prevailed over me. I was going to despond this morning, when I suppose all the saints sent me your letter, though along with it came one or two of a very different complexion ; and here I now am, excited if not recovered, and ready to answer all your letters, whether sad or joyful. In the first place, I am sorry your dear mother's note did not reach me, and do, I pray you, say to her for me as many kind and grateful things as ought to be said to a dear good lady whom I sincerely esteem. Say, among the rest, that I often read a play of Shakespeare—for I read everything I can lay my hand on—and do so now with great *gout*, as it reminds me of very dear friends, who, whilst I read plays, are playing or praying for us all in heaven. I am glad she is going to France, and hope she will enjoy the excursion, and profit by it as much, at least, as I did by mine last year ; and if so, she will be compensated for her temporary absence from her 'dear one child.' Mrs. — is better than I have seen her for some years. She is as large as a steeple and something of that shape ; and though large her frame, it is scarcely able to contain all her zeal and piety. But if she be not quite as well as could be wished, I suppose you yourself are in a very delicate state, and a fit subject to employ the curiosity—pshaw ! I mean the solicitude of your friends.] Miss Gurly is really very well, I believe ; I have had two letters from her. I will tell her how much you continue to love her ; but I must be in a very ludicrous mood if I mention the carriage. May the Lord direct you, my dear Mariana : I have not a coat to my back, nor a shoe to my foot, and you talk of carriages ; if I had a carriage and horses, I would sell all three to buy big coarse stones and granite for my poor chapel. Coach, indeed ! I have not even a horse, for my horse became broken-winded and is now at cure—so that, with the exception of those animals found in cellars, my whole stock of four-footed creatures consists of a borrowed donkey, which, however, I do not ride. So, then, your dear old first and most valued friend, Dr. Harold, has been blessed with a sight of

you, and you have seen him in health and peace. Well, I truly rejoice with you at this renewal of your happiness, and it seems to be a sort of compensation by Providence for the losses in that way which you have sustained. I have been looking over in my mind the scenes of your interviews, and only wonder how your heart could have been restrained within you, and I am sure it would have burst or broken if our holy father Ignatius had not hinted to you to stop. You see it is well for you sometimes to experience his protection. I expect Mr. Harold will visit us here, as Mr. Fitzgerald is the Provincial of his Order; and if he do, I shall be most glad to see him on your account and his own. I suppose you bespoke for me, long since, his good opinion, and that the good man, not reflecting on the schooling you had passed through in his absence, took your report on credit. I will not do so in his regard; I must see the good man, but will certainly look at him with all the partiality you could desire. I know he has great talents; I have no doubt of his good and affectionate disposition. Piety among religious of all sorts is only a portion of their profession, for which no one gives them credit, and of which Dr. Harold must have the usual store; what we want to see is the *tout ensemble* of the good man, and I think it very likely, like Solomon in the Queen of Sheba's eyes, he will be found to exceed all the reports made of him. Do present to him my best respects, and say that if he be in Carlow I will hope to be favoured with a visit."

Dr. Harold waited upon Dr. Doyle accordingly, and with this accomplished man the Bishop formed his last friendship. He bequeathed to Dr. Harold, in token of esteem, the MS. of his "Analysis of Divine Faith," and other valuable essays which were published, posthumously, by Dr. Harold. Thus the legacy to the man became the legacy to Ireland. After the death of Dr. Doyle he was offered the Bishopric of Ohio.

There are preserved at the Presentation Convent, Carlow, many letters similar to the foregoing, addressed, for the most part, to Mrs. Eliza (Clare) Magrath, a nun of that community. These letters exhibit more of Dr. Doyle's heart and feeling than any other correspondence extant from his pen. Other things which he wrote might fill us with admiration of his genius; these letters show the warmth of his heart and the delicacy and playfulness of his nature, when, in full confidence, he wrote to one who was as guileless as a child.

Their great value consists in showing the texture of the Bishop's mind, his gentleness, his thoughtful regard and considerateness

for others, his love of country, his prompt and passionate appreciation of the beauties of scenery and literature, his fidelity to friends, and nice perception of the value of those trifles which only a sensitive and affectionate nature knows how to prize.

Dr. Doyle's anxiety to complete his new cathedral peeps forth in his letter to Mariana. His correspondence with the clergy exhibit it more prominently. Writing to one, Dr. Doyle observes: "The Vicar-General would have done me a sort of injustice if he applied to the clergy in the form you mention. My letter to him begged he would request of them to forward to me, in this or the next month if convenient, the entire or some portion of the subscription they had so kindly promised. As to you, my dear friend, whenever you have to refuse any request of mine, say you will not comply with it, but do not plead on the subject, for thereby you make me feel my pockets as if to try whether I had any assistance to give you. Why did you not propose to compound, or require time till your circumstances would improve? for that is what nearly all debtors do; but to declare the estate bankrupt—not bankrupt but totally lost—is intolerable. Well then I must shut up the bowels of mercy for a while, and having expunged the debt of £10, I really do *bona fide* require of you to send to me whatever (if any) you may have received since the receipt of the above £10, on account of dispensations on the bans, and that in future you do not consider yourself as having any discretion whatever in disposing of what you should and shall receive on that account, but hold it for me. It is certainly the Lord who disposed and enabled you to build a house to His name—for in truth you have built it—and no words could express how highly I value your exertions and sacrifices on that head. In your devotion to that house I have a certain pledge that, if at any time in your power, you will assist our cathedral here, which is common to us all; and not to *us* only, but to religion throughout all Ireland, whose dignity, splendour, and sanctity will be here shown forth to all."

This letter seems to have been misunderstood by the vicar. A correspondence ensued, in which Dr. Doyle's innate kindness of disposition becomes apparent.

"MY DEAR VERY REV. SIR,—Your last letter has surprised and exceedingly grieved me, and though I do not like to trouble you with a useless correspondence, I cannot refrain from an endeavour to remove the impression my late communication appears to have made on your mind and feelings. I could not think that, after more than ten years of friendly intercourse, you would deduce, even from doubtful words, a meaning which I never in-

tended they should convey. After the notice of the Vicar-General's communication, the observations in my letter were really intended to cheer you under your difficulties, and by a sort of pleasantry (now it appears ill-timed or slovenly written) to lead you to think lightly of my own disappointment, for I do not love to give pain to any one, and especially to one whom I have so long and truly esteemed. After that I wrote seriously. I did not urge nor intend to urge any sort of intimation to you to contribute to our chapel, for, as I then said, I knew your disposition, and hoped you might be enabled some time to indulge it—but even this hope, though mentioned, was scarcely entertained. The desire (too positively expressed) of your disposal in future of the trifles you might receive for dispensations was only what I said to you on some former occasion in conversation, without giving you, as I thought, any offence; and I think you need not consider it (viewing my situation and wants) as proceeding from any unkind disposition, even if I did not write to you always as one friend does to another, without reserve. That part of your letter wherein you advert to your disposal, &c., of your small means I could not read; I felt distressed and ashamed to have, even by mistake, let you think such an *exposé* necessary. I can only add that I shall feel anxious till you will have read this, and resumed your wonted kind and friendly feelings towards your affectionate and most humble servant in Christ."

Men who have a passion for literary composition often detest the drudgery of business or arithmetic, but Dr. Doyle was an exception. The regularity and clearness with which he kept all his accounts, especially the weekly collections for his new church, are a model of neatness and accuracy.

He complained that a strange lassitude had seized upon him. From the moment, however, that duty called or conscience pointed, he cast this feeling from him with the energy of a giant. Nothing that demanded correction or tended to promote piety—nought that promised advantage to his people escaped our prelate's vigilance or lacked his care. He preached the word in season and out of season. There was not a district or even a hamlet of his diocese with whose circumstances and interests Dr. Doyle did not feel himself bound in duty to be acquainted and identified. Early in November 1829 a great pastoral address to the inhabitants of the Deanery of Maryborough appeared. Dr. Doyle said that he did not suppose, when he visited it in August, that he should have so soon occasion to address them specially. He expected that the admonitions he then gave them would have

been sufficient to check and subdue the evil spirit which had gone abroad and seduced youth from virtue. His hopes had not been realised—for if the several reports which had reached him contained any truth, there still prevailed a spirit of combination at war with every law, but more especially with the law of the Gospel. A secret association existed—drawn together for purposes scarcely known to those who composed it, and having no specific object that he could ascertain, unless to prevent the reduction of wages and the ejection of tenants from their holdings. It consisted of considerable numbers, and included, besides the ignorant and undesigning, every person heretofore noted in his neighbourhood for corrupt, immoral, and general depravity of character. Catholics and Protestants were united in it. “They assemble at night in unfrequented places to deliberate, and issue and receive orders.” The plunder of arms was a favourite object; and in carrying it into effect, they guarded against detection by deputing individuals unknown to those whose houses or property were destined for attack.

“In discussing with you, brethren, our common interests—for I myself am identified with everything that concerns you—it is quite unnecessary for me to request your best attention to what I say, because you always listen to me either as children to a father, or as a friend listens to a friend; nor need I bespeak your confidence, for you all know that I am one having the same interests and the same feelings as yourselves. I have ever been the advocate and the helper of the poor, and in no instance have I raised my voice to uphold the tyranny or vindicate the oppression of the great; but more than all this, I discharge an embassy from Christ to you, being appointed to expound and to administer His law. Listen therefore to me, and if I speak what is true and just, adhere to my judgment and abide by my advice.”

This pastoral was a very elaborate document. He treated, in the first instance, of the league unconnected with its end or circumstances, and then considered the objects for which the Whitefeet were supposed to combine. Thirdly, he treated of the consequences likely to result from their line of conduct if persevered in; and lastly, pointed out to them what interest and duty required them to do.

“You seek to make God a party to your combination, but do you think there can be any society between light and darkness, between justice and injustice, between Christ and Belial, or that He who loves justice and hates iniquity can look, unless with horror, on the violation of all right, on the disturbance of all order, on the abandonment of all the sacred obligations you are

bound to fulfil, but which, alas ! as members of these secret societies you utterly disregard ? No, dear brethren, be assured for once that your combination is, of its nature, opposed to every law whether human or divine ; it is founded on vice, and more brittle than a reed ; less secure than the sand which when pressed glides through your fingers. You are tempted to engage in these associations by bad men, who are the first to betray you, and when once engaged, you are led on from sin to sin, from crime to crime ; each of you is made a partaker of the iniquity of you all—till, oppressed by guilt and borne down by power and hatred of God, you sink into well-merited infamy and ruin, covering with disgrace the religion which disowns you, and the country which blushes with shame for having given you birth."

He argued that the greatest cause of our national misfortunes had been removed. The Penal Code had been repealed ; the road to improvement in Ireland was now open ; the minds of all men were engaged in devising means whereby the condition of the people might be bettered, and the King's Government, which had made all his subjects equal before the law, was at that moment anxiously intent on providing the people of Ireland with the means of living as became the members of a free State. " In other times, beloved brethren, if I saw you in want, or driven to combine, I might hesitate before I should take up the arms of the Gospel, lest I should seem to range myself on the side of guilt in power against guilt in distress ; but now, no such feeling damps my zeal or makes my heart falter whilst my tongue would speak. We may still, as heretofore, feel pressure and distress, but they are no longer the forerunners of despair. They are now like the throes of a woman in labour, sharp and severe, but if borne with patience and fortitude they will soon end, and the remembrance of them will be lost in the joy arising from the resurrection of our country. I know, as well as you do, how unreasonable and unfeeling has been the ejection of tenants from their holdings. I have wept over the scenes which this system has presented. I have seen the mother houseless and the child starving. I have heard the wail of the widow in despair, and have witnessed the infant sinking into death ; but we must not bring back these images to our remembrance, nor should you be led by them into acts of retaliation or revenge."

Dr. Doyle knew well how to enlist the attention and sympathies of his hearers. He remarked that riches like poverty were a source of great temptation ; they blind the understanding, and, by filling the heart with pride, harden it against the feelings of mercy and compassion. The rich imagined that while they

expelled the wretched tenant from his cabin in order to extend their parks or enlarge their farms, they exercised only their just right. Though every person is ready to reprove the errors and punish the delinquencies of the poor, there were but few disposed and fewer prepared to declare to the rich their sins. "With me it is not so; I tell you freely of your own errors and transgressions, but I do not wish to conceal from myself or the public that transgression and crime are not confined to you, and that he who goads you into resistance to good order and law has his full share in the common stock of guilt." But the Bishop begged of his hearers not to infer that the owners of land were not justified in the ejection of a tenant who had run into arrears or who neglected to cultivate his land. If landlords were not entitled, in justice to themselves and their families, to eject such tenants and let the land to others more industrious and deserving, all rights of property would have ceased; goods would become common to all people, and theft and injustice would cease to be forbidden by the laws of God and man.

He analysed with an acute and steady pen the causes of discontent: "Then as to the wages, only consider the situation of those who, for the greater part, pay you wages and furnish you with your daily bread; look to the farmer and landholders upon whom every public and private burden falls. Consider the rents charged upon these lands. Are they not the same as when produce of every kind brought nearly double its present price? Look to the tithes, have they diminished in amount? Has the parson become more generous, or the proctor less exacting than heretofore? Calculate the county cesses, the vestry cesses, the charges to maintain your own clergy and places of worship, and ask yourselves when the farmer has paid all these rents, tithes, taxes, and charges, and distributed his food to the crowd of beggars who swarm at his door, what remains to him? How can he support his family? How can he preserve his stock, his houses, his cars, his carts, his ploughs, and all his implements of husbandry? How can he purchase manure, repair his fences, cultivate his land? For my part, I think his burdens are almost insupportable. And yet, you have no feeling for his embarrassment. You do not enter into his wants; you do not calculate his means; you do not share the apprehensions he daily and hourly feels of seeing himself embarrassed or broken down, his holding wrested from him, and his family reduced from comfort to the most afflicting distress. 'Bear the burdens of one another,' says Paul, 'and so you will fulfil the law of Christ.' So I say to you, brethren, bear the burdens of one another; be generous to your employers that

your employers may be generous to you. Be patient whilst they are suffering, and when they are eased or affluent you will be sharers with them in whatever they possess. Protect their property as if it were your own. Be their safeguard and defence, and not the disturbers of their peace and the terrors of their nightly repose. Bear their present burdens with them that hereafter they may lighten yours."

The spirituality of his advice to the suffering people was worthy of the Master whom he served. He told them that they should put on Christ, and walk as He walked. He was poor in spirit and in fact, and they should be poor at least in spirit, in order to become heirs to the kingdom of heaven. He was born in a stable; through life He had not a second garment, nor a place whereon to rest His head. He died naked on a cross, and it was in the grave of a stranger His corpse was laid. They should bear patiently that distress and want which He, being rich, but becoming poor for their sake, bore with such singular resignation in order that His disciples in the day of tribulation might not murmur or repine.

The Bishop's exhortation to parents and employers was eloquently persuasive. "If they be your sons, or servants, or brothers, even compel them to remain at home. Use all your authority to guard them from evil; let not fear or shame prevent you from aiding the law of grace and upholding the laws of your country. Assist me, and the clergy who labour with me, to reclaim the wicked and protect the innocent, that God may be honoured and the souls of the deluded saved."

This was the first publication of Dr. Doyle's which received the cordially unanimous thanks of the English press. The "Times," "Sun," "Globe," "Chronicle," "Advertiser," "British Traveller," and the "Standard" are loud in praise of the pastor and his pastoral. The "Times" says, "We insert with unfeigned pleasure, and with no small share of admiration, the address of Dr. Doyle to the peasantry of the Queen's County." After praising its "infinite power of language," the "Thunderer" goes on to say, "We have read nowhere an appeal to the hearts and understandings of the lower Irish more fitted to impress them with a real knowledge of their own condition, and of the close connection between an orderly and moral conduct on their part with the gradual but inevitable improvement of their country, on which must depend, as its only certain basis, the ultimate relief of the peasantry from the dreadful poverty and suffering which have preyed upon their lives, and often provoked to a disregard of the rights of others, as criminal and revolting as it has ever to themselves proved fatal.

It is true that Dr. Doyle does not spare the upper classes, nor in any degree palliate their frequent oppression of the poor ; and for this we think the Rev. Bishop is entitled to the praise both of truth and sound policy, inasmuch as no honest man could say that the Irish gentry and landlords had set a general example to the peasantry of respect for the obligations of humanity and justice ; and no wise man, while he sought to gain an influence over the multitude, would let them suppose him insensible to their wrongs any more than to their transgressions. We are sure that this effort of the Bishop in the good cause of peace, subordination, and integrity, will be crowned with extensive if not entire success."

"Dr. Doyle does not, like the Rev. Edward Irving," Mr Perry wrote, "deem a state of torture on earth a desirable advantage for those committed to his spiritual care, with a view to their being 'nearer to Christ hereafter ;' but seems to think Christianity does not imply a renunciation on the part of any men of their right to as much temporal happiness as they can obtain without injuring others."

"The effect of this pastoral," records F. W. Conway, "was infinitely more rapid and salutary than any proclamations or constabulary could be. The disturbances ceased, and the illegal associations were dissolved."

Dr. Doyle's appeals to the misguided men who had engaged in combination were, indeed, singularly successful. He mentions in his evidence on the state of the Irish poor (4631), when inculcating the necessity of diffusing useful knowledge amongst them, that there were in the County Kildare a number of weavers who had struck. "I, who felt a great interest in their welfare, went to the place, and a deputation from those weavers waited upon me. They submitted to me their rules and regulations. I reasoned with them for a long time, and explained to them their own interest. They entered into my views ; and from that time (four or five years ago) to this there has been no combination in that district. There was also a colliery in a remote mountainous district of the county of Kilkenny, where a like disagreement occurred. I went to it and reasoned with the labouring people, endeavouring to show what their real interests were, and both they and their employer immediately acceded to my proposal ; and from that time to this there has been no interruption to the works in that place. The result in both these cases was not half so much owing to any personal influence I had with these people, as to my making them understand what their true interests were ; and if the people had been well educated, I am sure my interposi-

tion would have been quite unnecessary, as the evil which that interposition removed never have existed."

These pastoral addresses of Dr. Doyle did not exercise a mere local influence. Every newspaper reprinted them, and thus the good seed was sown through the length and breadth of the land. Several persons withdrew their adhesion from the conspiracy, and volunteered information regarding the movements of their former comrades. This fact reminds us of an anecdote which possesses a painful interest. A man communicated to the Chief Secretary for Ireland evidence regarding a projected outrage. His cabin was attacked at night by ten men; they burst open the door, put him on his knees, and, in the presence of his wife and child, murdered him with pitchforks. The woman, with singular presence of mind, whispered to her child, while this work of death was being performed, "I shall be the next victim, but I will struggle with them as long as I am able that you may have time to do what I place you here for." She put some lighted turf on the hearth, and told the child to mark, by its glare, the faces of the murderers that he might be able to tell who they were, and so avenge the death of his parents. Her presentiment was verified. The assassins, after having dispatched the man, fell upon the woman, who, after a feeble resistance, was flung lifeless upon the body of her husband. But the child did not forget the dying injunction of his mother. He scanned the perpetrators carefully, and, mainly by the clear and unshaken evidence of that infant, five of the murderers were convicted and hanged.

Lord Cloncurry took occasion to suggest to the heads of the Catholic Church that "the saints' days and holydays observed by the people, in greater number than in any other country, proved a great loss to Ireland, and a great cause of one of her besetting evils—drunkenness;" and he added, "a reform on that subject is in the sole power of the Catholic Bishops."

Dr. Doyle, in reply to this assertion, said that the patriot peer was "certainly entitled to take cognisance of whatever impedes or might advance the improvement of Ireland; and the prelate should be very fastidious who would complain of the appeal made on the subject of holydays, or of the manner in which it is made." He assured him, however, that "'a reform on that subject is not in the sole power' of the heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland; also, that 'holydays are not observed in greater number by our people than in any other country.' The whole number of holydays could not hitherto, in Ireland, exceed eleven; they were generally only ten; of these ten, two or three have been reduced

this year ; so that henceforth the number of our holydays cannot exceed eight or nine ; and of these eight or nine, two occur within what is called the Christmas holydays. The sum total of our holydays, which interfere in any way with public industry, are reduced to six or seven in each year.

“ Perhaps your Lordship is of opinion that there should be no holydays, though such days were instituted by the heads of the synagogue and the heads of the Church, and observed under both covenants through all the time of their existence. It is difficult, my Lord, and it is often unwise, to get rid suddenly of old institutions, especially when connected with religion ; but this, even if wished for, cannot be done. The Established Church, by her rubric and the laws of the land, passed in the time of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, prescribes the observances of several holydays ; but that rubric and these laws have gone into disuse ; they are every day violated. This same cannot happen with us : the heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland must observe, and do observe, as far as in their power, the laws or usages respecting holydays, until the same are abrogated or repealed. I certainly wish, with your Lordship, that the number of holydays was still further reduced ; but I wish it, not because I think such reduction good, but because I see it called for by the evils of the times ; as Christ said to the Jews, speaking of the law of divorce : ‘ Moses, on account of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives ; but from the beginning it was not so.’ Amongst a religious people, and where the laws of the State accord with those of the Church, holydays contribute to the exercise of piety and of every good work ; when these laws clash, or when a spirit of irreligion prevails, the effects are other ; and it is therefore that I agree with your Lordship in wishing for a further reduction in the number, though small, of our holydays.

“ I do not think that drunkenness, our besetting sin, our permanent plague, would be materially lessened by the abolition of all the holydays ; for drunkards will drink at all times, and when they do not find a holyday ready made, they themselves make one for the purpose. Witness *Saint Monday*, which an impious, and besotted, and abominable race of tradesmen add to the Lord’s Day, for the purpose of indulging in their horrid excesses. Look, also, to the Presbyterians of the North. Nor do I think that an obligation of resting from servile works on six days, besides the Sundays throughout the year, can be any loss whatever in a country where the market is always overstocked with labour. Add to this, that in cases of great necessity or public utility, every person is permitted to work upon holydays.”

Lord Cloncurry replied, taking as his motto, "*Nous avons change tout cela* :"—

"MY LORD,—With many thanks for the information contained in your letter, I beg leave to say that if there be any observation of yours in which I do not entirely concur, it must be from want of that knowledge which, with all humility, I seek from a pen so often ably wielded in the service of your country and for the promotion of peace.

"I am glad to hear from your Lordship that two or three holy days have been reduced this year ; may I ask by whom, if not by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church ? And if by them, might not the same power reduce a few more, or change them to periods less injurious to agriculture than the 18th, 24th, and 30th of June, the 15th of August, and the 8th of September, by which we so often lose or injure a portion of God's bounty in the fruits of the earth ?"

The views expressed by Dr. Doyle on the inexpediency of enforcing the observance of holydays in Ireland at certain seasons, were no novelty with him. On the 5th June 1830 he was asked by the Select Committee on the state of the poor : "If so influential an individual as himself would not be doing a great service to Ireland by taking measures to impress upon the Pope the propriety of abrogating that injunction upon the Roman Catholic population ?—*A.* So perfectly am I satisfied of that being a duty upon my part, and the part of my colleagues in Ireland, that about two years ago I drew up as strong a statement as I was capable of framing of the evils resulting from the observance, or rather the violation, of those holydays, and of the advantage which would result from the abrogation of them. I sent this representation to the Pope, who sent it back to be considered by the prelates in Ireland ; and on its being referred to them, and their opinion required, they agreed substantially with me. We therefore conjointly petitioned the Pope that he would abrogate the law requiring certain days to be kept holy. In reply, we received a rescript abrogating the observance of Easter Monday and Whit-Monday. The festival of St. John the Baptist was also mentioned, but the rescript, as to that day, only removed the obligation of abstaining from servile works, but left untouched that of hearing mass ; and we thought it better not to publish that portion of the decree until we represented anew the necessity of abrogating the obligation of hearing mass as well as that of abstaining from servile works. Since then it was moved in an assemblage of our Bishops to pray the Pope to abrogate most

of the remaining holydays ; this was supported by a majority of the Bishops, but as they were not unanimous, it was thought better to defer the application until the matter should be reconsidered, when perhaps unanimity could be procured."

Dr. Doyle added, that on the previous Easter Monday he told the men engaged in building his new cathedral that they should work, while a Protestant employer in the same town said to his labourers, "You shall not work ; it is an old holyday, and you must keep it."

Dr. O'Connor, O.S.A., sent from Cork at this time some donations he had collected for the cathedral. "I thank you most heartily," Dr. Doyle writes, "for no doubt it is quite enough to beg for one's self, but to do so, as you have, for another, taking the pain to yourself, is more than kind."

In the following letters, addressed to the Rev. George Carr, a Protestant clergyman, Dr. Doyle foresees much of what followed the successful movement in favour of temperance, of which Father Mathew was, eleven years later, the leader :—

"CARLOW, 29th December 1829.

MY DEAR REV. SIR,—I have received and read all the tracts and papers relative to the temperance societies which you had the kindness to send me. I thank you very much for them, and for your own most acceptable letters.

"Every Christian—indeed every man endowed with reason, whether he be or be not a Christian—must look upon drunkenness and excessive drinking as one of the most debasing and hateful vices which infest the human kind ; it stultifies and brutalises men—and as to women, it reduces their condition far below the condition of the brute. Your medical friends, in the tracts you have sent me, prove most fully how it generates diseases innumerable of body and mind, consuming life like a plague or the parching wind of the desert. But these are effects of it which I can scarcely lament ; for I think a drunkard, though unfit to die, is entirely unfit to live ; and that, when he will not be reclaimed, his removal from this world is not only a just judgment of Divine Providence upon himself, but a blessing to his family, and to all those whom, by his influence or example, he had corrupted or scandalised. I would be, therefore, glad to heal the drunkard ; but if he were obstinate, and obstinately persevered in his vice, I should feel upon his death, as I should upon the death of the murderer dying on the scaffold—that he had paid the forfeit of his life to the offended justice of earth and Heaven. It is not the multiplication of disease or the waste of human life

by drunkenness or excessive drinking that I chiefly regret—nay, I do not at all regret that these effects follow after so detestable a vice—they are the immoral and impious effects of it, which I cannot contemplate without horror. Rash swearing, profanation of the Lord's day, blasphemies without number—the poverty, the nakedness, the destitution, the ruin of families—the fraud, the thefts, the robberies—the seduction of innocence—the corruption of virtue—the disobedience of children—the infidelities of servants—the discord and disunion of those whom God united—these and many others which I do not name are the effects of drinking and of drunkenness.

“Looking, then, at that vice, with a hatred and abhorrence quite peculiar, should I not, you will say, do everything in my power to establish and promote ‘Temperance Societies,’ whose sole object is to unite all persons of sense and virtue in a league defensive and offensive against this common enemy of mankind? You reason well in putting such a question; and I am ready to co-operate in the establishment and support of any measure whose object is to preserve the dominion of reason over passion, and to aid virtue in her warfare against vice—besides that in seeking to promote temperance by means of a society, I would only be seeking to aid to continue a contest in which I have been engaged incessantly for twenty years. But whilst I would gladly co-operate with any Temperance Society, I am not fitted in any one respect to undertake the formation of one; and, even if I were, I am not prepared to express to others a confidence which I do not feel, that such societies in this country, at this time, and with our present laws and social government, can be productive of any great, or extensive, or *permanent* good; but yet, as some good may be effected by them, they certainly deserve support.

“It cannot have escaped your observation that it is difficult, and in some cases impossible, to blend together in one society men of different ranks and conditions, and how small—how very small the moral influence of those called the upper ranks over those called the lower orders of the people. Gentlemen, therefore, may unite, and preach to the people a temperance which they themselves do not always practise, whilst the people, who have not before experienced their friendship and protection, will hear them without attention or scoff at their advice. Moreover, in towns, where the vice of excessive drinking principally prevails, you have opposed to you all the drunkards, all the publicans, all the grocers who retail whisky, all the brewers, all the distillers, with the swabs, and wits, and idlers who appertain to them. All these, and

many more who hate all innovation—even that innovation which goes to the disturbance of vice—will labour diligently to counteract your labours, and to pull down whatever you endeavour to build. The industry and energy of these classes may be measured by that evangelical rule which says that ‘the children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light.’ But the great and insurmountable obstacle to the progress of Temperance Societies, and to all the efforts which you and I, and such as we, can make to stop the torrent of drunkenness, is found in the *revenue laws*. Could we but induce the Chancellor of the Exchequer to become a member of our society, and to square his budget by our rules, I have no doubt whatever but we should succeed in removing this pestilence of drunkenness from the land. To eradicate the use of ardent spirits out of a country having such a climate as ours, and from among such a people as ours, is impossible; *but to diminish the use of ardent spirits to one-fiftieth part of its present amount is in my opinion perfectly practicable.* But as it would be as easy to stop the mouths of the Euphrates as to stop the mouths of those who now drink whisky in Ireland, they cannot be reclaimed until a better beverage than whisky is provided for them, at even a lower expense. All this could be done by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he found it more necessary to promote good morals than to secure a large revenue. I am tolerably well acquainted with the making of malt and the brewing of beer; and I have no hesitation in stating that if malt-ing and brewing were exempted from tax, and the impost on whisky raised, drunkenness in a little time would almost disappear from the country.”

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of the Bishops—They thank God for Emancipation and relinquish politics—Letter to his family in Wexford—He regards with dread the entry of almost every young man into the Church—Edits Gahan's sermons—Power as a preacher—Dreadful tragedy during one of his sermons—How he made a good preacher of Dr. Nolan—Anecdotes—"Analysis of Divine Faith"—His writings with a view to the conversion of England—Letter to an old friend—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry and Sir H. Parnell—Visitation musings—Letter to Mariana on Mount Atlas, blacks, bishops, bile, church-building, and other matters—Acts on first impressions—Rev. Dr. Harold—Letter on the evils of drunkenness—Correspondence with Dr. Petrie and Mr. D'Alton on the Celtic literature of Ireland—The happiness of bygone days for a moment revived—His theological decisions—His MS. notes to Den—His progressive views—Letter to Mariana.

IN January 1830 the Catholic Bishops assembled in Dublin to deliberate, according to annual custom, on the sacred interests confided to their care. Dr. Doyle at the close of these proceedings drew up a pastoral which all the prelates signed. It gave thanks to God that the Irish people not only continued to be of one mind, labouring together in the faith of the Gospel, but also that their faith was daily becoming stronger and signally fructifying among them. Having drawn a picture of the discord that had prevailed in Ireland before Emancipation, the pastoral went on to say that the great boon "became the more acceptable because among the counsellors of His Majesty there appeared conspicuous the most distinguished of Ireland's sons—a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe—a man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones, to re-establish altars, to direct the councils of England at a crisis the most difficult—to staunch the blood and heal the wounds of the country that gave him birth."

The pastoral besought the people to promote the end which the Legislature contemplated in passing the Relief Bill—the pacification and improvement of Ireland. It recommended that rash and unjust oaths should not be even named among them, and deprecated any attempt to trouble their repose by "sowers of discord or sedition." The Bishops rejoiced at the recent result of the protracted struggle, not more on public grounds than because they found themselves discharged from a duty which necessity alone allied to their ministry,—“a duty imposed on us by a state of times which has passed, but a duty which we have gladly relinquished in the fervent hope that by us or our successors it may not be resumed.”

[The more legitimate labour of church-building now engrossed his thoughts. To the Rev. Martin Doyle he writes :—

“CARLOW, *January 7, 1830.*

“Some time since I applied to nearly all the clergy of the diocese, requesting each of them to send me, if convenient, within this month, the sum, or some part of it, which they had so kindly promised to contribute to the building of the cathedral. You, among the others, are well acquainted with the impending demand on your piety and charity, nor need you take into account the few pounds you already gave us, for, if you did, your virtue would not have sufficient room for its due exercise.

“But besides your own concern in this meritorious work, I have to beg you will be my agent with the priests of St. Malins and Mr. Nolan of your own parish. For their information it may be proper to mention, that in all the conferences wherein I solicited subscriptions, the smallest sum promised by any parish priest was £10, whilst every curate, except six, from whom for special reasons I would not accept it, promised £5. I am, therefore, led to hope that the contributions of the three gentlemen afore mentioned will be regulated by the excellent example of their worthy brethren, the greater number of whom are not so well circumstanced as those to whom I am requesting you will apply. I hope a similar success to that which marks all your efforts in the service of God will attend this present exertion in our behalf.”]

On Twelfth Day Dr. Doyle saluted his kinsfolk in Wexford, and wished them with all his heart the choicest blessings of that holy season. To his niece he writes : “Mr. Cahill is, I fear, too modest to discharge well a duty of begging twice whilst in Wexford ; but he will do what he can, without committing violence on his own feelings or those of others. He is not fully aware of the lack of sensibility to be found in our dear native county.” Alluding to a dispute between two friends, the Bishop says : “I pity J—— exceedingly ; nor do I see how the other man can be induced to desist from annoying him. Fear, shame, interest, have ceased to influence him in this matter ; but perhaps Providence may dispose him rightfully when we least expect it. Patience and prayer, with faith, perform wonderful changes in the most obstinate minds. Little James spent some days of the vacation with me. He promises very well, but has no disposition whatever to embrace the clerical state. That I do not regret, for although the work of the Lord must be done, and His

ministry preserved by vessels of election, the dangers of those engaged in it are great, and their deficiencies generally so painful, that I look now, as I advance in life, with exceeding dread upon the entry of almost every young person into the Church. Keep your heart quiet, my dear Mary, and be less implicated if possible in worldly concerns, even when they are undertaken for a good end."

Among the quieter occupations of Dr. Doyle's pen, during the interval of repose which succeeded the clangor of angry politics, was an introduction to the sermons of Dr. Gahan, O.S.A. These discourses consist of panegyrics of saints, doctrinal expositions, appeals on behalf of the poor, and moral treatises, by which every class of Christians is instructed in the duties of their state. Dr. Doyle observed that the great characteristic of Gahan's sermons was usefulness rather than eloquence; we nowhere find in them the towering sublimity of a Bossuet, the captivating unction of a Massillon, or the irresistible force of a Bourdaloue; but yet they instruct, reprove, and persuade by the solidity of the thoughts, the clearness and simplicity of the style, the judicious application of the Sacred Scriptures, but above all by the piety, sincerity, and zeal which they everywhere display. "Such," he added, "are the qualities which have endeared the sermons of Gahan to the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland. The former have found in them the finest model of that plain and simple, but correct and useful mode of instruction, which is best adapted to their several congregations. In Gahan there is nothing conceited, nothing swollen, there is no bombast. He never affects to be beautiful or sublime, though nothing is more beautiful than the plain and earnest manner in which he enforces the practice of the Gospel virtues; nothing more sublime than the simple picture which he draws of the baneful effects of vice. He never introduces the figures and fancies of a profane or a poetic imagination; he is content, with the Apostle, to preach from the fulness of his own heart: 'to preach Christ and Him crucified,' not in the sublimity of human speech, but in that virtue and power which are bestowed on those who seek not to please men but to gain their souls to God."

The Bishop did more than merely edit other men's discourses. Sermon after sermon rolled in vigorous volume from his own lips. "How often," writes Monsignore Meagher, "have I hung upon his inspired lips, as he filled our souls alternately with hope or terror, with joy or compunction, pouring out, in the fulness of his great soul, the denunciations of God's terrible judgments or assurances of His tender mercies." As a preacher, we know no

one who stood higher in the popular estimation than Dr. Doyle. The chapel was not only always crowded to excess during his appeals, but the chapel-yard and highway were often blocked with people. The Bishop's powerful voice reached the farthest man, and awakened remorse in the darkest breast. A tragedy occurred on one of these occasions, which is best described in his own words. Eliza Clare is told: "After my return to Ross, nothing new occurred till yesterday, when I experienced the greatest shock I was capable of bearing. I had been prevailed upon by Father John to preach on Sunday. The concourse of people was unusually great, and a part of a seat on the gallery having broken, the noise excited some alarm, which caused the people to rush towards the altar; the rails broke with a crash; a cry was instantly raised that the gallery had given way, and all my exertions, and those of Mr. Chapman (who celebrated mass), to stop the confusion were ineffectual. The people leaped from the galleries—some into the body of the chapel, others from the windows into the yard; multitudes rushed towards the doors, where the pressure and confusion were exceedingly great. Even near the altar the crowds were such, and the screams and distress of the persons who were trodden down so great, as to rend a stoic's heart. When at length the chapel was cleared, nothing could give you an idea of the confusion and anguish of the people. Several persons, almost lifeless, lay stretched and bleeding in the yard, including two pregnant women, whose lives, amongst others, are in imminent danger. One boy had his thigh broken, one man his arm fractured; hundreds lost their cloaks, hats, shoes, &c., and a great number received contusions. The chapel appears like a waste, the frame of the gallery and the altar being the only things remaining entire; all the windows, railing, pews, and benches are completely destroyed. You can scarcely conceive the agony of my mind at witnessing these scenes, of which I myself was the innocent occasion. I am well, though greatly distressed, so that I was glad to leave Ross this morning, and escape from the remaining horrors of the scene."

The instructions which Dr. Doyle expressed to his priests on the subject of preaching have been noticed at p. 69 of our first volume. He considered that the exemplary life of a pastor preached more eloquently to his parishioners than all the laboured exhortations he could address to them. To theatrical elocution in the pulpit he was extremely averse. While also strongly disapproving of priests who squandered their valuable time in laborious preparation, he strictly desired that there should always be some amount of previous thought; and to this end he

often cited from *Ecclesiasticus* (xviii. 23), "Before prayer, prepare thy soul, and be not as a man that tempteth God." As regards the length of time requisite for this reflection, he used to say that a parish priest, whilst going from one chapel to another in the country, might along the route meditate sufficiently for his discourse. But this instruction was alone applicable to a priest who had been moulded according to the mind of J. K. L.—a priest who had read extensively upon all subjects connected with his profession, and who had carefully digested what he read. In such a man, preliminary reflection was but the casting back of his mind upon its resources, and thence collecting or selecting what might have an immediate bearing on his discourse. Dr. Doyle used to say that when the sentiments employed were, as they ought to be, the genuine outcome of the preacher's soul, words of persuasive eloquence would follow naturally; and he loved to quote from the "*Ars Poetica*" of Horace—" *Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.*"

An anecdote may here be told which illustrates Dr. Doyle's views on this point. The Rev. Edward Nolan, who succeeded him in the See of Kildare, was a young priest of the rarest humility and virtue. His strong natural talents were developed by careful cultivation. In "*Belles Lettres*" he evinced exquisite taste, and seemed to have a peculiar relish for the beauty and terseness of composition; but yet, at the commencement of his career, he was considered as a preacher to be laboured, verbose, and unimpressive. Dr. Doyle, notwithstanding, frequently selected him to preach, intimating his will sometimes only one day previous to the delivery of the discourse. This mandate, although it filled Dr. Nolan with mingled feelings of dismay and despair, was invariably received by the young priest with the meekness and obedience which rendered his character so estimable. To ensure thorough completeness, precision, and due rhetorical arrangement, Dr. Nolan thought that a week's preparation was barely sufficient. A friend implored the Bishop to reconsider his determination of requiring a young man, quite unprepared, to address such large and respectable audiences as always filled Carlow Cathedral, and concluded by beseeching him to allow Mr. Nolan several days for preparation. "My dear sir," replied the Bishop, "leave me to myself—I have formed opinions of that young man which neither you nor his friends know; you are not aware of what my views are with regard to that boy." The result was, that Dr. Doyle instead of enlarging the time of preparation shortened it, by only apprising Dr. Nolan the evening before, or the very morning of the day on which he was to preach.

It is remarkable, that from being somewhat dry, verbose, and tedious, Dr. Nolan's pulpit oratory became impressive, vigorous, and sparkling.

But his preaching wanted an important element of success, which Dr. Doyle's possessed in an eminent degree. "In Dr. Doyle's own time," writes the Very Rev. Dr. Taylor, "Ireland could boast of many distinguished orators, but among them I never heard one so sublime, or saw one so unearthly-looking when pouring forth a stream of eloquence as he was."

Though an advocate for simplicity in preaching, his sermons were not always marked by this characteristic. Matters often regarded as inscrutable and unsearchable, he illuminated by a flood of light. With an almost angelical intelligence, he expounded the wisdom of God's plans, sounded their depth, unfolded their divine nature, and pointed out their marvellous consistency and justice.

Dr. Doyle generally wrote with amazing rapidity and ease; but we are acquainted with one instance in which he experienced not a little difficulty in expressing his ideas on a great subject. On the occasion of illustrating and enforcing the all-important question of eternal salvation, he said, after having finished an elaborate dissertation, "That won't do; I have not done it." Again a second time he said, "I have not yet done it." But after a third attempt he cheerfully added, "Yes, thank God, that will do; I have accomplished my task, I trust, to His honour and glory."

In his pamphlet on "A National Literary Institute," Dr. Doyle mentions that "rewriting or correction—the *lima labor*—are ill suited to his disposition." He, however, spared no pains when the honour of God was in question.

Political schemes were now, in a great degree, relinquished for projects of a grander and more exalted character. Our Bishop wrote much and ably at this period, with a view to the conversion of England. We chiefly allude to his "Dissertation on Popery, or an Analysis of Divine Faith; addressed to the Protestants of England;" but the zealous writer never lived to see it published. The work from beginning to end is controversial. It is singularly convincing, and embraces many powerful points; but, like most polemical performances, an occasional tone of acrimony pervades it, which insensibly provokes to an attitude of defence those whose prejudices seemed at first disarmed by the conciliating language with which he commenced.

Having advanced some strong points, Dr. Doyle imagines himself asked, "How do you presume to designate the State

religion as schismatical or heretical? To which charge, without reference to Scripture or history, to facts or arguments, for a justification, it is quite sufficient to reply, 'Why does the State compel her councillors, her legislators, her priests, her prelates, her officers of almost every grade and condition, not only to assert, but to swear, that the religion which I profess, in common with nine-tenths of the Christian world, is damnable and idolatrous?' It will be said, 'Do you wish to lead the nation back to Popery?' To which I might reply with the Apostle, 'I wish you were all such as I am, except those chains.' But, waiving this answer, have I not a right to reply, 'You have laboured by bribes, by pains, and penalties, to induce us Catholics to embrace your State religion, and may not we be permitted to offer to your consideration some reasons why you should return to the faith of your fathers?' If I be told that my religion unsettles allegiance, dissolves oaths, enslaves the understanding, and indulges the committal of sin, I reply, that all these charges are founded in the grossest ignorance or most refined malice, and are utterly and entirely false; that the religion which I preach knows of no such crimes; but that, in place of vindicating her anew from such atrocious calumnies, or retorting on her antagonists the vices and errors of their lives or creeds, I will be satisfied to analyse the faith which God imparts—that faith which, working through charity, justifies man, and which can be found only in that Catholic Church from which England has been, alas! too long separated. If this be done, then it will clearly appear that, whatever may have been the vices or errors of individual men, the Church of God can never have taught, and never will teach, anything inconsistent with social duty or moral virtue; and that the imputations above alluded to are against every rule of justice attached to her name. If, then, millions of men, whom I love as I love myself, are deceived and alienated from this faith, if this faith be every hour assailed, its tenets everywhere impugned, and impugned all the day long, no unworthy motive should be imputed or evil censure attach to him who justifies that faith, and labours to extend to his erring brethren its saving influence."

The Bishop expatiates at considerable length on the importance and necessity of faith. This virtue, he asserts, has been at all times sinned against. England had fallen away from the observance of it, revolted almost entire against the truth, and exerted every energy to produce its total overthrow—"a country which all but buried beneath the ruins its revolutions made the covenant which it once had stricken with Almighty God. This country propagated its errors with its dominion into ours, and the apostates

of our own race, the unnatural children of our own blood, siding with those by whom they were invaded, became like noxious vermin, devourers of the womb in which they were generated. The light shed by history upon times past points out to the Catholics of Ireland the struggles of their ancestors in maintaining against those men their fidelity to God. By it 'they wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, recovered strength from weakness.' They suffered, in maintaining it, not alone the pillaging of their goods, but resisted even to the shedding of their blood. It was by the faith they professed, and which we their descendants hold as firmly, that these wonders have been wrought ; and 'this is the faith, purified from the errors and heresies infecting or subverting it in your country, which—after the example of its Author, who delivered Himself to death for His enemies—we, forgetting the injuries done to us for ages past by your kings and your nobles, your priests and your people, are now most anxious to impart to you.'

But to the admission of divine faith into minds wherein it had been once corrupted, he admitted a great and almost insurmountable obstacle was opposed—an obstacle created by that pride from which the holy writings testify that all evil took its rise. Such pride, ascending always, becomes every hour more removed from the humility, and obedience, and self-denial of the cross ; and it never permits him whom it once possessed to estimate justly either its consequences or its guilt.

"In vain the Gospel is torn, the Testaments detached from each other, the ancient traditions, liturgies, and canons superseded ; in vain the divine inspiration of the Scriptures is impugned ; the canon of its books modelled to the caprice or opinion of him who reads it ; in vain the rise, the fall, or the separation of sects without number ; in vain errors the most glaring, and excesses the most revolting, are presented to the view of those engaged in this revolt ; seeing they do not see them, hearing they do not hear them, knowing they do not understand them ; for their heart is blinded, because they trust to that wisdom which God has made folly, they will not be converted to the humility of the cross, that the Lord might be appeased and return to heal them. They seize upon the Gospel, and glory in its possession, whilst they reject the Church which that Gospel so plainly demonstrates. They proclaim the divinity of this Gospel, and reject the testimony of those from whom they received it. They profess their belief in this Gospel, but disavow those whom Christ sent to preach it to the nations. They declare aloud they will obey

Christ, but disdain to submit to those whom Christ desires them to hear and to obey. They condemn schisms, and they everywhere separate in creed and communion one from the other. They anathematise heresy, and they all choose their own religion regardless of all authority. They profess to revere mysteries, and they admit or reject them according to their own goodwill. They believe the Church of God is the pillar and ground of truth, and also believe that she was sunk in idolatry for eight hundred years. They believe this Church is one, and they also believe she is divided into sects whose creeds differ, and who anathematise each other. They believe this Church is universal, and they also believe that the most obscure sect, holding no communion with the entire earth, is a portion of this Church. They believe this Church was always visible—the assemblage of nations—and they also believe she was invisible and unknown. They believe this Church to be the spouse of Christ, faithful and beloved, and they also believe that His promises of perpetual protection and assistance to her have not been faithfully observed. In fine, they believe, or rather imagine, whatever is most inconsistent, whatever is most contradictory, whatever is most derogatory to the divine honour ; and they prove most demonstratively to the true believer that God has rejected the prudence of the prudent and reproved the wisdom of the wise ; nay, that the wisdom of this world is with Him nought but folly. Far be it from me to suppose or insinuate that all who are sharers in this revolt are equally partakers of its guilt. No ! they who opened the sluices of error, and let in the waters of bitterness to deluge the field of the Church, are the great culprits. Their names are known, and their deeds are in execration. The timid, worthless men also who, stationed as sentinels on the walls of the city of God, betrayed their trust, and surrendered to the enemy the fortress and inhabitants whom they were bound to protect—these men, who made their lives more precious than their souls, must pay the price of the trust which they betrayed. The men of power and of rank, whom the pleasures of this life corrupted, whom ambition blinded, whom avarice consumed, who pandered to the passions and yielded to the power of an infuriated and infatuated king—these men are guilty of all the evils they should have averted, of all the tyranny, and cruelty, and rapine, and bloodshed in which they infamously shared. The furious bigots, the wilful maligners, the deliberate opposers of the known truth, as well as those who continue to justify crime and oppress innocence, will drink the chalice of retribution to its very dregs ; for them *'its lees will not be drained ;'* they are *'those sinners of the earth'* whom the

Psalmist says 'will drink thereof' But the crowds who have been carried away by the torrent, the sheep who were left to stray without a pastor, the people who were abandoned by their protectors, the subjects who were oppressed by law—for these there must be mercy. And their descendants, whom ye are—you who live, as it were, enclosed in a fortress guarded by all the spirits of error, to whom light and truth can scarcely find access, whose education and habits are all perverted, but whose hearts are ready to obey, if they could only be taught to do the will of God ; you may be unfortunate—and so you are—but who will condemn you of crime ? It is for such as you, separated unfortunately from us, that we sigh as deeply and sincerely as Reuben did for Joseph ; could we but meet you as that man did his brethren who had been his persecutors, we too would embrace you, even would clasp you in our arms, make known to you our common origin and interests, pardon all you did against us, and share with you those inestimable graces which the immortal and invisible God, the King of ages, has preserved to us, and perhaps also for you ; for as Joel sayeth of Him, 'who knows but He may return and forgive !'

In giving expression to further views, Dr. Doyle said he lamented the enduring sophistry which provoked and prolonged his exertions, and he was constrained to admit that his labours in self-defence had too often called forth increased rancour, and new and more foul misrepresentations. But at present a higher and a still better purpose lay before him. He intended to exhibit to the people of England the very foundation of the divine religion which he invited them to embrace—to lay bare the rock whereon the Church is built, and to demonstrate to those who will view it, with even the light which reason sheds, that it is immovable as the God who placed it,—as strong as eternity—more lasting than time ! Confiding in the Divine goodness, he would endeavour to expound the nature and qualities of faith, and labour to make manifest that on this foundation no man can build unless through the agency of the Catholic Church ; that she alone possesses it true and entire ; and that all attempts to regulate our knowledge of and belief in the revelation of God by private judgment, or any other means than the authority and judgment of the Catholic Church, is vain and futile.

"To pursue the fanatic through the mazes of his error is impossible, for his error changes like the tints on the horizon at the setting sun. To discuss and justify every truth and practice of the Christian creed, as often as they are misunderstood or misrepresented by the ignorant, the wicked, and the base, is not within the scope of human exertion ; to confound the calumniator,

to contradict the defamer, to detect the liar, would require a thousand eyes, a thousand tongues, and a co-existence to all the cities, towns, and hamlets in your country. These things, therefore, being impossible, it remains only to exhibit, as it were, the edifice of Christianity; and by presenting it with its foundation to the view of all, prove to such as have eyes and can see, who have ears and can hear, who have knowledge and can understand, that in the Catholic Church alone, and not among those who are separated from her, can that faith be found by which the just man liveth, and without which it is impossible to please God."

In prosecuting this purpose Dr. Doyle divided his observations into several successive sections, that the various links of his reasoning might be viewed the more distinctly; that sophistry—should it be supposed by any foe to lurk in his words—might be easily detected; and the truth pervading them the more brilliantly reflected. He showed his usual tact in this arrangement. The division of the powers of the mind, like the division of labour in works of art, produces both expedition and perfection. But the several sections which follow are too elaborate, logically subtle, and comprehensive in their character to convey any adequate idea of by unconnected extracts. The analysis of a purely celestial theme must have involved no ordinary difficulty. "As the heavens are higher than the earth," says an inspired writer, "so are His ways exalted above our ways, and His thoughts above our thoughts." Dr. Doyle, however, discharged his task with ease and power. He simplified the divine subject of which he treated, and made it intelligible to the dullest mind; while in conducting his arguments he followed closely the example of the primitive writers on Christianity, and had recourse to such sources of proof only as were not contested by his adversaries.

The principle held by the sectaries who contended against Dr. Doyle's views was, "That the means whereby men may believe rightly the law revealed to us by God are the Sacred Scriptures, as understood by each individual, enlightened by a special grace, or instructed by the Holy Spirit, or as understood by the ordinary exercise and application of his own mental powers." "I am sure this is the most natural and intelligible shape," observes Dr. Doyle, "in which the hypothesis of our adversaries can be stated. Were it in my power to place their opinions in a point of view more favourable to them, I should certainly do it; for an argument is only prolonged and its success exposed to failure when it does not embrace fully and fairly the subject in dispute."

Having discussed this point to a considerable extent, the Bishop proceeded to inquire whether the Church of England was or was

not guilty of schism. The conclusion at which Dr. Doyle arrived may readily be inferred. This book gives us a larger idea of his acquaintance with the Fathers than any other composition of his pen.

Correspondence with old friends continued uninterruptedly. Miss Nolan, of whom we have spoken (vol. i. p. 226), was not forgotten.

“CARLOW, 18th January 1830.

“DEAR SISTER,—I am very sensible of your continued goodwill, and very much obliged by your letter. I should not be surprised if you seldom remembered, in the midst of your incessant occupations, a person so long and so far removed from you. I hope it is the habit of praying for me which still secures to me a place in your memory, and that now, aided by your dear and growing community, you will continue to recommend myself and those committed to my care—as also a chapel I am endeavouring to build here—to the protection of our Blessed Lady, and the mercy of our good God. I recollect with great interest and sincere esteem your fellow-labourer, Miss —, and am truly rejoiced that she has been thus far conducted and aided by Divine Providence in her exertions to do His will and promote His glory. I beg earnestly of Heaven that He who commenced in her the good work of sanctification may perfect it, and that you may be enabled, for her sake and your own, to walk before her in the ways of humility, self-denial, patience, prayer, and the love of God. My dear child, be a pattern to her and to all with you—not in words, but in works, and consider with your holy patron, St. Augustine, that they who are placed above others in authority should in humility be placed under their feet. Lay down your office daily at the feet of Christ crucified, and take it up again sprinkled, as it were, with the blood of His cross—that blood wherewith He pacified all things in heaven and upon earth; for thus, as St. Paul observes of his duties to Timothy, you will save yourself and others.

“Why did you not mention to me many particulars of your new convent—what the number of your sisters, the state of your schools, your health, and those small matters which cause you either joy or sorrow? for whilst we are here we must feel both, and in all of them I would feel an interest. But when you next have an opportunity of writing, you will do so; and I shall always be glad to hear from you whilst you continue, as I trust you ever will, to serve God with a pure conscience and an humble heart. Above all things, take care to be always humble, for

without that foundation deeply and firmly laid there can be no superstructure of a virtuous life.

"Your sisters in our convent here are all tolerably well, thank God. My life continues to be filled with labour and care; but I have so often experienced the Divine protection that I should not fear any difficulties in the service of God. Hoping for your continual prayers to God for me, and also those of your sisters, I remain your faithful servant in Christ."

This "labour and care" was added to in no small degree by the troublesome correspondence which he was daily obliged to maintain. Dr. Doyle's letter to Lord Cloncurry, dated 20th February 1829, on the subject of a misrepresentation of that peer's views by an eccentric old priest, ought, one would think, to have settled that point as far as it was in the Bishop's power to do so; but Lord Cloncurry had yet to be fully satisfied.

"CARLOW, 12th February 1830.

"MY LORD,—On my return from Dublin, I found upon my table the letter with which your lordship has honoured me. I assure you there is not a nobleman in Ireland, with the exception of the Duke of Leinster, whom I would be more anxious to gratify than your Lordship; so that if in this letter I do not in all respects fulfil your wishes, the deficiency will not be owing to a want on my part of an inclination to do so.

"I have not seen the seventeenth Report of the Kildare Place Society, unless in the mutilated shape in which it appeared in the newspapers, and am, therefore, but imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the calumnies on your Lordship published in that Report. But as the speeches and documents emanating, for years past, from that place have been chiefly remarkable for a want of candour and truth, it is to me a matter of some surprise that they could give your Lordship pain; for what is the value of good sense, rectitude of conduct, and high character, unless they afford protection against the evil reports and misrepresentations which are constantly emanating from such places as Kildare Street?

"I recollect the substance of your Lordship's communication to me last year, relative to the late Rev. Mr. Nolan. I sent for him at that time, and after hearing him I wrote you a note—to which I beg now to refer you—wherein I expressed for him, and at his desire, his contrition for the injury he had done your Lordship. I adverted, if I recollect well, to the natural acerbity of his temper, and to the illness under which he laboured—an

illness which terminated shortly afterwards in his death. I thought then, and had reason given to me to think, that your Lordship was appeased, and therefore was filled with regret when I found, in a letter recently published by your Lordship, a most severe animadversion on the memory of a man removed from this scene of contention—a man who, whatever might have been his faults, had once enjoyed your friendship, and who—your Lordship will permit me to say it—had a right to have his faults buried with him in his grave.

“Far be it from me to excuse his conduct. His misrepresentation of your Lordship was most unwarrantable; he regretted it deeply and bitterly. His letter, he said, was written to the Kildare Street people at a moment when trouble and disease embittered his mind. They applied to him for permission to publish that letter, which he declined to give; but they of Kildare Street had a purpose to serve, and did not hesitate about the means of effecting it. They published the letter, and wounded your Lordship; but they sacrificed their own honour, as well as the feelings and character of a dying man. I confess, my Lord, that I am at a loss as to the mode in which I should, as you require, aid in vindicating your name in this matter otherwise than I have done—by placing in your hands the note to which I have above referred; for your Lordship will not require of me to pronounce of a dead man that he was, whilst living, guilty of ingratitude and dishonesty, when the subject-matter of the charge is hospitality exercised towards him, and dealings in houses and lands, of the merits of which I am ignorant, but with respect to which the deceased, who cannot now plead, held opinions the very reverse of those entertained by your Lordship.

“For my own part, and independent of this matter, I am quite certain that, besides your Lordship’s unwillingness to be found allied with ‘certain needy lawyers, showing no other utility than that of doing mischief,’ you objected to the Kildare Street system, not because it required the indiscriminate reading of the Sacred Scriptures by children, without note or comment—however you might think such a system liable to abuse—but principally because you found that Catholic children would not resort to schools in which such a system prevailed, and, therefore, that money levied off the whole community would be employed to educate the children of only a small portion of the people, which goads and insults the great majority of them. It was this reason which weighed with your Lordship—and with whom does it not weigh, unless with fanatics or the weak-minded, or those who love discord and rejoice when they do evil? And certainly with

such a reason, so often avowed by your Lordship, I think you stand so fairly before the country as to be in no need whatever of my poor testimony for your vindication.

"Your Lordship, being a Protestant, need not assign a reason, as we Catholics are bound to do, why the reading of the Sacred Scriptures without note or comment by children is objected to by us; for your Lordship, as a public man, it is enough to know that the Kildare Place system of education is cast off by the vast majority of the people, and upon religious grounds, which in Ireland have been and are, and I trust always will be, immovable. It belongs to us Catholics to state the reason of this our determination. We have done so a thousand times, in every place and in every form; but, like one singing to the deaf or preaching to the dead, we hitherto have not been heard."

A further correspondence ensued, in which Dr. Doyle remarked. "Mr. Nolan was, as your Lordship recollects, a person of very peculiar habits of mind and character. He always considered and designated the Kildare Place people as a congregation of knaves who squandered the public money, and thought himself justified in dealing with them as *they* dealt with Government and the country."¹

[The following has been found among the papers of the late Duke of Leinster, who humanely responded to the appeal.

"CARLOW, 15th February 1830.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I am very unwilling to trouble your Grace with tales of distress, but the clergyman resident at Prosperous has waited on me this morning on the part of six hundred weavers,

¹ We promised to return to Fr. Dan, and this letter presents a good opportunity for doing so. It will be remembered that Dr. Doyle, on being invested with the charge of Kildare and Leighlin, at once exercised the pastoral staff with an activity never previously attempted. Hooking in the refractory sheep, reclaiming Whitefeet and Blackfeet, and subjecting shepherds as well as flocks to proper treatment, led to kicks as well as blessings. Fr. Dan devoted overmuch time to agricultural pursuits. He knew that his habits exposed him to strokes from Dr. Doyle's staff; his sarcastic tongue was dreaded far and near; and he took the bold resolve of trying to make the Bishop fear him! "Powers above!" he would exclaim, "what airs this man is taking on himself, treating men who knew their theology before he was born with contempt the most sovereign,—spurning everybody's opinion but his own,—riding, in short, roughshod over the diocese,—he who, over and over, was obliged, in his ignorance of dead language, to address his class in very indifferent English."

All this was a monstrous exaggeration. Dr. Doyle was a good linguist, though no doubt he knew some Continental languages better than Greek. The Rev. James Crane, who was educated at Coimbra, told us, as a tradition among the students there, that Dr. Doyle speedily acquired an extraordinary facility of speaking in a most beautiful style that very difficult language to master—the Portuguese.

Father Nolan built a new chapel, one like himself—very peculiar. Addressing his flock, he said, "My good people, you will perceive that I have put the windows on one side—the side the sun comes in during mass; but no doubt there are many persons very wise in their own conceit who will tell you that I ought to have put windows opposite also; but is it not better to catch the sun and keep it where it is, than to make a second line of windows from which it would only run out again?"

starving with their families in that wretched town and its vicinity, and so importuned me to make known their deplorable situation to your Grace, that I promised, however reluctantly, to do so.

"These poor men have been for some months without employment. They stripped themselves of everything to procure subsistence, but were in a little time compelled either to plunder or beg. The priest, with one or two magistrates in the neighbourhood, obtained from the few resident gentry subscriptions in money, and from all the farmers considerable quantities of potatoes. They also applied for aid to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, who declined to give them assistance. They have since then gone into the neighbouring towns to solicit aid ; but at present all their resources are exhausted, and the distress is scarcely abated ; so that the starving people deliberated on marching up to Dublin with all the horrors of their state about them, and it was then that the clergyman¹ came to me to consult as to what course he would advise them to adopt. I could not but deprecate such an exhibition as that contemplated, and recommended that applications for further aid should be made to those having property in the town or neighbourhood, and also *renewed* to the Lord-Lieutenant, in the hope that in a little time there might be some revival of trade, which should enable those poor people to procure subsistence for themselves. I was then urged to state the matter to your Grace, who, having property near Prosperous, might consider their case worthy of relief, and that the Government might be led in such an emergency to depart from their ordinary rules. I could scarcely refuse to do so, and this is the cause of my troubling your Grace with so painful a subject. These poor people have shown a patience and resignation greater than could be expected, and deserve our utmost pity ; but though their lives may be preserved by charitable contributions, it is very obvious that something should be done by Government to remove those masses of human misery, which I am sorry to observe are every year accumulating in Ireland. I have the honour to be, my Lord Duke, your Grace's most obedient, &c.,

✠ J. DOYLE"]

Prominent amongst the Bishop's "cares" was the anxiety to see flourish a sound system of education for the people. To Sir H. Parnell he writes :—

"CARLOW, 23d February 1830.

"A report of some late debate in the Commons informs me that you are in London, and, agreeably to a usage which you have permitted to grow old, I proceed to trouble you with the subject

¹ Rev. Mr. Nolan, "the *Prosperous* parish priest" (see vol. i. p. 455).

of education here, in which I am so deeply and immediately interested. The grants to the Kildare Place Society, and all the evils and dissensions consequent upon them, were continued last year. Nor could we in decency interfere whilst the Government and Parliament were occupied with the Relief Bill ; but this year the Catholic Bishops, at their late meeting in Dublin, agreed to a petition on the subject, hoping that now, when the passions are less heated than usual in Ireland, something may be done to extend education to all the people, and to disable one party from employing the public money in irritating and tormenting the other. It is a matter of fact, whatever may be stated to the contrary, that except in the North, the Kildare Place people do not and cannot induce any portion of the Catholic children to attend their schools ; that the schoolhouses built by them are shut up, or peopled by some half-dozen of foundlings, or of children of the police, or of the lowest description of poor Protestants, whilst the education of the people generally is left totally unassisted. There is no sense in such a system, and I beg of you to represent it strongly to those who can change it, especially as the continuance of it will perpetuate religious bickerings and jealousies in almost every village in the country. Nor is there one other topic at present which might be so advantageously laid hold of by a person disposed to excite anew the passions of the people. It is also to be observed that the mere motion of the Government is only required to put an end to this evil, and that we who pray them to attend to it have done all in our power to promote the views of Government, whilst their own opponents, who thwart all their measures, adhere to this system of division and discord. We have a great deal of distress here, but I will say nothing of it, hoping things may mend. You heard of the associations of deluded people in the Queen's County. They are now broken up, but the cause of their discontent still exists, and will long continue."

Unlike the disturbed districts of the Queen's County, there was a portion of his diocese which had preserved intact the most primitive piety. This gratifying circumstance is alluded to in a letter to Clare. He also speaks of a gifted nun, whom it was hoped would have accepted the office of superioress in the convent of which Clare was an inmate. Archbishop Murray, however, hesitated about sending her to another diocese. "So you must seek to get perfect without her. Be not impatient, dear Clare, at not having such a guide. God is able and condescends to direct you if you abandon yourself to His direction, obeying cheerfully the

rule you profess, not anxious to be better or fearful of being worse than you are ; then you will fulfill the will of Heaven, and He who is your justification will justify you still more ; He who is your propitiation will atone for you still more, washing you every day from the stains of your sins ; He who is your peace will give tranquillity to your soul ; for it is He and nothing but He who can bestow it.

"You wish to see me at Carlow, and I am like a prisoner whilst I am away from it ; and if I had time to spend in amusing reflections, 'tis to Carlow they should turn insensibly. But every place I have been in is dear to me ; the virtues of the people or their necessities equally attach me to them, and I could almost wish to spend my life in each of the parishes I have visited ; but why do I obtrude these subjects on you ? I spent half-an-hour with the Sisters here last night, after my return from the country, where I prepared the building of a chapel ; they are very good of course, and were glad to see me ; we talked something of their new house of sickness and of Heaven, and thus we parted. Adieu, my dear Clare, I hope to see you next week. I have written you one of my longest letters. I cannot name my friends ; you know them all ; say to them that with undiminished affection I remain their and your friend, &c.,

✠ J. DOYLE."

On the same day he writes to Mariana:—

"23^d February 1830.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I was delighted, whilst perusing your letter, at all the goodness and all the strange fancies which you have so happily expressed. I wish I were in Africa to see his sable majesty, and hear the shouts of his slaves ascend Mount Atlas. It is an admirable view of the physical and moral world, and would afford to me vastly more pleasure than a cardinal's hat ; but as your own projected visit to the Continent was put off till your spirit is loosed, so I must postpone my view of the blacks, their mosques and groves, until some new revolution disturbs the world, or enables me to ascend, without money or wings, to the summit of that giant mountain which upholds and overtops this nether earth. At present your concern is with your beads and young *élèves*—mine with Lent, and bile, and chapel-building, and money-getting ; all of which promise badly enough, but are not able to cast me down half so low as you would apprehend. I was gratified very sincerely and very much by meeting our worthy friend Dr. Harold, and felt pain that I could not accept his kind proposal of carrying me out to visit you. Pray thank him for me,

and you cannot exaggerate my favourable opinion of him. I believe that, despite of my 'great wisdom,' I looked at him with your eyes, and then it will not surprise you that I was so much gratified to see and know him. Unless some sense of duty, about which I understand nothing, should take him back to America, he ought not, at this period of life, to leave his convent and the good works which he can there perform. He has given time enough to the world, whether for fame, or gratification, or improvement of himself or others ; such a man as he is requires time for his own private use.

"Miss Gurly is going to heaven by forced marches ; to say the truth, she does good things better than any other person except you. She charged me manfully about the Lent, and I laughed as heartily at her. When I write I will tell her all manner of good things of you, and how the people at Calais don't like to set off to heaven during the cold weather. My dear friends the French always had peculiarities in everything, and have that sort of religion which suits their nation and the notions prevailing with it. 'Tis so with every nation and people under the sun, and our own business is to look on—be instructed and amused, but not influenced by anything but the unchanged spirit of the Gospel. I did not hear of Prince Hohenlohe's death, but I think it high time for him to die, for if such a man were to live too long, he might, with his load of merits, occupy too large a place in the New Jerusalem. The young Bishop in Kilkenny would be a fit successor for him ; he prays, and preaches, and all but works miracles, as well as many others whose names are not in the calendar. I think they were peculiarly fortunate in Kilkenny to get such a Bishop. He gave me a subscription to my chapel, which I think was an act of the most heroic virtue. Would to God that all the bishops and religious, who, having nothing, possess all things, would imitate him in that respect ; then indeed would virtue flourish, and the Lent pass over us like a summer cloud ! . . . Pray for my chapel, and if you hear that I am living at Easter, write to me."

Dr. Harold had sought an introduction to Dr. Doyle, and with him the Bishop formed his last friendship. Dr. Doyle reposed great confidence in his own power of discerning character, and generally shaped his conduct from first impressions. "Upon being introduced to a person," said Dr. Cahill to us, "he at once decided whether he was to like or dislike him for ever. When really fond of an individual, he would lavish upon him the warmest marks of affection. He would either exalt his friend as a

little deity, or subjugate him with a frown." This, however, must be taken with some qualification.

It may truly be said, that almost in every thought, talk, dream, letter, or even joke of Dr. Doyle's at this period, the new cathedral, then in course of erection, occupied a foremost place. Addressing an influential nun, he says : "When you write, tell me do you content yourself with praying to God for my chapel, and not also prefer occasional petitions to the rich people who resort to you. God feeds the sparrow. In truth He does ; but it is by giving him wings, a bill, and claws to provide for himself."

Writing to his niece, 28th February 1830, he says : "When Mr. Cahill informed me of the zeal and disinterestedness evinced by your clergy, and the kindness manifested by the laity on the occasion of his visit to Wexford, I felt more grateful than I could well express, but certainly regretted that he should have made his application for subscriptions so general ; for though I am very anxious to get money to carry on our building, I would not commence applying for donations generally or publicly abroad until my resources at home should be first exhausted. My late illness and afterwards my absence from Carlow, with the thousand cares and distractions always pressing on me, prevented me till now from writing to you ; but I know you will not only excuse me, but make my apology to those whom I ought without any delay to have thanked for a kindness which I shall always recollect. I am sorry to hear your dear mother is declining, but she is only hastening to her true home, for which God in His mercy has been preparing her for many years past ; we are all advancing in the same course."

In March 1830 Dr. Doyle had a correspondence with Dr. Harvey on the advantages of a well-organised Temperance Society. He assured him that the society might calculate on his zealous co-operation ; for how could he, or any clergyman employed in sowing the Gospel seed, be truly solicitous for its growth unless they were also anxious to prepare the ground wherein it is sown ? A torrent of iniquity, like the mountain flood, had been gradually covering that portion of the Lord's vineyard. No one whose attention had been directed to public morals could fail to see and well-nigh touch the evils of drunkenness—a vice which enters like oil into the bones of a man, and is transmitted with his blood as an inheritance of woe to his children. It wastes his property, enfeebles his mind, breaks down his frame, exposes his soul to perdition, and ruins his posterity. Those who believe that "the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, and that the violent bear

it away," should not lightly reject a mode of reforming public morals, whose only imputed fault is that it offers violence to passion or guilt, and proposes to men the propriety of living soberly and justly in this world.

"Men," he added, "oftentimes approve of what they have not courage to practise, and applaud, or even imitate at a humble distance, that excellence to which they themselves do not hope to arrive. So many persons who may not become members of your society will approve and applaud your rules—will even observe them in spirit, and promote a feeling in their favour, which will operate slowly, perhaps, but steadily, in support of the good cause of temperance and sobriety. Such men will not give the name of enthusiasm to the perfection of virtue itself. Indeed, the Divine economy, amongst the means of reforming men, has been careful always to set before them, like shining lights, individuals of the most heroic virtue; and the contemplation of the superior excellence of such highly gifted persons has ever been to others a warning against evil and an incitement to good. This consideration tends to confirm me in the opinion that your society has acted wisely in the framing and adoption of its rules; and that the imputed fault of their too great rigour or perfection is a mark of their wisdom and a presage of their future efficacy. What you want is publicity. Few persons could read your admirable little tracts and not be more or less reformed; they have increased and sharpened even my habitual horror of drunkenness. Would to God that the press, with its mighty power, could be engaged to give to your publications the place which is sometimes allotted in its pages to extracts which impair the character and vitiate the literature of our age."

The Bishop sought an occasional hour of relaxation about this period in the study of the Celtic history and literature of Ireland. He entered warmly into the subject, and, anxious to promote the objects for which the Royal Irish Academy was founded, he opened a correspondence with Dr. Petrie, and incidentally mentioned his willingness to become a member. But ill-health, which he never subsequently shook off, laid its iron grasp upon him soon after, and the matter dropped.

Mr. D'Alton having forwarded to Dr. Doyle a presentation copy of his prize essay on Ancient Ireland, received a warm acknowledgment, adding that no doubt the publication of it would be "followed by the approval of every man attached to truth, and who feels an interest in the fortunes of this interesting country."

"My strong attachment to the country of my ancestors and of

my birth forced me, from time to time, to make an effort to become acquainted with what she has been, as well as with what she is and might become; and I am sincerely glad to find that the opinion I had formed of the state of ancient Ireland is justified by its coincidence with yours—if not in every particular, at least generally. Our origin and early possession of letters, and, consequently, of a certain degree of civilisation, are, I think, points settled; but I cannot hide from myself that, though we possessed at certain periods a relative superiority over other countries, we never attained to eminence as a nation. The Egyptians, Persians, Arabs, the Greeks and Romans, the Italians, Goths, Gauls, Britons, and the several Slavonic nations, were thus enabled to fix their governments on a solid basis, and maintain that independence which protected the arts and sciences amongst them—and several of them did so under disadvantages far greater than the ancient Irish laboured under. Must we then trace to the genius of our ancestors their little progress in social government, and their relapse into semi-barbarism when assailed by the Danes?

Dr. Doyle's occupations during the greater part of this year were those of the theologian rather than of the tribune. His political labours flagged, but as a soldier of Christ he continued indefatigable. He conducted two retreats—one for parish priests, and the other for curates. The detail of his meditations was elaborate and striking. He preached four times each day on the duties of the ecclesiastical state. He awakened a sense of responsibility within the breast of his hearers, which had been in many instances slumbering. "I thought that nothing could be more awful or more grand than the curates' retreat," observes an informant, "but having occasion afterwards to attend his retreat for parish priests, I found it was fifty-fold more impressive and awful." Care and anxiety, as he assures his correspondents, continued to sear his heart. He loved to mingle among the students of Carlow College, and to renew in their society those happy scenes and occupations which his elevation to the mitre may be said to have closed. In his professor's chair he had known no care nor sorrow. His life was so utterly exempt from crosses, that, as he assures his niece in 1817, he fears that many hardships must yet be in store for him. It is, therefore, not surprising that when this dreaded visitation came at last, he should have occasionally sought to forget it in a brief revival of the occupations which had formerly made his life a happy one. He had a peculiar faculty—an attribute which belongs only to men of high genius—of stamping an original character on every

theological decision he gave; and such was the freshness and vigour with which he illustrated his propositions, that the hearer never once mistook and never forgot a single opinion he advanced. "In fact," observes Dr. Magee, a successor in the chair he filled, "his decisions are remembered to the present day by the priests of this diocese as freshly as the moment he uttered them from the pulpit. His views on the lawfulness of receiving legal interest, on the 'sole title of the law,' on the right of the poor to support, and on innumerable other difficult questions, were quite in advance of the teaching of his day, and they have all since been sanctioned by the school. He had the singular gift of imparting a defined and practical character to his teaching, of which the diocesan statutes, principally the work of his master-mind, give us the highest evidence; and there can hardly be a doubt, judging from the proofs of genius and capacity his juvenile efforts display, that had it pleased Providence to leave him for a longer time in the theological chair at Carlow, he would have produced works in that department which would have entitled him to be ranked amongst the first masters of the school."

In his lectures to students, the broad and expansive views which the power of innate genius enabled him to take of every subject he touched were striking. In moral theology he was deeply versed; and he read with the utmost care, as his voluminous marginal notes prove. The works of Suarez, Bonnacina, Vasques, Lessino—all the most distinguished masters of the school on every subject—are studded with his autograph annotations; while his extensive historical knowledge, and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, enabled him to give the grandest expositions of Christian dogmatics, and to treat polemical topics with a power and clearness little short of that shown by Bellarmin or Bossuet.

The opinions recorded by Dr. Doyle in marginal notes upon his copy of Dens' theology are of the same enlightened and progressive character.

To the question, "*An horetici rectè puniantur morte?*" Dens answers in the affirmative; but Dr. Doyle writes, "Shockingly false!" Dens appeals to the old Jewish law; Dr. Doyle says, "A theocracy is no rule for us." Dens lays it down, "*Infideles baptizar ipossunt compelli*;" Dr. Doyle observes, "*Dominus non indiget auxiliis hominum: non sic docueront apostoli!*"

His progressive views as an ecclesiastic might be illustrated by numerous extracts from his private letters. The following has reference to the reception of novices. A majority of votes should

always attest their eligibility :—"I have, from time to time, suggested to men of various religious orders the necessity of some further improvement in their mode of proceeding, but in vain. They seem to me the bodies of men who are profiting least by the lights of the age. I regret this exceedingly ; and I can do no more, though I remember having once offered my personal labour in preparing a draft of a system of reformation among them."

[The following sensational letter, chronologically in place here, has been found among the papers of the late Vicar-General of the diocese :—

"CARLOW, 22d March 1830.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—I have told you repeatedly that you are at liberty to discontinue your attendance, or that of your curates, at —, should the people who attend that chapel not pay to you regularly £25 sterling a year. I now repeat this my sanction to your doing so. I feel shame and sorrow that any portion of the faithful should be so indifferent to their own duty, and so devoid of fidelity in the fulfilment of their own engagements, as to render such a step on your part necessary. But, as St. Peter said to the Jews, 'Whereas you reject the word of God, behold we turn ourselves to the Gentiles.' So if the people of — compel the minister of religion to abandon them, he can find another people more worthy of his labours. I found that neighbourhood without schools, without a chapel, an altar, or a sacrifice. I endeavoured to have them provided with a school-house, a chapel, and a resident clergyman, and all I required in return was £25 a year, which they cheerfully and repeatedly promised to contribute to the support of such clergyman. They have broken faith with me, they have violated their own engagements, and they now compel me to sanction a measure which will entail on themselves no small disgrace, and which in its consequences involves the loss of their chapel, and the removal of that religious worship and instruction from them without which men are little better than the beasts of the field.

"But I could not and will not suffer that the altar and the priest of God be, day after day, disgraced by seeking the payment of a just debt. Either, then, let what each person should pay be assessed by the people convened in meeting, and then two or more persons make themselves responsible to you for the collection and payment of it, or let the mass be discontinued.—I remain,

✠ J. DOYLE."]

It is interesting to trace the Bishop's efforts to cast off care in his correspondence with Mariana :—

“CARLOW, 29th April 1830.

“MY DEAR MARIANA,—I like a large space wherein to move, however trifling or grave the matter which occupies me, and therefore have taken this large sheet to place myself at my ease whilst writing to you. I almost forget how the Lent agreed or disagreed with me. I think I am now, thank God, about in my usual state, just as well, and perhaps better, than I ought to be ; never in pain or pleasure for a long time, but always satisfied with evils which I cannot remove, or hoping for a future state of repose when the body will be recast, and the mind more enlightened and free.

“This church of ours is progressing, thanks to Providence, and to the prayers and money of the just and good. Your share in it will be better than mine, for you will have the merit of building it, whilst the labour of doing so devolves, in a great degree, on me ; but the Lord, wisely and providently for His Church, gave to her ministers, whose passions, restrained in many things, might sustain them in those exertions which need no control. Thus I labour, but then in doing so I gratify my feelings, having, as you do, purified my intention. You want to know something of Fleury. Well, he is the ablest historian the Church has produced ; but he told truth sometimes without disguise, and censured the views and conduct of many persons, who in return gave him a bad name. Your speculation about the meetings of the Bishops will not be fully realised. They will meet but once a year, in summer, and probably not in Dublin ; so I apprehend they who wish to see you, and whom you wish to see, must visit you for your own and their sake, and not for the purpose of taking air by driving to see you, or relaxing their fretted brain, after deep thought and solemn disputation, by conversing with a fine, good-natured, witty, holy nun. Give my compliments to Dr. Harold in the most respectful manner ; and now, having disposed of all things else, I shall expend the remaining page in a dissertation on the pure love of God—is it not that unknown thing you inquire about ? Well, my dear friend, this, if it exist, is like the philosopher's stone ; many seek for it, but they who boast of having found it are, I believe, fools or impostors. Whilst we are in the body we cannot know God well, and our love of Him, however we may work up our imagination, is always proportioned to our knowledge. Tertullian says—and the thought is a good or rather an ingenious one—that He came in the flesh to enable us

to love Him, which we could not well do whilst His spiritual nature only was proposed as the object of our affections. The Quietists, and a number of enthusiasts of all times and religions, pretended that we could separate the love of God from the love of ourselves, but that is all nonsense. He succeeds best who loves God first and himself next, for in general we love ourselves above all things and God for our own sake. Many people among the saints succeeded in silencing earthly desires, and, employing their imagination upon what religion has made known of God, were enabled through grace to think frequently of Him and seldom of themselves; but in general the best of us, who are not enthusiasts, can only watch and check the passions, and hide from the mind the influence of them, which, however, operates upon all our conduct. This is a very good state, nevertheless, and as much as God requires of most people; and the man or woman has a head of wood who expects more from any one. The outward actions ought to be conformable to the rule prescribed by the law of God, and the inward regulated by the Holy Spirit, obtained by prayer, sacraments, &c.—Adieu ! ”

A letter dated April 1830 partly predicts the memorable French Revolution of the following July :—“ Depend on it, my dear Mariana, your mother is in good health and spirits; so much so, that if a revolution occurred in France, she would not suffer much in mind or body by it. She has too much of what is better than philosophy to save her from the accidents of this life. Be content, then, in sending up a prayer occasionally for her soul’s health, and be assured the Continental air and mode of living will provide for the rest of her.”

[On 1st April 1830, a note to Fr. Martin Doyle explains that absence from home prevented him, till that day, from receiving a letter in which that priest requested an expression of episcopal opinion; “but,” he adds dryly, “as bulls are often committed on the 1st of April, I will not, by touching on that point, expose myself to the danger of committing one.” The Bishop expresses doubt as to whether he would remain for dinner at Mr. Kavanagh’s of Borris, with whom he had business, or go on to Graig. “Should I arrive, you are seldom, I hope, on short commons.”]

CHAPTER X.

Oppression of the poor—Families lodged, clothed, and fed on threepence a day—Striking picture—Examination on the state of the Irish poor—Analysis of his evidence—Appalling results of eviction—Lord Monteagle and Mr. G. P. Scrope on his evidence—Correspondence with Lord Monteagle—Letter from and to Lord F. Leveson Gower—The Education Question—Correspondence—Death of George IV. and General Election—Syrenus sent on a mission to England—Lord Clare's Bill for demolishing Catholic chapels—Letter to Lord Cloncurry—Munificent act—Amusing incident.

"THE gentry in Ireland," said Arthur Young, "have no mercy for the poor." Dr. Doyle, fifty years after, complained, in his eleventh letter on the "State of Ireland," that the poor had been hitherto regarded as less than men, and their wants treated with indifference; that their extermination would seem to have been long sought for, and every method of persecution which human ingenuity could devise exhausted upon them; that their oppression called to heaven for vengeance, but found on earth no ear opened or heart expanded to complaint. The monasteries were demolished, which had been an inexhaustible source of succour to the poor; not only did charity cease to be exercised, but the religion which enjoined it began, by a strange perversion, to dry up the sources of human benevolence and to alienate the affections or harden the hearts of those who should be bountiful. These were the chief causes, he argued, why a legal provision for the poor of Ireland was more necessary than a similar measure in any other civilised country.

The evidence already submitted to both Houses of Parliament proved that the average wage of a labouring man in Ireland was hardly worth threepence a day. "Threepence a day for such as obtain employment," mused the Bishop, "whilst in a family where one or two persons are employed, there may be four, perhaps six others, dependent on these two for support. Good God! an entire family to be lodged, clothed, fed, on threepence a day! equal only to the value of a single quart of oatmeal! What further illustration can be required? why refer to the nakedness—to the hunger of individuals? why speak of parishes receiving extreme unction before they expired of hunger? why be surprised at men feeding on manure?—of contending with the cattle about the weeds?—of being lodged in huts and sleeping on the clay?—of being destitute of energy, of education, of the virtues or qualities of the children of men? Is it not clear that the great mass of the poor are in a state of habitual famine,

the prey of every mental and bodily disease ? Why are we surprised at the spectres who haunt our dwellings, whose tales of distress rend our hearts—at the distracted air and incoherent language of the wretched father who starts from the presence of his famished wife and children, and gives vent abroad in disjointed sounds to the agony of his soul ? How often have I met and laboured to console such a father ; how often have I endeavoured to justify to him the ways of Providence, and check the blasphemy against Heaven which was already seated on his tongue ! How often have I seen the visage of the youth, which should be red with vigour, pale and emaciated ; and the man who had scarcely seen his fortieth year withered like the autumn leaf, and his face furrowed with the wrinkles of age ! How often has the virgin, pure and spotless as the snow of heaven, detailed to me the miseries of her family, her own destitution, and sought, through the ministry of Christ, for some supernatural support, whereby to resist the allurements of the seducer, and to preserve untainted the dearest virtue of her soul ! But above all, how often have I viewed with my eyes, in the person of the wife and of the widow, of the aged and the orphan, the aggregate of all the misery which it was possible for human nature to sustain ! and how often have these persons disappeared from my eyes, returned to their wretched abode, and closed in the cold embrace of death their lives and their misfortunes ! What light can be shed on the distresses of the Irish poor by statements of facts, when their notoriety and extent are known throughout the earth. Might it not detract from the picture of it, which must be present to every reflecting mind, to state, that in a parish with which I am connected, consisting of about eight thousand souls, not less than three hundred and thirty-seven families were relieved as public paupers during the last year ; and that probably one-half as many more, who would prefer death to the public exposure of their distress, suffered for nearly two months all the horrors of extreme want ? How will it illustrate the extent or nature of our distress to state that in another parish, with which I am equally well acquainted, six-sevenths of the population subsisted for months last year either on alms or on one scanty meal of the most wretched food ; and that the furniture of their houses, their wearing apparel, and nearly all the movables they possessed, were sold or pledged to provide them with this pittance ! No ; these facts, and such facts as these, were they alone adduced and substantiated as proofs of the want of any people in Europe except the Irish, they would fill every mind with horror, and every heart with compassion ; they would not fail to excite the favourable

attention of the rulers of such a people, and ensure to the sufferers a certain relief. But Ireland, always unhappy—always oppressed, is reviled when she complains, is persecuted when she struggles; her evils are suffered to corrode her, and her wrongs are never to be redressed! We look to her pastures, and they teem with milk and fatness; to her fields, and they are covered with bread; to her flocks, and they are numerous as the bees which encircle the hives; to her ports, they are safe and spacious; to her rivers, they are deep and navigable; to her inhabitants, they are industrious, brave, and intelligent as any people on the earth; to her position on the globe, and she seems to be intended as the emporium of wealth, as the mart of universal commerce; and yet, . . . but no, we will not state the causes, they are obvious to the sight and to the touch; it is enough that the mass of her children are the most wretched of any civilised people on the globe."

Dr. Doyle's powerful appeal was hearkened to at last. In March 1830, the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the Irish poor, and the best means of improving their condition, commenced its sittings. The Committee applied themselves to the collection of such a mass of facts as should enable the House to form correct opinions on the state of the poorer classes in Ireland. They made minute and laborious inquiry into the actual state of the poor, considered in all points of view, moral, political, physical, and economical.

On the 3d of June, Dr. Doyle, in obedience to a summons, arrived at the House of Commons for examination. The number of questions put to him during the three days amounted to 468. The copiousness and force of his replies excited astonishment; their manly unreserve elicited expressions of respect and admiration. A miserable spirit of cautious uncommunicativeness characterised the evidence of several intelligent men who had been examined on the same inquiry. In most instances the replies given to the questions of the Committee averaged from a few words to a few lines; but the comprehensiveness of Dr. Doyle's thought could neither brook nor understand any contracted limit. We have calculated the extent of one of his replies: it occurs at page 405 of the Report, and comprises 689 words; but there are several other answers of his hardly less voluminous.

The Report, filling nearly 1000 pages, at length appeared. It expressed regret at being obliged to state that ground existed for some of the startling assertions made. It then notices Dr. Doyle's reply to query 4384:—"Q. What is the change that takes place with respect to those ejected tenants—where do they seek an asylum

when they quit their farms?—*A.* An example is very often the best explanation of a subject ; and I will take one, not to *exaggerate* the matter, but to illustrate it. It occurred near me the other day. A gentleman ejected a few tenants (eight or ten families), some of whom sought an asylum with the neighbouring tenantry on the estate, and it was stated to me, on unquestionable authority, that the *landlord prevented* those other tenants from affording to the ejected people that asylum. They then wandered about for some days or weeks, till another gentleman in the neighbourhood, of a humane disposition, afforded them some temporary accommodation, and gave them patches of land upon which to build huts. In other cases they wander about without a fixed residence. The young people, in some instances, endeavour to emigrate to America. If the family have a little furniture, or a cow, or a horse, they sell the latter, and come into small towns, where they often got licenses to sell beer and whisky. After a short time their little capital is expended, and they become dependent on the *charity* of the town.” “Dr. Doyle,” observes the Report, “describes the condition of this suffering class in the strongest and most impressive manner : ‘They next give up their house, and are obliged to take, not a room, but what they call a *corner*. Four of these wretched families are sometimes accommodated in one small apartment of a cabin, and three in another. I have not myself seen so many as seven families in one of these cabins ; but I have been assured by one of the officiating clergymen that there are many instances of it. Their beds are merely a little straw spread at night on the floor, and by day wrapped up or covered with a quilt or with a blanket. In these abodes of misery disease is often produced by extreme want ; disease wastes the people, for they have no food or comforts to restore them ; they die in a little time. I have known a small district adjoining the town in which I live to have been peopled by thirty or forty families who came from the country, and in the course of twelve months there were not ten families of the thirty surviving.’ ” “Such,” comments the Report, “is the striking picture given of the deplorable suffering existing among certain classes of the Irish poor.”

The suffering which Dr. Doyle so impressively described can hardly be regarded as a novelty. Spencer, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, says : “The landlords there (Ireland) most shamefully rack their tenants.” Dean Swift observes : “The rents are squeezed out of the very blood and vitals and clothes and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars.” This despotism was generally exercised by the descendants of those who had become possessed of the fair fields of Ireland by

the most unjust and sweeping confiscations ; and instead of rather making amends by kindness to the inheritors of wretchedness, they perversely aroused them by persecution to acts of revenge. Dr. Doyle saw, therefore, that some counteracting power was peculiarly necessary in Ireland to prevent the law of nature, of God, and of society from being set at defiance, and he well knew that such prevention could be attained only by a system of poor laws chargeable on real property. It struck him as extremely inconsistent that in Ireland, where the usage of banishing human beings was then as frequent as the expiration of leases, no legal mode of sustentation, no legislative regard for the life of the poor man, should exist ; while in all other European countries that suffered not the revolutions of property which Ireland had done, whose upper classes were kind and fostering to their more humble countrymen, he everywhere discovered some form of popular support interwoven with the laws of the land.

To the question, " Had there been any peculiar circumstances that led to the increased mass of unemployed labour ? " Dr. Doyle replied in the affirmative. " After the peace, the fall in the price of agricultural produce was amongst the chief of those causes. The failure of several banks, and a consequent contraction of the circulating medium, occurred shortly afterwards. Then arose a disposition, prevailing generally amongst proprietors of land, to consolidate their farms and eject the poor tenantry. This disposition was encouraged and aided by several legal enactments, among which I may specify Sir John Newport's Act, which enables the landlord by a short process to eject the tenant ; next the Subletting Act ; and afterwards the Act annexed to the late Relief Bill, which disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. All those causes combined to throw a great many persons out of their homes and ordinary modes of life—persons to whom no resource was left but that of seeking employment. Thus the stock of labour being increased and the demand lessened, there must of course be a great quantity of it unemployed."

Dr. Doyle unfolded his views at considerable length in favour of the formation of some legal body to look after the interests of the poor in every parish, and to classify them, to exclude vagrants, and to give a proper direction to benevolence. He maintained that the State is strictly obliged by justice and by divine and natural law to provide for the poor, and to intrust the distribution of such provision to competent persons. Petty objections to his plan were eagerly urged by some members of the Committee. Dr. Doyle replied that a little inconvenience should be borne, and we ought rather to say with Pope, " All partial ill is universal

good," than suffer the poor to perish as they then did. "We should not have their blood upon us rather than encounter a difficulty which, giving it its full weight, is not very considerable." A member objected that one of the Bishop's plans tended to punish the innocent in common with the guilty. He replied, that Providence in many instances punishes the children for the crimes of their fathers, and "we cannot expect to manage a limited system of government in a wiser manner than the Supreme Being governs the whole universe." He added that the committee which he suggested should last only for one year; all its proceedings should be open; the parishioners should be at liberty to praise or censure it, and thus guard against abuse. "Any abuses which might arise would be small and of short duration; but to expect there could be a body of men doing any work wherein no imperfection will creep, is to suppose that men are more than human." In reply to another cavil, he declared that if we were to abrogate everything liable to abuse, we should have to abolish Christianity itself.

Apart from the higher claims of justice and humanity, Dr. Doyle argued that the introduction of a well-regulated provision for the poor would be productive of many social benefits. "Is it no advantage," he said, "to raise the character of the lowest class in the community to some sensible degree in the scale of existence? To rescue the virgin from prostitution—the parent from despair? To prolong the life of our fellow-creature to the term fixed for it by Almighty God? To turn away the child from theft, from lies, from disobedience, from deceit? To purify from filth and rottenness the dwellings, the board, the bed of the Irish pauper? To enable even the dregs of the people to acquire some education, so as to enable them to discern between vice and virtue? To point out to the starving labourer or artisan some resource in the hour of need, to turn him away from that rapine, violence, and murder in which distress has prompted him but too often to engage? Are these no advantages? And if they be, are they not worth being purchased at some expense? do they not deserve that we should make some sacrifice to obtain them, even though such sacrifice were not commanded both by justice and religion?"

"Q. You mentioned the extent to which the evil of subdividing land had reached at a late period; was not the state of Ireland something of this kind, namely, a choice of difficulties with respect to the proper measure to be adopted; namely, that if that evil had been suffered to go on, a greater degree of misery would in the end have been the result, while, at the same time, a

degree of misery probably would result from a change as to the subdividing of land?—*A.* It is difficult to compare one degree of misery with another, when neither the one degree nor the other has a real existence; but I know that the degree of misery in the present system is such in Ireland as, in my opinion, to demand from the Government of the country a remedy; because I think the first duty of a Government is to watch over the lives of its subjects, next over the honour of its subjects, and lastly over their property; and I think where thousands of lives of those subjects are sacrificed, Government is called upon to devise means whereby those lives can be saved; and I think that could be done by an assessment to be imposed (whether permanently or whilst this transition lasts) upon the property of the country."

Dr. Doyle's voluminous evidence in June 1830, never having been reprinted from the "*Blue Book*," is but imperfectly known. It abounds in striking facts, thoughts, and suggestions, which render it not inferior in interest to his celebrated examination in 1825. We had marked numerous parts for citation, but the limits of a biography oblige us to do violence to our feelings. The reader, therefore, must assume the importance of this evidence, not on our word, but on the authority of dispassionate men, whose character and opinion carry just weight. Mr. George Poulett Scrope, M.P., writes:—"My admiration for Dr. Doyle's noble character and high order of eloquence was great, though I had but few or no opportunities of personal intercourse with him. The splendid manner in which he withstood and replied to the keen, cunning, and persevering cross-questioning of Spring Rice, in the Committee on the Irish Poor Law Question, was alone enough to immortalise him. Oh that he had lived and preserved health and strength up to '47, he might have then roused the earnest feelings of the country and Parliament to the shameful neglect at that time evinced of the unparalleled sufferings of the poor starving millions of the West of Ireland, and some thousands of lives might have been saved by him. I heartily wish you success in your honourable work, and I shall look out for its completion with much interest."

Lord Montague, addressing the author, writes: "You do me but justice in believing that having entertained a cordial regard for the excellent Bishop Doyle during his lifetime, I have the utmost respect, indeed I may say veneration, for his memory, and that I shall only be too happy to contribute in any way whatever to the good work on which you are engaged. . . . I should very much recommend you to refer carefully to the evidence which at various times he gave before Parliamentary committees. In no

other instances, to my judgment, were his virtues and abilities brought out more strongly. His evidence before the Committee on the state of the Irish poor, of which I was chairman; his views on education; the evidence he gave before both Houses in 1824-25, are all noble specimens of true Christian philosophy and patriotism."¹

Dr. Doyle entertained a not less high opinion of Mr. Rice's abilities, and on his return to Carlow at this period he observed to Dr. Cahill that the questions put by Mr. Rice proved him to be a logician of great acumen.

Dr. Doyle's powerfully impressive and argumentative evidence would seem to have never had the advantage of his revision. Of this we have proof in the fact that Leighlin, a portion of his diocese, is spelled throughout *Lochlin*.²

The Bishop's examination lasted three days, and each day's evidence would make a book. We find among his papers the following letter from Lord Francis Leveson Gower, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and afterwards well known, both in the literary and political world, as Earl of Ellesmere. It is interesting to find a Tory peer, who enjoyed a reputation in Ireland the reverse of liberal, expressing such generous sentiments. O'Connell had assailed and ridiculed him in a memorable speech. Having enumerated Premiers and other ministers who had acted as Irish Secretary he added: "Their juvenile statesmanship was inflicted on my unhappy country. I have heard that barbers train their apprentices by making them shave beggars. This wretched country is the scene of his political education. He is the shave-beggar of the day for Ireland. . . . He has ornamented by his presence the apartments of Dublin Castle, but has he done any act of liberality?"

Lord Francis writes:—

"BRIDGEWATER, STRAND, 5th June 1830.

"Having unfortunately been absent from the Irish Committee on the occasion of your first examination, I trust I may be excused

¹ Lord Monteagle continues: "I remember well the conversation I had with Bishop O'Connor on Bishop Doyle's lamented death, when I bore my willing and earnest testimony to his noble character. I did so, likewise, in the House of Commons in 1833.

As an apology for not immediately furnishing documents so valuable, it was afterwards stated by Lord Monteagle that the Bishop's letters are amongst such an enormous mass of papers—contained in fourteen great chests—that he shrank from the labour of searching for them. [The present Lord Monteagle, however, and the relict of the late peer, have been kind enough to accomplish the laborious search, and to place the fruits of it in our hands, March 1879.]

² [A petition to the Legislature from the Catholic Prelates, praying that some provision might be made for the poor, was written by Dr. Doyle at this time. In October 1833, a copy of it appeared in the "D. E. Post."]

for endeavouring to express my great regret for that circumstance, and to evince that I was not an inattentive auditor on the occasion of your second attendance. I sincerely hope that I shall not be considered by you as taking an objectionable course for the attainment of these objects in respectfully requesting your acceptance of the enclosed trifling contribution towards the support of the *lending libraries* of which you yesterday spoke in such favourable terms. If I should unfortunately be considered as obtrusive in making this request, I may perhaps find some apology in the fact that I have in a few instances had occasion to meet appeals from dignitaries of your Church for the promotion of objects similar, though not precisely the same; and however inadequately I have been able to answer them, I have always felt honoured and complimented by the request. On such occasions, when the proceeding did not originate with myself, I took to myself the privilege of claiming that the transaction might be considered as private. I have no right now to annex any condition to a donation which is unasked, and perhaps obtrusive, but can only say that, if I obtain your permission to make it, the observance of the substance of that condition would gratify me. If the motives of this communication may excuse me for the liberty I take in making it, I would fain hope that it might be further considered as some indication of the personal respect towards yourself which has arisen out of my official connection with Ireland. I can hardly hope that the labours of my office, at this moment, would leave me time or opportunity to endeavour to evince it in any other manner during your stay in London, though nothing would give me more pleasure than to obtain your permission to do so, and to avail myself of it."

Dr. Doyle's anxiety to see realised a provision for the Irish poor did not cause him to feel any diminution of interest in the cause of education. Shortly after his return to Carlow we find him addressing the following private letter to Lord F. L. Gower, who filled, from July 1830, the office of Secretary at War under the Duke of Wellington :—

"CARLOW, 5th July 1830.

"I presume even at this moment, when official duty must press heavily on your Lordship, to pray your favourable attention to the subject of education in this country. I am confident that the diffusion of knowledge is not the only advantage to be now obtained by the impartial allocation here of the funds usually voted to the Kildare Place Society. The country is prepared, for it even expects such an allocation of them; and this discretion,

happily vested in his Majesty's Government, could not, in my opinion, be more usefully employed in any small matter than in distributing aid to all those, without distinction, who are engaged in promoting the education of the people." In conclusion, he hoped Lord F. L. Gower would excuse him for obtruding this matter upon his attention at the present period of public anxiety, &c.

The King had died a few days previously.

Among Dr. Doyle's manuscripts is the rough draft of a petition to Parliament signed by the inhabitants of Carlow. It submits that they feel deeply injured by the application as hitherto made of "the funds voted by your honourable House to promote education in Ireland; first, because these funds are formed of the produce of taxes levied off the capital and industry of all his Majesty's subjects without distinction, but expended for the exclusive benefit of a small portion of the people of Ireland. This mode of expenditure is a gross violation of public justice, and ought not to be longer permitted by your honourable House" [or patiently borne by a free people]. The words enclosed in brackets were obliterated by the Bishop. He submitted, secondly, that the exclusion of Irish Catholics from the benefits of a plan of education supported by the State was opposed to the spirit of the Relief Bill of 1829, and a portion of that system of government, by division and ascendancy, which had first brought Ireland to the verge of civil war, and which, if continued, would keep discontent alive and engender disaffection to the Government and to the laws. "Thirdly," he wrote, "there is no just cause, but only false pretences, as petitioners are ready to prove at the bar of your honourable House, for vesting in the sectarian and irresponsible Society of Kildare Place, Dublin, the disbursement of the funds voted for the advancement of education in Ireland. Lastly, because dissensions and discord are promoted, good-will and the union of the people prevented, by the present abusive mode of disbursing the fund committed to the above-mentioned Society."

A few weeks afterwards we find the Marquis of Anglesey presenting a petition to the effect that the fund hitherto placed at the disposal of the Kildare Place Society should no longer be confided solely to their management. Lord Downshire defended the Society.

A few months later the Bishop says: "We are to get a share in the fund voted annually for education here, but the portion, £8000, is so small as to be only negatively good—*Quid enim est inter tantos?*"

He addressed to his niece a very interesting letter dated 17th July 1830 : " I have not forgotten you in the county of Wexford ; but my cares and labours are multiplied, and my strength is no longer what it formerly was, so that you can well excuse me if I fail to write to you frequently ; but do not impute my silence to indifference. I thought when the Catholic question was disposed of I could enjoy some rest, at least from public affairs, but I find myself necessarily implicated in them still. At present the Irish poor are my great concern, and if I live to see a legal provision made for them, and my new church built, my business in this world shall have been completed. Providence has till now employed me to do some service to my country, and I trust it will dispose my latter days so as to repair the many faults of my youth. I had heard of poor Mrs. C——'s death ; we ought not to regret her removal from the ills which first inflamed and then consumed her life. May she rest in peace ; and may we recollect only her good qualities ! Do you be kind to her orphan daughter, remembering, as the Lord said to the poor, that you were yourself once an orphan. God bless and preserve you, my dear Mary."

Addressing another lady on the recovery of her sister, he writes : " As to consolation, there is scarcely room for it in the time of distress ; that alone which comes from Heaven can infuse those sentiments into the soul which, whilst they raise it above the trials we suffer, attach it more and more to Him from whom every good gift descends. I hope your prayers were acceptable to God. I wish that His goodness, manifested in the preservation of a life so dear to you as that of Clare, will give you new confidence when you again address yourself to Him. This confidence is very necessary, for he who hesitates in prayer is like the wave of the sea, agitated here and there ; and such persons cannot receive anything from God. Ask, therefore, in faith, not hesitating at all . . . I hope you will not be dissatisfied with the ordinance of that Providence which numbers the hairs of our heads, and makes all things concur for the good of those who are called according to the purposes of God."

A few days later he addresses the subsequent Bishop O'Connor, O.S.A., who had established a school at Ross : " I rejoice with you, though distant from you, at the blessing which attends the 'little flock' which God has confided to your care. I am especially glad that the school at Ross, which I urged you to have opened, has not failed. *You* were apprehensive, though I had no doubt it would, if well conducted, succeed ; but on the conduct of it all depends. Take care to extend the system—so only will our

Order revive and never want good subjects. Go before all the other Orders in this, for to it they all in some years must turn or become effete ; but if you first acquire for ours the characteristic of a *teaching* Order, it will continue foremost. You are very competent to teach your young people ; and the books you should use are Dr. Anglade's, read in Maynooth and here. The Chapter may perhaps send these young men to finish their studies at Carlow, in which case logic, metaphysics, and ethics, would, as is obvious, be the best for them."

With anxious solicitude Dr. Doyle daily watched the progress of his cathedral. The design was a grand one, and he felt proud of it ; but the insufficiency of the building fund constantly cast a chill over his ardour. In the autumn of 1830 he deputed Brother Syrenus, a monk of considerable tact, to visit England, and collect subscriptions from the charitable. On the 11th September the Bishop writes :—" I am sorry your progress has been attended with so little success, and I feel almost inclined to advise your return to Ireland ; but in this you may use your own discretion. The walls of our new church will, I trust, be finished about the 1st of December next, and the appearance of them is magnificent and beautiful ; but I have got no small drawing of it, and to procure an engraving of that which I have would cost too much money. I send you a certificate under my hand and seal, which will, I hope, suffice for you. We are all well, and blessed with a superabundant harvest, which occupies us much more than the French Revolution."

Dr. Doyle enclosed an address to the English public, which explained that early in the "sixteenth century all the churches and church property in Ireland had been transferred from the Catholic to the Protestant clergy and people. From that period to the middle of the last century the Penal Code subjected the exercise of the Catholic worship to severe penalties, and its ministers, when detected, to banishment or death. For more than two centuries the Catholics had few places of worship ; these were of the meanest description, and were often demolished either by order of Government or by individuals excited thereto by the persecuting spirit of the time.¹

"Dr. Doyle's predecessors in those ages of terror lived in bogs, in morasses, or in caves of the earth, from which they occasionally came forth to collect and reanimate the remains of their clergy,

¹ This spirit of demolition lasted to a much later period than is generally supposed. In 1787, Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, under the specious pretext of putting an end to illegal conspiracy, introduced a bill enabling magistrates to demolish Roman Catholic chapels. Mr. Grattan observed, in reference to the official zeal of Mr. Fitzgibbon, that it was remedying disturbance by irreligion and establishing it by Act of Parliament.

to preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments, to console the living, or entomb the dead. Dr. Doyle, during his own administration, has seen commenced or completed large and commodious places of worship, and schoolhouses in every parish within the diocese over which he presides. Carlow, though the place of his residence, and perhaps better provided with places of education for all classes than any other town in Ireland, remained till now with only one small chapel for its whole Catholic population, consisting of several thousands. To remedy this inconvenience, and at a period when a wise and beneficent Legislature has relieved the Catholics from the pressure of the Penal Code, Dr. Doyle has undertaken to build a new church. . . . But Dr. Doyle, who has received the most generous support from his townsmen of every class and persuasion, from his clergy, and been favoured with donations from several distinguished peers and gentlemen in England and Ireland, yet finds it impossible to complete the building in which he is now deeply and personally engaged, unless the favourable attention of the public in England be turned to him. He prays, he solicits their support; and he sends among them as the representative of his wants, and of the wants of the numerous poor dependent on him, Brother Syrenus of the Lay Monastery of Tullow, who will thankfully receive any contribution, however small, which may be given to him."

With the same object he wrote to several peers who were proprietors of land in different parts of the diocese. The manner in which he urged the request shows his usual tact. To Lord Cloncurry he says: "I have been endeavouring to erect here a small cathedral, with a view not only to provide for the more decent exercise of divine worship, but such as would also, by exhibiting a superior style of architecture, contribute to the general improvement of the country. I certainly feel more than ordinary delicacy in praying the notice of your Lordship to such a subject, on account of the incessant claims upon your bounty to which the generosity of your character gives access; but as I am writing to some other noblemen interested in the advancement of the country, I thought you would not be displeased with me for mentioning the matter to your Lordship, and I do no more."

Mariana, addressing the author, writes:—"The Marchioness of Tewkesbury made Dr. Doyle a present of a carriage, which I believe he never used, but sold to build the cathedral at Carlow; yet at that time, when he was straining every nerve to obtain funds, I recollect one instance of kindness and generosity, of which he made me the medium. I named to his Lordship an interesting case of a young person who greatly desired to enter religion, but

could not happily do so without means of discharging a promise she had made of assisting a relation who, as well as herself, were embarrassed by an unexpected lawsuit. I thought no more of the circumstance, but on leaving Dr. Doyle's house in Carlow, where, with mutual friends, I had been staying, he placed a letter in my hands, desiring me not to open it until on my way to Dublin. What was my surprise to find within a £50 note, and a line, 'For the young person in whom you are so interested.'

Dr. Doyle had a strong esteem for the family of whom Mariana was a member. The Rev. Dr. Harold, writing to thank her for having made him acquainted with "the most perfect individual he had ever known," says : "Among many other declarations, as kind as they were true, Dr. Doyle said in his most emphatic way, 'I cannot express to you how much I esteem your friend.' His affection for your whole family, and especially to one of them who was most dear to us both, merits your warmest gratitude, and has all mine."

Dr. Doyle in a letter to Mariana alludes to a certain male domestic at Braganza. "This was a servant," she writes, "who in a scuffle with a kitchen-maid named Delia, one armed with a poker and Delia with a three-legged stool, succeeded in wounding each other—the amazon having the best of it. My sister and myself spent one morning in staunching a wound in John's head, and the evening in coaxing J. K. L. to pardon them, which he at length did."

Owing to the boundless charity of Dr. Doyle's warm heart, there was often in his kitchen a somewhat heterogeneous assemblage of persons. He felt that "he was a debtor alike to the wise and the unwise." Having been asked by the Committee on the state of the Irish poor whether any asylum for insane paupers existed in Carlow, he replied : "None whatever ; so much so, that a poor fool who generally lived in my house has been provided for in the common gaol for the last two years." Thus we see that the great Irish Bishop kept a resident fool, as well as the Irish kings of a former century, though different motives no doubt led to the proceeding.

CHAPTER XI.

Repeal of the Union—The Northumberland Viceroyalty—O'Connell's Anti-Union League suppressed by proclamation—"A chance child of fortune and of war"—Affair of honour between O'Connell and Sir H. Hardinge—Repeal breakfasts—The Leinster Declaration—Dr. Doyle's letter to the Duke and to Mr. Macauley—Castles in the air—Extracts from the Journal of Brother Syrenus—A visit to Bishop Bathurst—Dr. Doyle presented with a carriage by the Baroness Montesquieu—Interview with a Hermit—Defeat of the Wellington Administration, and accession of Lord Grey—The Relief Bill not acted upon—Discussion with Mr. Conway—Correspondence with W. Smith O'Brien, M.P.

THE Repeal of the Union was one of the fondest and earliest aspirations of O'Connell. He opposed the Union in 1800 ; he powerfully advocated its repeal in 1810 ; and, as his biographer, Mr. Fagan, asserts, he more than once confessed his readiness to give up the pursuit of Emancipation and adopt the national rallying cry of "Repeal," if the nation, throwing sectarian differences aside, would unite for that great object. The Relief Bill, therefore, had no sooner become law than O'Connell made arrangements for the concentration of the already aroused energies of Ireland on this new and powerful task. He addressed himself specially to Protestants ; he preached conciliation, and called for an oblivion of past differences ; he argued that a domestic parliament could alone attend with parental interest to the business of Ireland ; and that Catholic ascendancy need not be feared, for in the most despotic period of Mary's rule the Irish Catholics sustained and sheltered Protestants from persecution.

Mr. O'Connell addressed to the people of Ireland several letters, in which he besought them to unite with a will. The organisation grew, and a society was formed, which the Duke of Northumberland, then Lord-Lieutenant, suppressed by proclamation, 24th April 1830. The great tribune contrived, notwithstanding, to work the Repeal agitation with great earnestness. He convened aggregate meetings, and availed himself of the opportunity afforded by frequent charity dinners to promote his favourite object. The national mind at last became fixed on the question with no ordinary intensity ; and "An Anti-Union Association for Legislative Relief" was formed. Its career, however, was cut short by a second proclamation, which, in the absence of the Viceroy, was issued from Dublin Castle. To Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Hardinge, the Chief Secretary, O'Connell attributed this mandate. He denounced it as illegal, and declared that his blood boiled to see an English scribe dare, in the face of Heaven, to trample do—

the people of Ireland with his iron heel, adding : " I arraign that paltry, contemptible, little English soldier, who had the audacity to put his pitiful and contemptible name to an atrocious Polignac proclamation, and that too in Ireland—in my country—in this green land—the land of Brownlow—the country of Grattan, now in his grave ; the land of Charlemont, and of the 70,000 Volunteers—the heroes of the immortal period of '82. In that country it is that a wretched English scribe (a chance child of fortune and of war), urged on by his paltry, pitiful lawyerlings, put his vile name to his paltry proclamation, putting down freemen. I would rather be a dog and bay the moon than the Irishman who would tamely submit to so infamous a proclamation. I have not opposed it hitherto, because that would implicate the people, and give our enemies—the English Major-General and his lawyering staff—a triumph. . . . I trust the day is not far distant when reason shall be heard, and when fine and imprisonment shall mark the foul conduct of Secretary Major-General Sir H. Hardinge. He usurped the prerogative of the Lord-Lieutenant alone, greater, I admit, than any that the King is invested with ; and I have no hesitation in stating that for this he is indictable at law ! "

We revive this speech as peculiar interest attaches to it from the fact that, owing to the expressions used, Sir Henry Hardinge sent O'Connell a hostile message, which, however, led to the repudiation only of the words " hireling scribe " and " a chance child of fortune and of war. "

The Chief Secretary's manifesto did not deter O'Connell from continuing the Repeal agitation. The Anti-Union Society had been no sooner dissolved than a new association of " Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union " sprung into formidable vitality. But another proclamation soon laid it low, whereupon public breakfasts for the discussion of the question were got up. The Government would seem to have been at last baffled by this expedient ; the law-officers declared that although those breakfasts were, in point of fact, political meetings of a very determined character, they escaped the provisions of the law, and that tea and treason must, for the present, be swallowed. The public breakfasts, therefore, continued without opposition for the rest of the year ; and the Attorney-General was constrained to look on calmly at fiery sentiments, gunpowder tea, and inflammable harangues, hebdomadally placed in perilous association.

The Whig and Tory aristocracy surveyed O'Connell's defiant attitude with alarm. The Duke of Leinster led a counter-movement through the medium of a public Declaration which expressed anxiety for the permanence of British connection, and recorded

the opinion that the recent political discussions would, if persevered in, be productive of consequences highly prejudicial to the interests of Ireland, and the Empire of which she forms so important a part. The signatures included those of Lords Portarlington, Enniskillen, Rosse, De Vesci, Blaney, many members of the Protestant episcopacy, Sir Philip Crampton, W. H. Curran, A. R. Blake, and many others. The Duke wrote to Dr. Doyle for authority to add his name. The Bishop replied :—

“CARLOW, 27th October 1830.

“MY LORD DUKE,—Being unable, at present, to judge whether the Repeal of the Act of Union be practicable, I think it better, as yet, to abstain from making any public declaration on the subject. If the present movement in favour of the Repeal be not founded on the true interests of Ireland, it will shortly, and of itself, subside ; should the case be otherwise, it cannot be desirable that your Grace, and the noblemen and gentlemen who think with you, should be committed against the general will of the country. The present excitement is not dangerous ; it need not alarm any one ; it should not embarrass or retard Government in its efforts—should it be disposed to make them—to improve this country. But division—open and avowed division at home—will expose us to be left as we have been left for centuries ; and, what is greatly to be dreaded, it may have the effect of leaving the remnant of our aristocracy naked and defenceless before a hostile population, or oblige them to look to the power of England (a power less secure than heretofore) for protection. I am much obliged to your Grace, and I feel that, in reply to your communication, I should express myself with freedom and candour.”

Owing to severe illness in his head, Dr. Doyle was obliged to close this letter prematurely. On the 6th of November he writes : “I returned from Tramore with my head a good deal improved, and hope I am now winter-proof.” Some letters passed between the Bishop and Mr. Murphy during the same month. As a specimen of the courtesy with which Dr. Doyle always maintained an opposite opinion in private, we cull a paragraph : “You differ indeed very widely from me in the part you have taken on the Union question ; but I am far from presuming to find fault with you on that account. Good and even wise men often differ in opinion ; and as I thank you sincerely for looking hitherto favourably to my views, so I shall at all times respect the purity of your motives, and feel happy if my opinions on any subject should coincide with yours.” And touching his recent letter to the Duke of Leinster, he said : “My letter is

entirely the property of his Grace. I have no objection to its publication, nor any wish that it should appear."

The movement at this time wore no sectarian hue. We find early in November a meeting held by the Protestant inhabitants of the united parishes of SS. Andrew, Anne, Mark, and Peter to petition for a Repeal of the Union. Dr. Doyle was highly complimented on this occasion, and the chairman transmitted a vote of thanks and admiration to him. "With me," replied Dr. Doyle, "as my whole life bears witness, Protestant and Catholic, High Church and Low Church, Whig and Tory—in fact, all Irishmen—have been brethren; and now, the only distinction here, as in the rest of Europe, should be, 'who is of the people,' and 'who is of the oligarchy, or of its dupes and interested retainers.'" His reply to Mr. Macauley goes on to say: "My answer to the communication with which the Duke of Leinster lately honoured me not being before the public, I can scarcely allow myself to advert to it; but though I could not concur in the mode of proceeding contemplated in that communication, yet I do not think that his Grace, and the noblemen and gentlemen who agree with him, should be debarred the common right of expressing their opinions, or considered whilst doing so as attempting to suppress, by weight of their authority, the free exercise of public opinion. I am, and have been, a friend to free discussion, because it elicits truth, and gives strength to justice. . . . My earnest wish, as a minister of peace and a loyal subject, is, that in these countries the conflict may not be stained by intolerance, hatred, or bloodshed; but that right may prevail by its own innate force, and that the people of both islands, by timely and large concessions, by an abandonment of whatever presses on their industry and freedom, may be again reconciled to those whom Providence has placed in the upper ranks of life."

[The tithe agitation, too, was gathering in strength. To Fr. M. Doyle he writes from Carlow, 28th October 1830: "Do not censure the person you mention; on the contrary, express yourself as if he were of your own mind, but prevented by the circumstance of his having been an applotter from taking an active share in the proceedings. In your resolutions avoid harshness, but don't fail to be strong. I wish you success, though I doubt whether it will attend you. The Union question is agitating Dublin, and alarming Government very much. I believe the end of the world is fast approaching."]

Meetings multiplied and addresses poured in on Dr. Doyle from every side. A letter addressed to Mr. John Reynolds, afterwards member for Dublin, expressed regret at being drawn

into public notice, but added how highly he appreciated the vote of thanks passed at a meeting of which Mr. Reynolds was chairman. "The Union question is one of great difficulty and importance. I have given to it all the consideration of which I am capable. I am unable to calculate all the consequences of a Repeal; but so far as I can do so, they appear to me useful to both countries, favourable to public liberty, and embracing those great and salutary reforms which a United Parliament will be slow and timid in effecting in Ireland. I do not much attend to what has been reported, as said by a certain class of persons, whether in or out of Parliament, on the Repeal of the Union. These persons, not all of whom are competent to form a clear or sound judgment, are generally men who have other interests than those of the great body of the English and Irish people. Persons who, 'clothed in purple and fine linen, and feast sumptuously every day,' are averse to all change, are often dull of intellect, fond of ease, heedless alike of public misery and of those encroachments on the liberty and on the fruits of industry which scarcely ever reach themselves. The people should not be swayed by these men, for they neither feel nor suffer with them; nor should Government repose on their power or influence, for power and influence, especially in Ireland, are not always allied to rank and wealth."

These letters, contrary to the wishes of the writer, were regarded by the Conservative press as a strong pronouncement in favour of the practicability of Repeal. Mr. Sheehan accused him of building castles in the air and deluding the multitude. With what truth we shall see hereafter.

The following letter, addressed to the monk whom Dr. Doyle had deputed to collect subscriptions in England for his new church, shows that the Bishop was engaged in building something more solid than castles in the air:—

"CARLOW, 9th November 1830.

"DEAR BROTHER SYRENUS,—I could wish that your labours were more prosperous; but *that* divine Providence which disposes all things will, I suppose, exercise your patience and perseverance for your own good. You are the best judge of the propriety and usefulness of prolonging your stay in England; and I repose so fully in your discretion as to leave you entirely free to act in that respect as you may think most advisable. I am well pleased that you conformed your conduct to the wishes of my good friend Bishop Baines, for it is better to omit doing a good thing than to displease almost any person, especially those whom we are bound to reverence. Our country here is somewhat

agitated by politics, but the peace is not and will not be disturbed. England is becoming in many respects like Ireland. I wish she were to be always exempted from suffering, but that is not the lot of nations more than of individuals.

"I was in Tullow yesterday ; all your friends there are well, and anxious for your success and safe return. Our building is in a very advanced and gratifying state ; the walls, forty feet high, with a cornice, parapet, and embrasures of seven feet in height, all of cut stone, are now nearly completed. At each end of the transept, as also at the eastern end, which terminates the choir and is opposite to the tower, the walls terminate in a point surmounted by a large stone cross, the summit of which is seventy-five feet from the base, and each of the eight angles which the building forms is ornamented on the outside by a large octagon tower of most beautiful architecture, raised twenty-two feet above the summit of the cornice. The whole front and tower are of cut stone ; the latter, when finished, will be 120 feet high. The whole length is about 160 feet ; that of the transept 120, and the width throughout is fifty feet. The figure of the building is cruciform. If we had sufficient means we could roof it next year, otherwise we must postpone doing so."

Brother Syrenus, on his death-bed, placed in our hands not only a variety of papers calculated to throw light on the life of Dr. Doyle, but an interesting MS. journal of the monk's adventures in England while engaged in soliciting alms for the new church. We transcribe a page or two from this amusing journal. Syrenus collected altogether £500 in England.

"I this day paid a visit to Dr. Bathurst, the good and liberal Bishop of Norwich, whom I had the honour of meeting six years ago, when he told me that he had long toiled late and early for us in the cause of Emancipation, so as to incur the displeasure of several of his dearest friends ; for which, on the part of the Irish Catholics, I returned his Lordship a thousand thanks. 'The day of your liberation,' he said, 'is fast approaching. It is not likely that I shall live to see it, though you may.' I now wished to remind the Bishop of this remark, and to congratulate him. It was early, and although not dressed, he came from his study, and shook me by the hand warmly. His Lordship, in reply to my congratulations, said, 'I desired your emancipation on the broad basis of Christian charity, and having obtained it, do thou, O Lord, dismiss Thy servant in peace.' He kindly asked for Dr. Doyle, desired to be remembered to him, and declared that he commanded alike his respect and esteem. When I showed his

Lordship Dr. Doyle's address to the English for aid to build his church, he said, 'I am in orders sixty years, and I have not sixty pounds to the good by the duties of my ministry.' 'My Lord,' I said, 'it is more to your honour to be poor.' 'I am glad you think so,' he replied, 'as that is my own opinion. I should be sorry to be as rich as other bishops are; but if one guinea be any service to you, I shall give it with pleasure.' 'My Lord,' said I, 'it is a pride and a pleasure to me to have your venerable name in my subscription list.' He wrote it in a fine hand, observing, 'You may tell Dr. Doyle I write without glasses, although I am eighty-seven years of age.' He shook hands with me again, and prayed God to bless me, while I departed, praying God to bless him.¹

"*Tuesday, the 8th.*—I heard from Mr. O'Connell that Dr. Doyle was in town on the subject of the Poor Laws. I went to see his Lordship, who expressed his approbation of how I got on with my subscription, having now collected £78. On the following day the Baroness Montesquieu sent me to Dr. Doyle with £50 for the chapel. She sent me in her own carriage for the Bishop to spend an evening with her. He could not refuse this request, and was received at her Ladyship's by a distinguished party. She was highly delighted with the account the Bishop gave her of the tranquillity of Ireland, and the happy effects resulting from Emancipation. She questioned him about his diocese, and how he travelled through it. Finding that he rode in an open gig or on horseback, she said she would present his Lordship with a carriage. This his Lordship at once declined, saying, he could buy one, but he would be almost ashamed to ride in it among his poor people. 'Well, Bishop,' she said, 'in case you were compelled to accept of one, would you sell it?' He said not, and without further ceremony she went, the following morning, to Beech & Howard's, and purchased a splendid coach for him. She subsequently awarded Dr. Doyle £50 a year for his own life, or until the cathedral should be fully completed.

"Bishop Bramston had been trying to see Dr. Doyle personally, to solicit the honour of his company to dinner on any day, but Dr. Doyle said that he could not make one day as he was so straitened for time.

"As Dr. Doyle was disposed to make Cheltenham his route homeward, I engaged a pair of post-horses, got them put to the carriage which the Baroness had purchased for my good Bishop,

¹ Dr. Bathurst, in a conversation with the Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, at the period of Dr. Doyle's first examination before Parliament, said, "Sir, that man's mind is as clear as rock-water."—W. J. F.

and stepping into it, I set off for where he stopped. His Lordship, after leaving his blessing with us, and wishing us a good-bye, sat down in his own comfortable carriage, and the postilion cracking his whip, away they rattled to Cheltenham. . . . Some of the districts through which the equipage passed had not been visited by the Bishop of the diocese in the memory of man, and when the country clowns saw the mitre upon the carriage, they could hardly believe their eyes.

"Hearing of a Protestant hermit named Fishew, who lived by himself, and neither eat flesh nor lay on a bed, I ventured to approach his lonely abode. Although he slept on the boards, and merely took bread and coffee, he looked well. The hermit did much to imitate his Divine Master, and had his coffin ready by him. I was told that he had a great abhorrence of *black*; yet, still I had courage to invade his retreat, which stood at the bottom of a little garden. His door, which possessed neither latch, handle, knocker, or bell, was shut. I tossed it with my hand, but, thinking he did not hear, I knocked again with my knuckles. On this, a venerable man, with long white hair hanging down his shoulders, and a snow-white beard descending to his stomach, made his appearance and awed me a little. He said, 'Had you not holy patience to wait five minutes for the door to be opened unto you?' I replied, 'Peace be to you and to this house.' This being a favourite expression of his, he allowed me to enter. I said I was an Irish monk, who came to pay him a visit. 'Are you?' said the venerable old man. 'But, sir,' he added sternly, 'why are you clothed in the enemy's colour, and why do you wear trousers?' 'Having come out of my monastery,' I replied, 'on particular business, I am reluctantly obliged to conform to public usage, otherwise I should not be allowed into the houses of gentlemen to whom I want to speak.' 'But,' said he, 'it is wrong for religious to wear trousers.' I assured the hermit I did not wear them in the cloister, and I showed him my long white stockings, at which he seemed pleased. After a moment's thought he said, 'I would wish to be a monk.' I told him I would admit him into my monastery. He asked me all about it, and how we lived, and inquired whether I knew the meaning of the flowing hair and beard. The hair, he went on to say, was an emblem of strength, and the beard of wisdom; and he seemed disappointed that I should not have worn both as he did. He quoted Scripture freely, but gave it a perverse explanation; for instance, he said, that the Trinity consisted of one person and not three. Knowing that this hermit had some . . . and as he had not made a vow of holy poverty, I asked

him for a donation towards building Dr. Doyle's chapel. He said, 'Disturb me not ; allow me to rest in peace.' I said no more on this delicate point, but after half-an-hour's conversation he handed me sixpence. He asked me had we any maid-servants, and upon hearing that we had not, he said, 'Good !' Next day I called to have some further conversation with him. On opening the door for me he clasped his hand to his lips, which he closed fast, and pointed to heaven, by which I understood he was in meditation. I withdrew, wishing peace be to him. I took an inside seat in the coach, having a bad cough. A lady and the Rev. Mr. Selwyn, a parson belonging to Gloucester Cathedral, were the passengers. I showed him Dr. Doyle's appeal, and he gave me ten shillings for the chapel. . . .

"The Irish absentees seemed terror-struck at the idea of the Repeal of the Union. One said he would give me something, but that he heard Dr. Doyle was favourable to that measure. He said that were J. K. L. to declare against it he would give him half his fortune. Mr. Berkley, an English Catholic, gave me £5. I called on some County Carlow gentlemen, but not one sou could I get from them. A gentleman in Yorkshire told me that an English pauper who had only one penny in the world would lay it out on currants to make a pie. I offered sixpence to one, and she refused to take it, so I put it back into my pocket."

Thanks to the exertions of Syrenus and other devoted agents, the new church sped rapidly. In acknowledging £21 from an old vicar, Dr. Doyle writes : "I hope our chapel-building may contribute to prepare for us a tabernacle in a more lasting city than we have here. I am sure it will disengage us from any superfluous wealth which might embarrass our removal from the world. May your health long continue good, and assist you to lay up new treasures in Heaven."

On the 15th of November 1830, Sir H. Parnell made a memorable motion upon the civil-list expenses of William IV. The Duke of Wellington found himself beaten, and resigned.

It was a critical moment. The octogenarian statesman Lord Grenville writes : "Certainly it is a most terrible task that must fall upon their successors ; God grant them wisdom to get through it for the safety of the country." Lord Grey accepted the post of danger, the minor responsibilities were undertaken by Lords Lansdowne, Althorpe, Durham, Melbourne, Palmerston, Goderich, Brougham, and Russell. There were two chief judgships to be given away, and Lord Duncannon endeavoured that O'Connell should have official promotion. The chief seat in the Common

Pleas had been just vacated by Lord Norbury ; but there was a possibility that after O'Connell had occupied it for a few years he would have longed for his old occupation and resigned. A serjeantcy was offered to him. He rejected the coif, and donned the Repeal cap.

From the "Post," then a very influential journal, the Repeal movement received determined opposition. Its editor, Mr. Conway, headed one of his leaders with an extract from Dr. Doyle's pastoral to the Whitefeet, wherein he said that the greatest cause of our national misfortunes had been removed, and the minds of men were engaged in devising means whereby the condition of the people might be bettered. "This," commented Conway, "is the impressive language of one of the brightest ornaments of the Episcopal Bench—a man whose writings and example have done more than any other to promote the great object of civil and religious freedom. We use the same language now, not to the professional agitators, whose trade is to speechify and inflame, but to the dupes whom those agitators are luring on to destruction. We tell them, in the words of Bishop Doyle, that 'the road to improvement in Ireland is now open,' and that if the proper and judicious course were taken, instead of cramming their heads with crudities, and inflaming the passions of the people with a bitter hatred against peace, the improvement would have begun, and capital would have flowed into the country."

Dr. Doyle promptly replied:—

"SIR,—I am very sensible of the kind manner in which you have introduced my name. I am fully aware how little I deserve the high place you assign to me among the friends of Ireland ; but I am anxious, nevertheless, to preserve whatever of 'good name' I may possess, and not to appear as compromising, by my present opinions expressed on the Union question, the sentiments written by me last year. At that time I endeavoured to persuade a rustic population, greatly injured and distressed, to return from a state of almost open insurrection to a state of submission and of peace. I placed before them my own hopes, which I thought were well founded, and I induced them, by writing and exhortation, to adopt my opinions. I then expected the 'Relief Bill' would be acted upon, that Ireland would be governed justly, and her people rescued by Government from local oppression, and placed under the protection of equal and impartial law. I did expect that the Legislature would lose no time in removing the gross abuses which existed in our administration ; in visiting and reforming all our Corporations ; in repealing laws most odious

and oppressive to the people ; and, above all, in providing a good system of education for youth, and some support, however scanty, for our hordes of destitute poor. I hoped for all this, and I infused my own hopes into the breasts and minds of many thousands. But were these hopes realised ? was any one object of them verified ? was a single step taken by Government which could lead me to expect that this system of governing Ireland had in any respect been changed ? The Catholics and the friends of the Catholics—I say it advisedly—were excluded from all places of trust, honour, and emolument, as carefully as they had been under the Richmond Administration. There was no change in the mode of exercising patronage ; the Church Establishment with its tithe and vestry laws, and all the corporations of towns and cities, remained in their former state. The Grand Jury laws were not altered—the Subletting Act not amended—Mr. Brownlow’s excellent Act not countenanced—the Galway Franchise Act thrown out by the Premier—the Kildare Place Society employed as it were by the Government, and paid by the people to disturb the peace, to spread abroad religious discord, and to mar the progress of education ; but, above all, the ejected tenantry left to perish by thousands, and no provision made, or I fear seriously designed to be made, for the poor.”

In reply to the objection that there was not sufficient time to effect all this good, Dr. Doyle replied that there had been ample time to do a great portion of it, and to hold out a prospect that the rest was in progress. An able man could, at any time during the last five years, have drawn up in one month “heads of bills” sufficient to renovate Ireland, and heal all her wounds. And referring to the then prevalent agitation, he said that all things ought to be tried before a nation should despair. Peace, property, and life were not to be put in competition with the total wreck of one’s country. He thought it perfectly just, legitimate, and reasonable “to ascertain by discussion whether such Repeal was practicable, and what effect it would produce on the fortunes of both islands.” Dr. Doyle added that had not the affairs of this country been transferred to “the administration of men who have been the firm and consistent friends of Ireland—men in whom we have been taught from our youth to confide—I could, and probably would, argue the question of Repeal, but I shall abstain from doing so, and resume my former hopes.”

Dr. Doyle told G. Lynch of Everton that he had written a work upon the Repeal of the Union in 1830–31, but would not publish it till he saw what Lord Grey would do for the country

In this work, which has never been published, the gifted writer labours to prove that our commercial intercourse with Great Britain, in the event of Repeal, would not be less profitable than at present ; that a federal union of these islands under one crown would be more lasting than that which now exists ; and that the agriculture, commerce, and consequently the strength of both countries, could not fail to derive great increase from Repeal of the Union.

Mr. Conway, the journalist, was at this time the organ of the Whigs in Ireland. "As a man," he replied, "for whom we cannot find any form of words sufficiently emphatic to express our respect and veneration as Bishop Doyle appears to have thought that Repeal was a subject open to discussion, we shall take the liberty of debating the matter with him, in the certainty that, in differing as we do from this virtuous prelate, we may rest satisfied, if we be wrong, in the kindness of his disposition—if we be right, in the candour which is the constant attribute of a generous and noble nature."

Dr. Doyle did not consider Repeal altogether practicable, but he regarded as despotic and unconstitutional all attempts to crush the people's rights to discuss and petition. The movement, therefore, had much more of his sympathy than at a later period.

In December 1830, Dr. Doyle had a correspondence with William Smith O'Brien on a plan for the relief of the Irish poor, of which Mr. O'Brien was the author. The Bishop agreed with his correspondent that ratepayers only should elect the committee ; he thought that begging vagrants ought not to be tolerated, but that mendicants should have a domicile. Loan funds, he considered, were in most instances mismanaged. He found that the power which Mr. O'Brien proposed to give the committee to lend to able-bodied poor would create trouble, and that the sums lent might seldom be repaid. He saw no objection to the committee being empowered to provide for orphans and deserted children, nor in the provision to enable magistrates, on the requisition of the committee, to compel persons having sufficient means to support their children or parents, though it was a clause which if introduced might give occasion to unpleasant exposures, and excite angry and vindictive feelings. Dr. Doyle was glad that Mr. O'Brien agreed with him in the principle of dividing the burden of assessment between the proprietor and tenant.

In a second letter, Dr. Doyle offered his opinion at large on the various heads of the bill. He suggested that in the first section, "days" ought to be substituted for "weeks," as distress was often sudden and urgent, or frequently borne till it becomes

so aggravated that a delay of weeks might be ruinous to the poor. Dr. Doyle reminded Mr. O'Brien that when enumerating the descriptions of property he omitted tithes, which in England were subject to assessment for the poor. He was sure Mr. O'Brien did not intend to exempt tithes, and he expressed an anxious wish that it were possible to revive the claim to one-third of them, which the poor had formerly at common law. Dr. Doyle concluded by saying that, in the event of Mr. O'Brien's effort proving successful, he would confer on his country perhaps a greater benefit than she had hitherto received from the imperial legislature.

A third letter followed, in which the Bishop expressed his conviction that were the landowners and landholders to discuss together the question of poor-rate, no petition would be the result, or else two of opposite prayers; or if they did agree, it would be in a petition to seize upon the church property and spare their own. Dr. Doyle, in reply to a request, went on to say that if the Government were to propose a plan of which he could approve, he might still render some service; but in supporting the recent distillery laws and the Subletting Act he had exposed himself to the reproach or sarcasm of always finding in the vineyard only sour grapes. When he laboured in the former question he expected a drawback on the duty on malt used in breweries, that a wholesome beverage might be substituted for a maddening spirit; but the revenue, not the public morals, was the cherished object.

Mr. O'Brien's "Plan for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland" was published in 1831, and thanks are expressed to Dr. Doyle for many valuable suggestions.

[The first letter which we have found from Dr. Doyle on the Tithe Question is the following, dated December 10, 1830, and addressed to the pastor of Graig:—

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—I hope the providence of God will guide you through the difficult situation in which you are placed. Cultivate, on every opportunity, the confidence of the magistracy, and endeavour, when an opportunity offers, to convince them of this, that their own interest and the safety of the country, as well as the preservation of the peace, require that they do not stand up for tithes or church oppression, which the interest and sense of mankind have condemned.

"Impress constantly on the people moderation, sobriety, deference to the magistrates, and obedience to the laws; but firmness and union—not much speaking, but acting with one accord. Should

such an abatement as that made at Leighlin be offered, do you accede to it, and let the opposition proceed elsewhere. You are aware that my friend, Sir John Harvey, earnestly invoked my interference, and how I civilly declined—referring him to the *cause* of the excitement. The new Government will make a show of vigour, but they will shortly learn that no coalition can ever take place between those who plunder and they who are plundered.”

Regarding Fr. Martin's curate, who left the parish to see a dying kinsman, he added :—

“Mr. Nolan is only lingering from hour to hour, and it is hard to send away from him his only near friend ; but I will say what you wish to your curate, and if the danger be not imminent I am sure he will return : if it be—I think you would not wish him home. I send you the ‘Post,’ wherein you will see, under the head of ‘Meeting of Magistrates of Armagh,’ the provisions of an Act of Parliament which it may be right that you be well acquainted with.”]

CHAPTER XII.

Second Viceroyalty of Lord Anglesey—Appointment of Mr. John Doherty—Great excitement—Letters—Procession of the Trades to O’Connell’s house prohibited—Awful exasperation of the popular mind—Important correspondence on the state of Ireland—Repeal, tithes, and reform of the Church Establishment—Exciting struggle between O’Connell and the Government—The press prosecuted—Wars and rumours of wars—Revolution succeeds revolution—Ireland in jeopardy—Important correspondence—Sir H. Parnell and Lord Plunkett—The Yeomanry called out—Orange and green worn as a united emblem of national feeling—Correspondence with Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.

THERE have been few years in the recent history of Ireland more big with events and trouble than 1831, of which the immense pile of letters before us is in itself a sufficient indication.

Lord Anglesey, who had completely endeared himself to the Irish people during the previous year, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant under the Administration of Earl Grey. A more popular appointment it would have been impossible to make, but the effect was spoiled by fatal errors, of which more hereafter. On the 27th November 1830 Lord Anglesey writes : “The die is cast, and I am to resume my post among you. Called upon as I was, I could not bring myself to shrink from difficulty in time of need ; and I shall buckle to with all my zeal, but, alas ! with a very moderate share of health. . . . I shall steadily go on upon my

old plan of hearing all parties ; and being the tool of none, I shall do what I conscientiously believe to be best for the country, and leave the event and the issue to the Supreme Disposer of all things. I go with but one object—the good of Ireland. I am not sanguine of success, because she appears to me to be torn to pieces by factions (and there appears to me to be now one more than I left), but still I do not quite despair, for if I meet with fair play—if the conduct of the ill-disposed does not force forward measures of rigour—there is a growing spirit amongst public men to set a higher value on Ireland than has been heretofore shown, and a determination upon my part, and on the part of the new Secretary (as, indeed, there was on the part of the late one), and also on that part of the Government which is connected with the affairs of Ireland, to attend to her interests, and not to allow, year after year, the recommendations of the several committees to lie on the shelves as a dead letter. . . . My first anxiety is to tranquillise the *old ascendancy*. They shall never rule again, but they shall never be insulted by me.”

While trying to avoid Scylla, Lord Anglesey's popularity was swamped in the tumultuous agitation of Charybdis. Few could grasp a sword with greater vigour, but in handling the helm he was weak. Lord Anglesey was a good soldier and a bad statesman. His head might sometimes err, but his heart was always in the right place. On Mr. John Doherty, who had just given effective annoyance to O'Connell in Parliament, the Viceroy most indiscreetly bestowed the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas ; while the chief seat in the Exchequer became the property of Mr. Joy, a barrister of not less decided Tory tone. Speaking of Mr. Doherty's reply to O'Connell in Parliament on the Doneraile Conspiracy, Mr. D. O. Maddyn says, “ So much polite venom was perhaps never uttered.” The wrath of the people at his promotion soon gathered into a hurricane, which swept the land from Antrim to Cape Clear. The indignation which the national party had been hurling on the head of Mr. Doherty was now transferred to his Viceregal patron. Volumes of invective daily fell from their press and platform, and the yells of the infuriated populace well-nigh drowned the roaring ordnance which greeted Lord Anglesey's arrival. For this unpleasant reception he had been prepared, but he faced it with the nerve of a true Waterloo veteran. “ I have had various kind letters,” writes the Marquis, “ warning me of what I may expect, and suggesting to me the landing where I am not expected, and proceeding secretly to Dublin. No ! no ! I will land at Kingstown, and proceed unostentatiously to the Castle. It will be curious enough to

contrast the first days of 1829 with the last days of 1830 ; and the whole change of sentiment to be on the plea of a solitary law appointment ! Amazing ! I am perfectly prepared for the worst that may happen, and shall present myself among you in all the consciousness of not *deserving* unkindness, whatever may be my lot ; for if ever there was a sacrifice made with the benevolent intention of conferring a public benefit, I am making such a sacrifice."

In another letter, written immediately before his departure for Ireland, the Viceroy writes : " O'Connell is my *avant courier*. He starts to-day with more mischief in hand than I have yet seen him charged with. I saw him yesterday for an hour and a half. I made no impression upon him whatever, and I am now thoroughly convinced that he is bent upon desperate agitation. All this will produce no change in my course and conduct. For the love of Ireland I deprecate agitation. I know it is the only thing that can prevent her from prospering ; for there is in this country a growing spirit to take Ireland by the hand, and a determination not to neglect her and her interests ; therefore I pray for peace and repose."

Lord Anglesey's prayer was not heard. O'Connell arrived, and speedily inflamed the multitude with the ardent passion by which he was himself kindled and inspired.

It has been said that the popularity of an Irish Chief Governor is not worth a month's purchase, and the reception which Lord Anglesey met with showed it. " Frank, generous, confiding, and accessible," observes Mr. Maddyn ; " gay, hospitable, and most liberal, and never equalled in an earnest desire to benefit the Irish people, for whose misery he felt with almost womanly tenderness, the Marquis of Anglesey was pelted by the Catholic populace in the streets of Dublin, and was violently abused, without intermission, by the Protestant press of Ireland ! "

A circumstance occurred a few days after his arrival which helped to increase this unpopularity. A meeting of the trades of Dublin had been advertised to assemble at Phibsborough, and to march in military order to O'Connell's house in Merrion Square, there to present him with an address on Repeal. Lord Cloncurry records that sworn informations were laid before the Lord-Lieutenant to the effect that serious disturbances were likely to arise,¹ and accordingly a proclamation forbidding the demonstration was issued, under the authority of the recent Act for the Suppression of Dangerous Assemblies.

The Earl of Darnley, a peer of considerable prestige, opened

¹ " Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry," 2d edit., p. 349.

a correspondence with Dr. Doyle on the errors committed by Lord Anglesey, and the consequences of them. The popular feeling had been roused to a pitch of unprecedented exasperation, which, in part owing to the then state of European politics, had assumed a formidable and dangerous tone.

[Through the courtesy of the present Lord Darnley this interesting correspondence has been placed in our hands.

“COBHAM HALL, *December 26th*, 1830.

“Having on former occasions had the satisfaction of agreeing with you in opinion on subjects connected with Ireland, and considering both the intimate knowledge of that country and the extensive influence amongst its inhabitants which you possess, I address you at this most important and alarming crisis. My first intention was to have written to Mr. O’Connell, my acquaintance with whom might have justified such a step; but amongst other reasons which concurred to deter me from such an attempt, I felt that, considering the provocation he had received under the existing order of things on the one hand, and the strong and almost irresistible temptation thrown in his way to endeavour to subvert it on the other, his mind could not be open to any impression I could hope to make on it. To you, however, my dear sir, as a leading and distinguished minister of that gospel of peace to which, however different our interpretations of it may be, we all look up as our best guide here and our only hope hereafter, I venture to address myself, in confident expectation that the appeal will not be made in vain. In the name of God, and of our country, I will ask whether any reasonable, reflecting, and dispassionate man can doubt the *moral certainty* that the course pursued by Mr. O’Connell with portentous energy and fearful success will, if persevered in, lead to that greatest of human calamities, bloody, exterminating civil war? He tells his hearers, and he publishes to the world, that the Union shall be repealed without shedding a drop of blood! As well might he assert that a storm shall blow without causing a wave on the surface of the ocean.

“He calls on the ‘God of charity’ to assist him in an enterprise which can never be accomplished but through the dissolution of all the charities which exist between man and man in a state of civilised society. How, let me ask, is the object to be effected by any means short of revolution? I believe I do not overstate the fact when I assert that ninety-nine hundreds of both Houses of Parliament, and I believe I might add that an equal proportion of men of education and property throughout the empire, agree with me that a dissolution of the Union as established between England

and Ireland must lead to separation of the two countries, if not resisted, to civil war. But let us inquire, in the first place, how it is to be brought about by peaceable means such as Mr. O'Connell tells us he intends only to employ. Can he hope, by exercising the power he possesses of raising discontent in Ireland, to *frighten* the Parliament and the Government of the empire out of their senses and induce them to sanction a measure which their reason tells them would be fatal? If not, he cannot be blind to the inevitable consequence of his present attempt, a renewal of those horrors of which the sad history of Ireland has already afforded so many examples. Let me then implore you, as a minister of the God of charity and of peace, to interpose your powerful aid to check, if possible, the progress of an attempt which I can only contemplate with horror and dismay; being fully convinced that, if pursued, it will lead inevitably to the most calamitous results. At all events, I am convinced that even if you should not agree with me in the view I have taken of this important subject, you will justly appreciate the only motive that could have induced me to give you this trouble, and believe me yours faithfully,

“DARNLEY.”]

“CARLOW, 30th December 1830.

“MR LORR.—I agree fully with your Lordship in looking with alarm at the state of this country; but I am convinced that it is in the power of the Legislature to prevent those fatal consequences which might seem to be connected, however remotely, with the agitation excited and carried on principally by Mr. O'Connell. It is, my Lord, to Parliament and their Ministers, and only to them, that we can look for those measures which will give us repose. I might easily give strength and increased confidence to the agitators; but I assure your Lordship that were I found in opposition at this moment to O'Connell, I should be deserted by the men of my own household. The late and the present Government, aided by the House of Commons, have made him all-powerful in Ireland: but there is no danger of civil commotion at present, nor does any one think of resorting to force, so that the agitation will expend itself if Parliament do not continue to supply to the agitators new topics of excitement. But of this I entertain slender hopes, as no Ministry appears to know fully the moral condition of this country, or to contemplate the adoption of such measures as would satisfy the people, and thereby render them indifferent to the Union question. The concession of the Catholic claims was delayed till the people were made to believe that they themselves extorted it from Govern-

ment; and when conceded, it came with reluctance and mixed with evil, being followed by a sort of persecution of the man whom the Minister ought, at any price, to have conciliated.¹ The distress of the industrious and labouring classes has been growing regularly since 1814, or the conclusion of the war; but all the efforts made by your Lordship, and the other noblemen or gentlemen who attended to the state of Ireland, to better the condition of the Irish poor, were coldly received or no way attended to. The Relief Bill was let to remain a dead letter, so far as depended on Government; and last year, in place of relief to the poor or improvement of the country, we were threatened with increased taxation and the extinction of the press. I made representations in every quarter to which I had access, and in which I hoped they might be useful; but I nowhere received any assurance that the millions of my countrymen who were dying of hunger or sinking into poverty should be relieved. When these things were so, the Revolution occurred in France and Belgium; the newspapers applauded those exhibitions of popular power, and our people, who by the delay of emancipation were all made politicians, feeling their own extreme distress and the abandonment of them by Government, were well prepared for any appeal to be made to them by O'Connell or by any other person. Does this surprise your Lordship? When this happened, the Duke of Leinster, not knowing or not duly estimating the public sentiment, convened a meeting with which your Lordship is acquainted. The Duke invited me to attend that meeting, but in reply I almost begged he would desist from holding it. I clearly foresaw that in place of arresting the agitation it would infallibly promote it; besides that it would render the aristocracy hateful to the people, and disable them from joining in the discussion of the Union question, and urging the argument against it on the sober-minded. In fact, that Declaration threw the people entirely into O'Connell's hands. But as if some special fatality attended the present Ministry, at the moment when they sent here Lord Anglesey, whose popularity could have wrought wonders, they stripped him of all his moral influence by placing Mr. Doherty in a judicial station. I assure you that this man, besides being the personal antagonist of O'Connell, is looked upon by nearly all the people of the South as a legal executioner, because he sought to convict men in Cork of a capital offence, whilst he was fully acquainted with those prevarications and that infamy of his own witnesses which, when exposed by Baron Pennefather, deprived those witnesses at once and for ever of all

¹ Across this sentence the noble Lord has written in pencil, "Most true."

credit with a jury. When Governments proceed in such courses, what can be done to serve them? I have here, and in all the country about me, endeavoured to palliate their conduct, and to put the Union question in abeyance until Lord Anglesey's measures for the relief of Ireland are brought before Parliament. If these measures be such as to ensure relief to the poorer classes and to the farming interest, we will have peace, and the agitation will subside, I think, in spite of O'Connell; but if great and unprecedented sacrifices are not made for Ireland, I fear that I am destined, as well as your Lordship, to see this country in a situation worse than in any she has seen in our time. The people in parts of this county, of the counties Kilkenny, Wexford, and Tipperary, have, within the last fortnight, assembled in bodies of several thousands to demand the reduction of tithes, and in some places have resolved not to pay any tithe until such reduction is made. These assemblages may be easily dispersed, but with the feeling existing in the country it will be quite impossible to preserve unreformed the Church Establishment. The example of the English labourers and the high wages extorted by them from the farmers, and the abatements made to these latter by the landlords and clergy, are becoming known to those of the same class here; the farmers are joining with them either avowedly or covertly, so that grievous oppression, or immediate and substantial relief, must be extended to this country. I am tired, my Lord, of appealing to the religious feelings of men who either have no employment, or labour during six days for five shillings; they cannot exist in that state, and it is almost a benefit that they follow O'Connell; for if they did not, they would rob and plunder, or destroy property, preferring death by the hands of the executioner to death by cold and hunger.

"I have abstained from offering to your Lordship any opinion on the Repeal of the Union, because I feel it is both a delicate and difficult question, and that it is as yet in the power of Parliament to check or extinguish the agitation of it.

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

"Your prompt reply to my letter," observes Dr. Doyle's noble correspondent, "demands my best thanks; and I am sorry to be compelled to add that the view you have taken of the subject appears to be, for the most part, perfectly correct. I perfectly agree with you that the late legal appointments were fatal and ill-advised, and I heartily wish it were possible to recall them. But not being able to do the best, let us consider what is next best to be done. Lord Anglesey might have effected much good

by the influence of his well-earned popularity, but this false step in starting has made him, instead of the best, one of the worst instruments to rule and pacify that ill-fated country in which (as was long ago observed by Spenser) 'They say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes whatever, which are meant for her good, will prosper or take effect.' Let us not, however, altogether despair. In your intimate knowledge of the country, and in the sincere desire with which I believe you to be actuated to be useful to it, I have much confidence; and I shall have great satisfaction in being favoured with any communications on the subject which you may please to make. My means, as not being myself in office, must, of course, be limited, but by urging the truth on those in power I may possibly do some good. I have shown your letter to our friend —, who sees the subject in the same light as it appears to us. I am by no means surprised that you decline entering into the question of the projected Repeal of the Union, for I think it scarcely possible that you and I should see it in the same point of view. I am only anxious to impress on your mind that, be it right or be it wrong, it can never be effected, as O'Connell pretends, peaceably and without *much* bloodshed!"

O'Connell's "breakfast-meetings," which the Northumberland Administration had hesitated to suppress, were now grappled with by Lord Anglesey. By removing the teapot and hot water, he sought to check the heated language which daily proved dangerous to the public peace. In January an immense assemblage of ardent Repealers gathered round the Tribune's breakfast-table in Holmes' hotel, including Mr. Montgomery Martin, who subsequently laboured hard to write down Repeal. This demonstration was avowedly for the benefit of an orphan asylum, but in reality to advance the Repeal agitation. Mr. Stanley had just issued a circular letter which called upon the magistracy to exercise their authority in putting a stop to every meeting having, in their judgment, a dangerous tendency. In reply, O'Connell declared his intention of framing a "General Association for Ireland, to prevent illegal meetings and protect the exercise of the sacred right of petitioning." Lord Anglesey was not to be foiled by the ingenuity of the title, and he issued a proclamation forbidding not only the breakfasts at Holmes', but the "new association to prevent illegal meetings." O'Connell, nothing daunted, replied that the law could not reach him as an individual, and he would appoint Mr. Dwyer his secretary, and substitute himself for the proclaimed Leaguers. As he had long been the animating spirit

of each democratic league or meeting, this alteration made no material change; and the Viceroy was now in turn foiled.

Ardent and exultant, the great agitator invited his friends to a public dinner, where he took the chair, and fanned the popular excitement by a speech of persuasive and inflammatory eloquence. A fourth proclamation rapidly followed, but he treated it with scorn, and appointed a committee of thirty-one to make preparations for a monster Repeal meeting. This body, presided over by himself, duly assembled; but in the midst of their proceedings, two police magistrates entered the room and ordered the committee to disperse. A long dialogue between O'Connell and the magistrates appears in the journals of the day. He told them that as the meeting which they sought to scatter was not connected with, nor did any one in it belong to, any association, assembly, or society, the magistrates might proceed at their peril. He eventually, however, submitted; but not without expressing a threat that a reformed Parliament would yet punish those who had caused the dispersion of a meeting assembled for a constitutional purpose.

Full of indignation, O'Connell seized his pen, and wrote a public letter, dated 14th January 1831, in which he advised a rush upon the banks for gold. This was regarded by many who had but an imperfect knowledge of his policy as a preparatory step to sounding the tocsin of a general insurrection. Mr. Fagan, the biographer and kinsman of O'Connell, condemns this proceeding, and adds, "The consequences might have been most disastrous to the country."

Though muzzled by manifestoes, O'Connell continued, with great success, to agitate through the medium of the press. "The Freeman" was twice prosecuted for inserting his letters, and a Tipperary paper was assailed by three crown prosecutions. This attempt to crush the independence of the fourth estate damaged the Government with constitutional politicians.

Statesmen regarded these events with alarm. An unusual revolutionary spirit was then pervading Europe. Some brilliant successes had attended the efforts of Poland to shake off the Russian yoke. Belgium was severing its legislative connection with Holland. Charles X.'s power had been annihilated. Many Continental thrones rocked on their base. The army of the Duke of Brunswick was defeated by the people; his castle was set on fire, and he had to fly for his life. At Dresden, the army having been driven from the town, the King of Saxony resigned his crown. All the German principalities were in a state of perilous agitation; while in the Peninsula so much excitement

prevailed that revolutions were hourly expected in Lisbon and Madrid. London had also shown so daring a tendency to disturbance, that on the 9th of November, when the King had arranged to dine at Guildhall, the Government deemed it prudent to keep his Majesty at home, lest a bloody riot in the streets should result. "If firing had begun," said the Duke of Wellington, "who could tell where it would end? I know what street-firing is—one guilty man would fall and ten innocent be destroyed." In Ireland, as we are assured by the Duke of Buckingham, a common toast at public meetings was, "The cause of the Belgians: may others imitate their bright example."

Men of perception saw that a judicious system of government was now urgently necessary to save Ireland. Dr. Doyle's letter of the 30th of December having been submitted to the Cabinet where it formed the subject of anxious thought, a second document in reply to it was written by Lord Darnley. Its tone is not surprising. "There appears," writes the Duke of Wellington on the 1st of January 1831, "a sort of feverish anxiety in every man's mind about public affairs. No man can satisfy himself of the safety either of this country or himself."¹

"9th January 1831.

"Having read again and again your able and interesting letter with the attention which the importance of the subjects contained in it demands, I trust the anxiety I must necessarily feel to save Ireland, if it be possible, from the tremendous evils with which she is threatened, will be deemed by you a sufficient apology for obtruding myself again on your notice. If Ireland can by human means be saved in the present apparent crisis of her fate—if any one can extricate her from the difficulties with which she is surrounded—I assert with confidence that you are the man; and although I feel sensible of the little comparative value any efforts that I may be enabled to make may be, still I am confident that the means I possess of confidential communication with persons in authority in this country may perhaps enable me to co-operate with you in the good work of conciliation and peace.

"Let me then ask you, when you inform me that 'it is in the power of the Legislature to prevent these fatal consequences,' &c., that 'it is to Parliament and to Ministers, and only to them, that we can look for those measures which will give us repose,' to what specific measures do you look, or what, in your opinion,

^[1] A letter from Lord Althorpe to Earl Spencer, dated January 22, 1831, admits the fatal character of their law appointments, and that, when Parliament met, the Government might be turned out of office.]

will give peace, and 'cause the agitation to subside in spite of O'Connell?' The present Government of Ireland is, I greatly fear, too far committed to advance with any hope of success, or to recede with any chance of an honourable or safe retreat. Lord Anglesey and O'Connell are at war, and each has drawn the sword—can the King's representative put his first into the scabbard? The course of events and the series of fatal errors, ending with the last of the late law appointments, are admirably and too justly described in your letter, as is also the existing state of Ireland, which they have in a great measure produced. Still I think, bad as its situation may be, that country may still be saved, and by your means. Write then, I beseech you, without delay, what in your opinion are the measures necessary for that purpose. There is one at which your letter glances, and in which I should perhaps be prepared to go a considerable length with you, but in which we should encounter deep-rooted prejudices and various difficulties—I mean the reform of the *Irish* Established Church. I say of the *Irish* Church, as contradistinguished from the English, which last, though also in need of reform, is by no means such a monster as that of Ireland. On this subject I refer you to my speech in the House of Lords in 1824, of which, having a copy before me, I send you a few pages; but what I am anxious to know from your authority is, what degree and kind of reform would be sufficient at this time to conciliate the Catholics without too much alarming the Protestants, who are perhaps more sensitive and unbending on this subject than, in sound policy and common sense, they ought to be. Tell me what other measures you would recommend, and be assured that any communication you may think fit to make to me in confidence shall either be kept secret, or communicated only within any limitations that you may require.—Yours, &c.,

"DARNLEY."

On the very day that this letter was penned, sentence of death had been pronounced against twenty-three persons for creating a formidable disturbance in Gloucestershire. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions, twenty-six at Petworth, and at least a hundred others in different parts of England. These unpleasant circumstances so near home increased the alarm felt for the safety of Ireland. In the Commons, the question was feverishly asked whether a vessel with false papers, having on board several stands of arms, had been seized in the Shannon.

Sir Henry Parnell viewed with equal anxiety the menacing

aspect of public affairs. In a letter marked "private" he pours forth his whole mind to the Bishop :—

"LONDON, 5th January 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Lord Darnley has been so kind as to allow me to read your excellent letter to him on the state of Ireland. It has given me very particular pleasure, because I find that the opinions I have of late been urging in all quarters about the government of Ireland are so entirely supported by your high authority. I have not been idle in the cause of Ireland, and as I feel anxious that you should know and be able to acquaint my friends with what I have done, I shall mention the measures I thought it right to take since Lord Grey was appointed Premier.

"I called on Lord Anglesey as soon as I heard he was to be Lord-Lieutenant, and urged him in the strongest manner to conciliate Mr. O'Connell, and to give the Catholics the full benefit of the Relief Bill, by conceding the principal measures which are so anxiously sought for by them. I repeated my visits and entreaties according as I found there was a disposition to promote Mr. Doherty. When I failed with Lord Anglesey, I applied to Lord Melbourne, and spoke to Lord Palmerston to beg of them to interfere and prevent the consequences of O'Connell's return to Ireland in hostility to Lord Anglesey. The arrival of the news of Mr. O'Connell's reception in Dublin made a great sensation in London, and seemed to alarm very much the members of the Cabinet. On the Wednesday following I received a note from a member of it, who has the greatest influence of any of the Ministers over Lord Grey, requesting me to call on him. Upon my doing so, he told me Lord Darnley had mentioned to him the great alarm I felt about Ireland, and that he wished to hear from me what my opinions were. I told him at once that Lord Grey must retrace his steps and without delay ; that the course Lord Anglesey was pursuing would throw all Ireland into the hands of Mr. O'Connell, and that the repeal of the Union would be inevitable ; that Mr. O'Connell would contrive to make this question take the place of that of emancipation, and by managing it in the same way force the Government to choose between the alternatives of concession or civil war. I was then asked what I thought should be done. I replied that I felt certain that it was not yet too late to stop Mr. O'Connell, and to satisfy and tranquillise the country ; that Lord Anglesey ought to be recalled, Lord Plunket removed, and persons selected to conduct the government of Ireland who were known, and who possessed the confidence of

the Catholics ; that as to measures, the grant to the Kildare Street Society ought to be discontinued ; that £50,000 should be given to the Catholic Bishops for promoting education, and to be at their own disposal ; that the Vestry Act should be repealed ; and that other popular and useful measures should be adopted, such as the reform of the grand jury laws, public works, &c. I added that the office [of Under Secretary] filled by Mr. Gregory should be given to a Catholic, and that three young Catholics of respectable families, in each county in Ireland, should be carefully selected and appointed to situations under Government.

"All I said was fully discussed by me and my noble friend with great attention on his part and a considerable disposition to agree to many of my suggestions ; his chief difficulties in acceding to some of them arose from considerations of a personal kind with respect to Lords Anglesey and Plunket. I found that the appointment of Mr. Doherty was felt to be a great error, and I thought I discerned that Lord Anglesey had exceeded his powers in issuing the proclamation. My friend took notes of what I had recommended, and told me he would communicate it to Lord Grey. I left London the same day, and have not since heard anything more on the subject. I meant to write and urge again all I recommended to be done, for I can look forward to nothing but the most disastrous results as the consequences of the contentions between Mr. O'Connell and Lord Anglesey. I think Lord Grey will become alarmed about the safety of his administration before Parliament reassembles, and see the necessity of recalling Lord Anglesey. His Irish law appointments have from the first occasioned great disgust here,¹ from their appearance of being wholly uncalled for, and from their forming a new charge on the public purse. The disturbances which they have produced in Ireland will serve to render them still more unpopular here, and I do not think it at all improbable that, if Lord Grey shall persevere in governing Ireland by proclamations, there will be a vote of a majority of the House of Commons to censure his conduct. Lord Darnley showed me the letter he wrote to you last night. He is, I think, very capable of doing a great deal of good, and is quite right in his opinion and views ; and, although not in office, he is on such habits of intimacy with members of the Cabinet, that your ad-

¹ Mr. Blackburne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland under Lord Derby, in 1852, succeeded Mr. Joy as Attorney-General. Mr. Crampton, an undecided Whig, became Solicitor-General. The abilities and services of O'Loughlen, Perrin, Wallace, and Holmes of the . . . received no recognition, with the exception of a coil for O'Loughlen.

vice may be turned through him to the best account. I hope you will continue to give it to him, which you may do with perfect reliance on his prudence in making the use of it which you would approve.

"I am happy in taking this opportunity of letting you see that I am doing what I can to have matters better understood and managed as to Ireland. I feel that I acted with great good foresight in not accepting office under Lord Grey. I knew too well from his incapacity as a leader of opposition that no confidence ought to be placed in his ably filling the situation of Prime Minister, and I very much fear that all the good that ought to have followed from the removal of the Duke of Wellington will come to very little in Lord Grey's hands.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

We do not think that Dr. Doyle altogether agreed with Sir H. Parnell that Lord Plunket was unworthy of the confidence of the Catholic body. He had a great respect for Lord Plunket, and felt that the Catholics were under very considerable obligations to him. We find among the Bishop's papers the following letter from Lord Plunket, written anterior to the present date of our narrative, but sufficient to show that a mutual feeling of admiration subsisted.

"I have read the address to the lower orders of the people with the attention to which your name entitled it, and I cannot use terms too strong in expressing the gratification it has afforded me. The sentiments and stile [*sic*] would do honour to a Fenelon or a Pailey [*sic*], and present a model worthy of being studied by all those who are desirous of uniting, with a sincere devotion to their own religion, that spirit of Christian charity and goodwill to others, without which religion is an idle name. I am very anxious that it should have an extensive circulation, not only in this country but in Great Britain; it is valuable not merely with reference to the salutary effect it must have on the minds of the wretched people who are involved in the lawless associations now subsisting and hitherto spreading in Ireland, but, perhaps, still more as a means of making the public acquainted with the strain of liberal and enlightened piety which belongs to a prelate of the Roman Catholic Church. I trust, and indeed have no doubt, that correspondent feelings are entertained by the great body of the Protestants of these countries, clergy and laity; with such aid, under God's providence, I look forward to the allaying, and at no distant period ending, the dissension by which this unfortunate

country is disturbed, so far at least as religious animosities (most irreligious) have had any share in them.

"I beg you to accept my thanks for your kind expression with respect to the testimony which I have always publicly borne to the excellent conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy ; I could not have withheld it without a violation of truth and duty." Lord Plunket concludes "with sincere respect and regard."

[But to resume Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Lord Darnley—one of the utmost historic value—at last recovered after long and arduous inquiry.

Private.

"CARLOW, 10th January 1831.

"MY LORD,—You would impose upon me a most difficult task in desiring that I should suggest what appears best to be done at this moment for Ireland. A knowledge of this country such as I possess, and a capacity of seeing and estimating the errors of other men, are but a poor qualification for the above purpose. I am, besides, fully aware of my own insignificance, and am better pleased to remain unknown and unnoticed at a crisis like the present, than to have my name enrolled among those who are ready to suggest or even to obtrude their notions for the good government of Ireland. Everything here appears to me to be progressing from bad to worse. The people are still faithful to their allegiance, but agitated to a degree nearly unprecedented ; whilst O'Connell in one of his late speeches announces to them his belief that he is *sent of God* to regenerate the country. This is leaving enthusiasm far behind ; it has an appearance of fanaticism, and if believed by his followers, as no doubt it will be by many, who can calculate the consequences ? The Government which provoked him is now obliged in self-defence to reply by proclamations to his speeches, and may next be tempted to arm one portion of the population against the other. This above all things ought to be avoided, and if an additional force be necessary to preserve the peace, let the regular army be increased, or a few regiments of English militia be sent here. I am of opinion that there is still remaining enough of good sense in the people to continue submissive to the law, and that the best means of subduing the agitation is to let his speeches and petition-meetings pass unheeded. The unhappy law appointments, and they have been eminently so, must now be borne ; for I suppose it is impossible to provide out of Ireland for Doherty, and the great object is to tranquillise the public mind. To effect this is extremely difficult, and cannot be effected to any great degree until Parliament next meets.

O'Connell must then remove from us ; let him present his Anti-Union petition unmolested and unnoticed, whilst the Minister brings forward some substantial measures for the relief of this country, and prays the Irish people to suffer an experiment to be made of such measures before they press upon a Government anxious only for the public welfare. The appeal would be successful in despite of O'Connell, if the Government in the meantime keep clear of party, and avoid, even by putting their just rights in abeyance, to contend with O'Connell and the passions provoked by him. But the measures to be proposed by Government must be substantial. I am more and more wedded to my opinions on the Poor Laws, and the necessity of relieving the country from the pressure of its excessive population, either by locating them at home on reclaimed lands or by opening a passage for them to the Colonies. All are agreed on reforming the Grand-Jury Laws ; and two bills—one embodying the plans of Mr. M. Fitzgerald, the other in the spirit of Mr. Brownlow's Bill—would open employment at home. The principle of Government should be to press on the proprietary of Ireland (the only gainers hitherto) and to assist the middle and lower classes. The Church Establishment cannot, my Lord, be preserved in Ireland unless by the sword ; of this you may be convinced, but Government cannot now be the first to assail it. It is enough if they do not resist inquiry, when sought for by some independent member. It is easy to let it fall into the hands of Government, and when there it can be made available to many good purposes. The Catholics must be sought for and put into places of trust ; a comprehensive system of education should be adopted, and the Vestry Bill totally repealed. Such measures would satisfy the country and set the Union question at rest.—I have, &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE ”]

A third and most remarkable letter from the Bishop furnishes an interesting historic record of the state of public feeling in Ireland at this time. He freely condemns Lord Anglesey's last indiscretion in calling out the yeomanry—a body which had rendered itself specially notorious in 1798 by its ruthless persecution of the peasantry. Dr. Doyle knew that their thirst for blood was not yet slaked ; and he protested with all his might against putting power into the hands of a band personally and traditionally obnoxious to the people. But the Bishop's remonstrances were disregarded ; and within the next three months his fears were sadly verified by the dreadful tithe-massacre perpetrated

by the yeomanry at Newtownbarry. It may appear strange that O'Connell did not co-operate with Dr. Doyle in protesting against the resuscitation of this force ; but as he was engaged in an attempt to coalesce with the Orangemen in forming a party of resistance to the Government, he hesitated to attack the yeomanry, though at a later period he effectively did so. By O'Connell's desire, orange and green were daily worn as an emblem of united national feeling.

“CARLOW, 13th January 1831.

“MY LORD,—I was honoured this morning by your Lordship's communication of the 9th instant. My letter of the 10th has put you in possession of my opinion respecting this country, and of the course which appears to me most advisable to be pursued towards it. I wrote by the same post to Sir H. Parnell, and stated to him freely my sentiments as regards the Irish Government and Mr. O'Connell. May I beg to refer your Lordship to that letter, for the few days, big with trouble, which have elapsed since the writing of it, confirm me in the opinion therein expressed. This is not the moment when Mr. O'Connell can be approached with any hope of conciliating him. The storm he has raised must be allowed to expend itself ; nor will the peace of the country be endangered by the delay if Lord Anglesey do not continue, as he is doing every hour, to commit himself against the prejudices and partialities of the people. He need not descend to combat by proclamations the speeches of Mr. O'Connell ; such a warfare is disparaging to his office and character, nor can it be successful. His appointment of Mr. Blackburne as Attorney-General is a new error in that line, considering how much of former errors might be repaired by a popular nomination to that office ; but what I fear may lead even to worse consequences, if conciliation be intended, is the calling out of the yeomanry (your Lordship knows the class of which they are composed), and placing them at the disposal of officers and a magistracy, many of whom would be delighted to bring the Government into collision with the people. If O'Connell be tempted to use this as a topic of excitement (and he will, if his desire to conciliate the Orangemen do not prevent him), he can throw the country into a flame at once. This subject is deserving of your Lordship's best attention. I am sure the public peace is not in danger. Let Lord Anglesey only stand upon the power and dignity of his office, using, as he does, language of conciliation until Parliament meets, and at that time, if the measures touched upon in my last letter, and such others as are analogous to them, including a revision of

the corporation for the better fulfilment of the stipulations of their several charters, be offered to Ireland in a generous and confiding tone, I think the country would be righted ; at all events, if she can be saved from a shock too dreadful to contemplate, it is by such a course of proceeding. These, however, are measures ; and as much almost depends on the men to be employed about them as upon the measures themselves. Sir H. Parnell, better perhaps than any other man, knows the position of the country, and how the Catholics as a party might be attached to the Government ; and this is now an indispensable policy, for though their power be limited, yet in opposition to them there is no moral force in Ireland. He also would be more likely than any other person whom I know to gain over Mr. O'Connell to an acquiescence in the measures of Government. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the latter can or cannot be prevailed on to relinquish his present projects for the great and substantial benefits to Ireland which, I suppose, would be proffered ; but I think, if the present Government can sustain itself in England, such a course of measures as I have hinted at would, if adopted towards this country, disable O'Connell from troubling her repose. It would arm against him, if found necessary, those sincere friends of the present Administration, who, at present, are compelled to be mere spectators of the contest now raging. What your Lordship has stated of the Irish Church Establishment agrees in substance with what Mr. O'Connell has declared to be his own sentiments. If the principle of applying the Church property to the relief of the country, saving the interests of the present holders of it, were admitted, the details would be left to the discretion of Parliament without a murmur on the part of the people.

"I took occasion, last evening, when writing to Mr. Stanley on the subject of education, to advert to the calling out the yeomanry, and the confiding such a force to officers or magistrates who for many years past have been religious or political partisans. I humbly besought the Lord-Lieutenant not to do so till every other force was found insufficient to preserve the peace—a case which I knew did not at present, and I hoped would not, exist—as the excitement in this and the neighbouring counties was not the effect of a seditious or treasonable feeling, but the result of distress, and was now taking a peaceable direction. I had also, on the day before yesterday, a long conference with Mr. Finn, a brother-in-law to Mr. O'Connell, and reasoned with him a good deal on the doubtful policy pursued by O'Connell ; also on the probability that his opposition to Ministers might deprive this

country of very many beneficial measures, or possibly contribute to re-introduce the Tories to power. I made some impression on him, which, without his telling me so, I am confident he imparted to Mr. O'Connell; but still he seemed inclined to brave the worst that might come in pursuit of the Repeal, and his purpose appeared to me to rest on a conviction that the present Ministry could not or would not serve Ireland to the extent he thought I seemed to anticipate. I am fully sensible of the confidence with which your Lordship has honoured me; and your Lordship is so fully aware of the delicacy and difficulty of my position in the country, that it is unnecessary to remind you of it, knowing that the use you may think proper to make of what I have at present or hitherto written will be regulated by your Lordship's own wisdom, and the regard with which you have honoured, &c., &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

By the same post Dr. Doyle unfolded his views to Sir H. Parnell. The Bishop had heard from Mr. Conway that the Government had in preparation no less than sixteen bills likely to prove advantageous to the interests of Ireland.

“13th January 1831.

“The strife between Lord Anglesey and Mr. O'Connell is becoming daily more bitter, yet still I think the recall of the former at this moment would not only be ruinous to the Administration in this country, but operate most injuriously to any future Government. We will, you may be satisfied, continue tranquil, unless in words, till Parliament meets, and then the future course of all parties must be regulated by the measures to be proposed by Government. I have in two letters to Lord Darnley, the one of the 10th, the other of this date, adverted to the plan of policy and some of the specific measures which I think would tranquillise this country, and dispose Mr. O'Connell to listen to your reasonings or mine. I do not know what Lord Grey may think of my opinions, but after Lord Darnley's second letter I could not withhold them. If anything could warp my judgment respecting the policy at this moment to be pursued, it would be what you tell of the probably future governors of Ireland; for need I say that such appointments would be to me the most grateful of any that could possibly take place. But until things are smoothed, and some prospect of peace appear, I should prefer the course I have pointed out to one which might involve in insuperable difficulties those with whom I would feel myself altogether identified. I have said to Lord Darnley all I thought of

the Irish Church Establishment, the corporations, &c., and referred to you, as the person of all others best acquainted with the state of this country, in reference to those who should be employed in carrying good measures into effect, and especially as to the Catholics, to conciliate whom has now become an indispensable policy—

Sir H. Parnell replied—

“LONDON, 17th January 1831.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I have heard nothing as yet of the result of my conversation with Lord Althorpe. I believe the Ministers are incessantly occupied in receiving communications about Ireland, and in considering them. I think I can collect that this good has arisen from the agitation in Ireland—namely, a disposition to do many things for Ireland of a decided and substantial character, which otherwise would not have been attempted.

“Your opinion of the loyalty of the people and unwillingness to have recourse to violence gives me hopes that there will be time enough yet to conciliate before more difficulties arise in the way of this course of policy.

“Sir Robert Peel’s friends are sanguine in their expectations that he will soon be again in power. I had a conversation with one of them this morning, and he assured me that it would be found that he was ready to go great lengths to gratify public opinion, even in Ireland. What surprises me most, is the conviction I everywhere hear in favour of a reform in the Irish Church Establishment. I succeeded yesterday in getting a promise from a person who has great influence with Lord Grey on Irish questions, that he would write to him to recommend him not to fill up the vacant See of Cork.

“Under all these circumstances, if you and others who have influence can impress the policy of patience with effect, we may see something very beneficial come out of all this turmoil.

“I am glad you have spoken to Mr. Finn, for I shall think no plan of conciliation complete that does not make a friend of Mr. O’Connell.”

The appeal to Lord Grey to keep the See of Cork vacant not only proved unsuccessful, but a man was appointed to that dignity with antecedents at variance with the cherished views of the Liberal party. The mitre was donned by Dr. Kyle, a strong Tory, who had gone out of his way to oppose an address to Lord Anglesey on his departure from Ireland. Thus hostility to the Liberal

cause met with substantial acknowledgment from the Whigs, and long-tried devotion to their policy was left without recognition. The way in which the claims of Drs. Sandes and Sadlier were ignored fully illustrated this perverse principle. They were Senior Fellows of Trinity College, and had suffered much obloquy by their advocacy of the Catholic claims, yet it was not until the Administration of Lord Mulgrave that these distinguished men received promotion.

It is now evident that the policy of Lord Grey was to have no party of support in Ireland. He aspired to govern the country by means of mingling the officials of both sides ; but the clashing counsels which daily perplexed the Viceroy constituted a strong objection to the principle of a medley Ministry. The absence of union, and consequently of strength, in the Cabinet was daily evidenced, to the detriment of the Administration.

A letter of Lord Anglesey observes, that there was a disposition on the part of the new Chief Secretary to promote the interests of the country, and not to allow proper recommendations to accumulate on shelves and remain a dead letter. Mr. Stanley possessed a judgment of powerful penetration, with a considerable facility in mastering details ; but as his nature was somewhat reserved and dictatorial, he failed to prepossess the majority of those who had intercourse with the Castle. But popularity was not the idol of Edward Stanley, and he scorned to employ the diplomatic arts of conciliation. A knitted forehead generally gave place to the theatrical smile and plastic posture of his predecessors. He loved labour : the impress of care and work was stamped upon his brow. For the ordinary recreations of men he had an austere contempt ; he gave few dinners, and the freaks and foibles of fashion were sternly condemned in his careless dress. In his energetic tread across the Castle-yard, and the authoritative strength of his voice, self-respect and self-reliance asserted their sway.

Mr. Stanley left much undone which he ought perhaps to have achieved during his connection with Ireland. He made many errors and few friends ; but one cannot at least forget that he was the first Minister who caused Orangeism to reel from the effects of a blow. What Wellesley and Plunket failed to achieve, Stanley accomplished. In crushing Orange processions he bestowed an important boon on Ireland, and the moral courage with which he grappled with the hydra of the Church Establishment, although he failed to lay it low, deserves a national plaudit. But Mr. Stanley did not exclusively essay to destroy. His creations

were marked by efficiency. The Irish Board of Works sprung up under his auspices; the physical resources of the country were developed; the Shannon Navigation scheme became a reality; and the proselytism of the Kildare Place Society received a fatal check by the establishment of the National System. The political philippics which Baron Smith had been in the habit of enunciating from the bench were stopped by Mr. Stanley and reprobated in the House of Commons. Mr. Stanley built a house in Tipperary, chiefly with the object of giving employment to the poor; but the act was pooh-poohed by critics, who declared that Lord Strafford did the same.

Dr. Doyle knew enough of Mr. Stanley to feel convinced that any views communicated to him would not fall on barren soil. The Earl of Derby kindly placed at our disposal the following letters of Dr. Doyle:—¹

“CARLOW, 12th January 1831.

“SIR,—As the public are assured, not only by the opinions lately expressed in Parliament by the head of the Irish Government, but also by the principles of economy and impartial justice on which the present Administration is founded, that the Parliamentary aid to education in this country will be henceforth applied providently and without religious distinction, I take the liberty of informing you of the extent to which such aid would be required in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. I do so at this time, when it is probable the attention of Government is directed to the Irish estimates of the current year, that knowing accurately the circumstances of even one section of this country with reference to education, you may be assisted thereby in forming a judgment of the wants of the entire. If in thus presuming to inform you I should appear officious, impute my error or fault to the only motive which urges me—a sincere desire to aid his

¹ The late Lord Derby, in a courteous letter, dated Knowsley, 1st November 1857, declared that he took “a deep interest in the subjects which were so powerfully treated of by Bishop Doyle under the signature of J. K. L.,” and subsequently he wrote:—

“SIR,—In 1857, and again some months ago, you applied to me on the subject of a letter received by me, as Irish Secretary, from Bishop Doyle, on which I was not able then to lay my hand. In looking over some old correspondence I have since found the letter referred to, of the 12th of January 1831, together with another of a few days later, which explains the Bishop's views in still greater detail. I have had copies made of these letters, and have much pleasure in placing them at your disposal. The passages underscored are not so in the original, and the underscoring should be erased, as having been introduced by mistake in copying.—I am, &c.,
DERBY.”

The passages were underscored by Mr. Stanley's pencil, and show that the points made some impression on him.—W. J. F.

Excellency's Government in its purpose of promoting education in Ireland.

"The application hitherto of the public money by the Kildare Place Society, and the other various societies professing to promote education, has caused the erection in these dioceses of a great number of schoolhouses. These houses are generally of an excellent description, well furnished, and amply provided with school requisites. They are, however, in some instances shut up, mouldering to decay, and altogether useless; but they are generally frequented by a few Protestant children of the middling or lower classes—sometimes of the lowest, such as *foundlings*, and in a few instances by some very poor Catholics, whose parents make, in sending them, a sacrifice of their religious feelings to the fear infused by their landlords, or to the hope of obtaining, in return for such compliance, food or raiment for themselves or for their children. If in any case these schools are attended by a larger number of Catholics, it is because the rules of the Society with which they happen to be in connection are not enforced; or these children are *lent* obligingly to the master of the school (when the inspection day approaches), that he may appear to the inspector entitled to the donation usually granted to teachers in a sum proportionate to the number of the pupils respectively.

"I state these particulars not as an argument against any society; for if it were possible to convey to you a clear notion of the state of our poor children without even an allusion to those societies, I would do so; but this succinct view of their position is required to render the knowledge of our wants clear.

"The consequence of this state of things is that, morally speaking, all the Catholic children of these dioceses have been left, as to education, dependant on the narrow resources of the Catholics themselves. I have laboured as much as became me to supply the existing want. I have been well assisted by the Catholic clergy and people; but we have been more successful in correcting or removing a bad system of education than in the establishment of a good one. We have within these few years suppressed numberless hedge-schools, and united, often within the place of worship, the children theretofore dispersed. We have built or enlarged sixty-five schoolhouses of good size; we have provided only a portion of those with good teachers, for we had not wherewith to pay respectable masters. Nearly all our schools are in an unfinished state; few of them are well furnished or sufficiently supplied with requisites, and I might say that in none of them is there a provision sufficient for the maintenance of a respectable master or mistress.

"I find it impossible without aid to establish or keep them on a proper footing, or to satisfy my own mind that the education provided for the middle or lower classes of the people is such as it could and ought to be, whilst the pressure of the times disables us from making farther progress in its improvement.

"You will from the above easily infer that a small sum is sufficient to keep in a good state the now well-established system of education for Protestant children ; but even in these dioceses, where schoolhouses and education are at least on as good a footing as in any other part of Ireland, a large expenditure would be required to establish such a system for the Catholics, especially if some means be not devised of uniting the children of the different religious persuasions in the same schools. Could this be done, the schoolhouses now existing would, by a small expenditure, be made to accommodate all.

"The proportion of Catholics to Protestants in these dioceses is nearly eight to one. This knowledge may be useful to you, and with the same view I subjoin a list of the number of Catholic children in course of education in both dioceses in the spring of 1829. The numbers are extracted from returns made to me in that year by the parochial clergy, preparatory to my drawing up for a special purpose a statistical view of the churches committed to my care. It is deserving, however, of special notice, that in the returns referred to there is no regular proportion between the number of communicants and the number of children at school ; so that I frequently find a union of parishes consisting of, suppose, 5000 communicants not having in course of education a greater number of children than another parish, the number of whose communicants does not exceed 3000.

"This does not, as I have ascertained, result from any error in the returns made to me, but from the neglect or inability of some parishes to educate their youth, especially the poor ; and the general result which forces itself upon the mind is, that a very large number of children in this, I might say favoured section of Ireland, are left destitute of the great blessing of education even in its rudest shape. Permit me also to observe, that the total number of those at school in 1829, was less by upwards of 4000 than in 1827, at the same season of the year.

"The Lord-Lieutenant, should you be pleased to direct his attention to the subject, will easily judge of the extent of our wants from the number of children now at school, from the limited number of our good schools, from the imperfect state in which all that appertains to them now is, and from the large number of the most abject and unfriended portion of those who

look to his Excellency as to a father, who are left to grow up in a state of ignorance which cannot be contemplated without pain.

"I am glad to assure you that the state of this and the neighbouring counties need not excite alarm in the mind of his Excellency. The existing excitement is not of a seditious or treasonable nature; it is the growth of severe want pressing on the population; it is taking, and will take, a peaceable direction, unless the poison of religious discord be infused into the minds of the peasantry. To avoid this I would humbly suggest that until all other force was found insufficient (and I do not apprehend such a case does or will exist) one portion of the people—and that a religious portion—might not be employed to awe the other; and above all, that magistrates, known for years past as religious and political partisans, should not be employed to command any armed force.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

Dr. Doyle subjoined a list of the number of Catholic children then in course of education in each parish of his diocese. These gave a total of 27,268 children at school.

The Bishop's sensible condemnation of the yeomanry force happily resulted, not long after, in the dissolution of that canker-ing remnant of the woes and heart-burnings of 1798. In 1831 the strength of the yeomanry amounted to nearly 20,000 men, Ulster contained 13,440 yeomen; Leinster, 3513; Munster, 1507; and Connaught, 1393. No armed force could possibly be more injudiciously distributed. It had long been boasted that Ulster was the very focus and stronghold of loyalty; and Dr. Doyle often smiled at the inconsistency of stuffing a province so disposed with two-thirds of the yeomanry force of the entire kingdom. Fermanagh was, of all other counties, the one most disturbed by faction; it possessed a yeomanry force of 2089; while the entire of Munster or Connaught hardly contained half that number. The statesmen of that day must have been short-sighted not to see that each county seemed to enjoy the blessings of peace in proportion as it was relieved from the perils and goadings of an Orange yeomanry, the expense of supporting which had been too long saddled upon the nation.

“CARLOW, 17th January 1831.

“SIR,—The kindness with which you received my former communication, and the wish you intimate that I should suggest to you such thoughts on the subject of education as might occur to me, induce me to trouble you with this letter. I have so often

on public occasions, as well as in private, expressed my anxious wish to see the children of the same country, of whatever religious persuasion, united at school, because there, and perhaps only there, the seeds of mutual confidence and affection can be sown in the hearts of the great mass of the people, that I need not now make any profession or avowal on that subject ; but I may be permitted to express the pleasure afforded me by knowing from your letter that a like desire animates those whose good-will, unlike to mine, is united with the power of carrying into effect views not more just than useful to this country. I have, indeed, in one respect been somewhat unfortunate, for I have not up to this moment been able to ascertain what the precise difficulty is which impedes Government in establishing here a system of education based on religious instruction, so regulated that each religious description of children might receive the latter at such time and place, and in such form or manner, as their pastors respectively would prescribe or approve of. Preconceived notions, pride, a spirit of proselytism, self-interest, or passion, may raise obstacles to such a system ; but a powerful Government, acting justly and impartially before an intelligent public, and in such a country as Ireland, whose inhabitants are proverbially attached to equal and impartial justice, would scarcely find it difficult to surmount such obstacles. To please all is impossible ; but to satisfy all who desire to be satisfied, and whose opinion is valuable, appears to me in this matter to be quite easy. I may be in error, but I have not been able to think otherwise.

“ Mr. S. Wren’s report of May 1828 sets forth the principles on which education in Ireland might be honestly, and, for the state as well as for the people, profitably conducted. Education for all without distinction, religion to be left not only free but untouched, except by the pastors of the children. A responsible commission composed of men above all suspicion, and to whom the different religionists could look with confidence—this is a basis on which the whole system would rest. The Commissioners directed by Government, and acting under the control of Parliament, could, and I think ought, to be left to draw up their own rules and regulations. They should be able to extend aid to existing schools as well as to those to be built, without the condition of the titles of such schools being vested in themselves. They need not be limited to five or ten pounds in the matter of salary ; and the time, and place, and mode of giving both literary and religious instruction might, with great propriety, be left to be concerted between them and the patrons or pastors interested for the several schools respectively. I am not surprised you do not

despair of devising a system such as your mind approves. I am confident you will do so with ease to yourself and satisfaction to the country. What I could wish most earnestly is, that whilst engaged in providing what is of the first necessity, a good elementary mode of instruction, you might at the same time contemplate the establishment, at some period not remote, of a better order of education—without which a great deficiency will continue to exist in the political administration of Ireland.

"In the troubled times which have lately passed over this country, I wrote and had printed, but not published, the little brochure which I take the liberty of sending herewith. Should you honour it with a cursory view, you will be pleased to refer it to the time when it was written, since when the situation of this country, and the opinions, circumstances, and almost the characters of many individuals have undergone a considerable change. This brochure treats of a national institute for the diffusion of science among the middle classes of society.—I have, &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

This communication was acknowledged by Mr. Stanley, with a warm expression of thanks “for the suggestions contained in it,” and a wish to see Dr. Doyle in Dublin—a decided compliment coming from such a man. Sheil says that the Chief Secretary for Ireland is always on his arrival surrounded by men, each of whom has his peculiar specific for the evils of Ireland—but Mr. Stanley, instead of listening with the “sad civility” which would become the reception of such hints, “invariably intimated his utter disregard of the advice, and his very slender estimate of the adviser.” No further correspondence seems to have passed between the Bishop and Chief Secretary. When Mr. Stanley’s full policy became developed, Dr. Doyle was rather disappointed with it. In March 1832 he addressed a severe public letter to the Chief Secretary. He told Mr. Stanley that he had trodden in the footsteps of those statesmen who had miscalculated almost every element of honour in Ireland, and were led by their own errors into a tortuous, inconvenient, perplexing, and unsuccessful course of policy. “With the best intentions towards this country,” he concluded, “and vested with power at a period not unpropitious, you have effected but little for her settlement or future peace; nor am I one of those who rejoice at your failure; on the contrary, I lament it, for I hoped anxiously you might succeed.” More of this letter when the proper time comes.

[It was a spiritual luxury to withdraw his bloodshot eye from peering into the political horizon, and commune by letter with the

guileless spirits committed to his care. With Sister Mary Joseph, Superioress of Mountrath, he had a lengthened correspondence, which has been placed in our hands to aid in enriching this edition :—

“MY DEAR CHILD,—I am always very happy to hear from you, and particularly so when your letters make me acquainted with the continued mercies of God towards you. No doubt He has been always very merciful to you, for He ‘tried you a little only to perfect you,’ and almost before your time He has delivered you from that light and short tribulation, which is the preparation for that immense weight of glory awaiting the elect.

“But, my dear child, sweet things are easily corrupted, and they corrupt and vitiate the palate but too often. I could not describe how intense your gratitude should be ; how you ought to be lost and absorbed and dissolved in the love of God, how the application of your spirit should be unceasing ; but I cannot express what I would wish to convey ; the Lord will teach you if you listen to Him, when His love burns away the coating of the soul and admits it into His presence almost without a veil to hide Him. However, do not forget the cross, and when you are in peace be prepared for a conflict, as I do not see that you are entitled to a very long repose ; but in that, *too*, be indifferent, totally abandoned to the good-will of your Father who is in heaven.

“I am destined to a longer struggle with all my enemies ; indeed, I do not expect nor almost wish to be freed from them, for it is not fit for such as I to wish to be freed from ills, until the justice of the Lord, long and greatly provoked, is somewhat satisfied. I will endeavour to be resigned, and when God is pleased He will dispose of me by accident, or otherwise, no matter how. It gives me the most sincere satisfaction to have heard of the zeal and piety of Mr. Kelly, and have no doubt of their having produced much good amongst the faithful. I sent him to Mountrath only for a short time, and am about to remove him to a place where his exertions are much more wanted, and where, I have no doubt, he will be rejoiced to labour, as the faithful servant is always pleased to discharge the task allotted to him ; and as I am confident he will be happy to receive a message from me through you, please to tell him that he will be occupied in another place on Saturday the 10th February instant, and to make his collection at the chapel he attends up to that time.

“I have to add for your consolation, that I will send to Mount-rath in his place a gentleman whom I much esteem,—I had nearly said, of all the priests I know ; one who has been blameless, I

believe, before God and men ; and who, amongst his other good qualities, will be well adapted to assist your community in their efforts to attain the end of their desires."

(Dr. Doyle alludes to the late Rev. Andrew Healy, afterwards parish priest, Mountmellick.)

"I don't think Miss Brown is so dangerously ill as you apprehend. You may tranquillise your mind, and commend to God the soul of her who has been so zealous and so efficient a friend to your community, and who may continue so for years to come.

"I approve of the confessor appointed for your Sisters by the Very Rev. Mr. O'Connor ; you can have recourse to him as you would to me, but take care not to lose the confidence of those near you. I am very happy to find you and the Sisters so well in every respect. My dear child, I have not time at present to say anything with regard to the manner you should spend the Lent, except to desire that you observe your rule with great exactness. Make the sufferings of our Lord the principal subject of your meditations ; seek rather to live now in a state of abandonment than joy, and the Divine Spirit will teach you what remains. I do not know when I can see you, but my mind is often present with you. I commend myself very earnestly to your prayers, not myself only, but the clergy and people of this diocese."

"DEAR SISTER,—It affords me great pleasure to know that you enjoy so much peace, bestowed by Him 'from whom every good gift descends.' It is likely that your good Sister Bridget may shortly enjoy that repose which her patience deserves. I shall join with you in offering up my prayers to Heaven for her ; and that nothing may be wanted to render her sacrifice perfect, the Rev. Mr. O'Connor, or, in his absence, her confessor, is hereby commissioned to receive her vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to me and my successors, according to the form which you have annexed to your rule (changing what is necessary); and if you have no such form, in the manner the priest may prescribe. She and any of the Sisters whilst in danger of death should, if they could safely, receive the communion as often as they wish, provided they could do so fasting ; but if not, they can receive every eight days though not fasting, whilst the danger of death continues. If you have not hitherto selected a place of interment for the Sisters, let them be buried in that angle of the garden which is most remote from your house, and also from the chapel yard ; and when I am with you, we shall mark out a portion of that ground to be enclosed for a cemetery ; but if other Sisters be interred in a different place, I don't wish to have it altered unless

it be entirely inconvenient. I would much rather that the Sisters, whilst in danger of death, should not be distracted by the sight of their friends ; but if the friends should consider their exclusion a great privation, admit a few of the nearest relations occasionally, and for a short time only.

“ In the case you mention relative to a surgical operation, the Sister would not be obliged to undergo it, though the loss of life were the consequence.

“ When any Sister dies, the corpse, after a decent interval (during which time none except a nurse-tender and the Sisters should be admitted to where it is laid), ought to be removed to the chapel, and after remaining there not more than one day and one night, after the mass and office in the morning it is to be laid in the grave. I believe I have now replied to all your inquiries.”

From Tullow on Corpus Christi Day the Bishop writes :—

“ I received your letter here, where I came to assist at the procession, and as usual am so much hurried that I cannot write you a long reply.

“ It is not enough that the Sisters of your community should make their vows for life, but each of them must be approved by such of the discreets as I will select in order that they be permitted to do so. I do not wish you should admit to your school any illegitimate children, or the child of any person of bad repute ; and though I feel the severity of visiting on the child the iniquity of the father, yet it is necessary in the present instance, in order to preserve the character of your school, and may operate to the correction of the parents. There might perhaps be a place and time set apart, once or oftener in the week, to give religious instruction to such as, not through any fault of their own, are excluded. The priest who officiates or presides with you on extraordinary occasions, Miss B——, or any other very particular friend of great respectability, and who sees you but seldom, might be invited to breakfast ; but I would much rather they did not take it with the community, but alone, and let two or even more of the Sisters be present.

“ The indulgence rendered necessary by the state of your health should be continued, for more advantage will result from your being able to perform most of the duties of your rule than from your bodily sufferings. If you were not Superior, I should indulge you less perhaps ; but, my dear child, 'tis not the suffering of the body which purifies the soul so much as the mortification of the will, of the passions, and propensities of the heart. Do all you can to give good example, and though you are obliged to

use indulgence, let the rule *not be relaxed* with regard to the community whilst it is intrusted to your superintendence. May God confirm you in every good work !”

This correspondence, after a short interval, was cordially renewed.

“DEAR SISTER,—I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter informing me that you and your family enjoy good health ; so the Lent has committed no ravages amongst you ! I fear you conceal from me all that is painful or distressing to you. Your anxiety about my late illness should be grateful to me, for the sympathy of friends is very consoling, especially when it is the cause of their praying more and more fervently for one. Probably it is owing to the intercession of the Saints of these dioceses that I am so entirely restored to my former good health ; for, as they could remove mountains, they might with ease obtain the recovery of the health of a sick man from *Him* ‘who bringeth down to hell and leadeth back again.’ However it happened, my health is entirely restored ; and as we should praise God in all things, so *do* we thank Him for this instance of His mercy. You mistake in supposing labour to be the cause of my illness, for though generally occupied, I do but little, and have often to reproach myself with time ill spent. No ; a bad constitution is the true cause ; and when a little deranged, it totters to the base. No doubt I do not care how soon it may go to ruin ; but to *wish* in the manner you mention, would in me be very like presumption. Rather ‘in silence and in hope my strength should be ;’ these holy desires are better suited to those who, separated from the world and preserved from sin, live only to God.”

The good Superioress addressed him in some lines which greatly pleased him.

“November 19th.

“Honoured Lord,” she writes, “nothing now could possibly give me more satisfaction than your appointment of a Superior who would by word and example conduct this little docile flock in the path of salvation.

“They are indeed fervent and docile ; but I have long since felt the necessity of seeing it directed by one whose example would tend to strengthen and support that fervour ; this in the present I must acknowledge is not the case.”

“MY DEAR SISTER,—I have received your edifying letter, and would wish anxiously to relieve you from the burden which I have hitherto borne with so much patience and advantage,

I hope in God, to yourself, and your community. But I am obliged from circumstances to beg you will defer the preparation for the change until February next, when I hope to see you all, and find you in peace and mutual charity. May the blessing of Almighty God attend you."]

CHAPTER XIII.

The struggle continues—Lord Anglesey insulted—Popularity of O'Connell—His arrest—"Say the word, and let us at them"—More arrests—The indictment—Letters—Incompetency of Earl Grey—Alarming state of Ireland—The Ministry declare their preference for civil war to Repeal—Desperate excitement—Dr. Doyle's anxiety for the country—Great fall in bank stock—O'Connell's trial—He out-manceuvres the Government and escapes—Correspondence—"I thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast not made me a woman"—Correspondence with Lord Melbourne, Parnell, and Sheil—Perilous condition of the Government—O'Connell refrains from pressing the Repeal—His magic power—Bishop Kinsella's priests all but burst through his hands—Letters on Tithes and Reform—Dreadful massacres at Newtown-barry and Carrickshock—The yeomanry are paid off with scythes instead of tithes—Correspondence with the Government, Sir J. Sinclair, and Sir H. Parnell—Defeat of the Ministry.

THE conflict between the democratic party and the Viceregal Government continued to rage with exciting vigour. In the streets and in the theatre Lord Anglesey was hooted, while O'Connell became every day more worshipped. The Tribune and the Viceroy had both drawn the sword, and the latter declined to be the first to sheath it. On the 19th of January 1831 the popular excitement reached a white heat when the news became known that O'Connell had just been arrested in his own house. Mr. John O'Connell, in describing this arrest, designates as "bludgeon-men" the officers who apprehended his father. Mr. Farrell, an old peace-officer, accompanied the constables, and on the plea of an attack of gout expressed a desire that O'Connell should ride in a hackney-coach, and not compel the officers to walk. "I am very sorry for your gout," was the reply, "but since the Lord-Lieutenant has chosen to arrest me as if I were a common house-breaker, I think it right the whole city should know it—I must therefore walk." "The people were greatly excited," proceeds the son, "and by more than one tall fellow—particularly from among the butchers of Castle-market, several of whom had their cleavers under their coats—Mr. O'Connell was assailed with 'Ah, Liberator, say the word; only let us *at them*!' My father saw

plainly that the excitement was at a most dangerous height, and this determined him to consent to give bail—his first intention having been to let himself be sent to prison.” Masses of people assembled, and the doors of the police office had to be barricaded. Messrs. Barrett, Steele, Lawless, Dwyer, and Reynolds, ardent democrats, were also placed under arrest.

After a long discussion between O’Connell and the magistrates, he entered into securities for £2000. On the term opening, the Grand Jury found true bills against the traversers. Meanwhile O’Connell published a letter in *The Freeman*, which pronounced that the real object of the prosecution was to prevent his forthcoming statement in Parliament against tithes and the legislative union. This letter having made severe reflections on the illegality of the prosecution, the Attorney-General obtained an attachment against the paper for a breach of privilege and interference with the cause of justice. The indictment against the traversers contained thirty-one counts. The first fourteen charged them with having violated the Algerine Act, and the remaining seventeen with fraud and duplicity against the Government. Multitudes of people poured into Dublin, and both the Government and O’Connell were in hourly dread of an outbreak.

A Repeal meeting at Maryborough sought to connect Dr. Doyle with the then agitation by passing a vote of thanks to him. His reply was guarded. He observed, that although politics formed no part of his profession, yet, when the interest of those with whom Providence connected him required that he should advert to them, his chief object had been to inform those in power of the wants of the people, and to direct the people to seek by lawful means only that redress to which they were entitled. “It is grateful to me to have, by acting thus, deserved the approval of many, as such approval affords a sure pledge that in all their political pursuits they will not transgress any existing law, or be unmindful, in either their language or conduct, of the Divine maxim, ‘Fear God, honour the king;’ and not only the King, but ‘the rulers sent by him.’”

On the same day Sir H. Parnell writes :—

“LONDON, 21st January 1831.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I have received your note referring to your communications with Mr. O’Farrell and the High Sheriff of the Co. Kildare. I have made such use of an extract from it as might and ought to have great influence on the Ministry; but I fear Lord Anglesey has made considerable progress in stopping Mr. O’Connell; and therefore it is clear that he is not competent,

as a statesman, to make such a selection, from the mass of contradictory statements which comes before him, of those facts which are sustained by good evidence, and which would lead him to draw just conclusions. But the arrest of Mr. O'Connell has, I fear, removed all hopes of anything like substantial conciliation being attempted by this Administration.

"Lord Darnley has showed me your later letters, and remains very firm and zealous in endeavouring to persuade Lords Grey and Holland to change their course.

"It is very provoking to see what an opportunity has been thrown away by Lord Grey of quieting Ireland, by starting in a proper way, and of carrying a number of good measures; and that there is now a prospect of Government again falling into the hands of the old Government. The state of Ireland will lead to continued debates about it in the Commons, and to the derangement of the various measures which are promised for reform and retrenchment."

The Conservative aristocracy and squirearchy of Ireland were not slow in availing themselves of the vantage-ground which the conduct of the emancipated Catholics afforded them. Great Protestant meetings were convened, and resolutions passed proposing a coalition with the Orange Society.

The same post which brought Sir H. Parnell's letter conveyed an important communication from a member of the Ministry, which led the Bishop to suggest to O'Connell the propriety of calming the public mind, and thus averting the calamities that seemed so imminent.

O'Connell, addressing Mr. T. O'Mara, writes:—"I do most anxiously wish to confer with Lords Meath and Cloncurry on the present awful position of public affairs, and the possibility of calming the public mind. I have had a communication with a person in the confidence of the Ministry in England, but whose name I cannot disclose, who states distinctly that all the Ministry desire is to postpone the Union question until those of Reform, abolition of corporate monopoly, and reformation of Church abuses are disposed of—thus leaving 'the Union' for the last. I think that this may be done by Lord Cloncurry and Lord Meath, in such a manner as to carry with them the public mind, preserving only just so much, or rather so little, of popular agitation as would *continue* the confidence of the people in the prospect of legitimate redress; such prospect being, in my mind, the only mode of preventing violence and outrage, and *probable* rebellion. I think that Lords Meath and Cloncurry are the only persons in Ireland who

can *certainly* save us all from scenes too horrible to be thought of, but which will be accelerated by shutting the eyes to their imminent and approaching danger. I would wish respectfully to offer my assistance to Lords Cloncurry and Meath ; they should have that assistance cordially and sincerely. I would either appear prominent or stay in the background, precisely as they wished. I would either agitate with them, or leave the entire and exclusive management of the necessary quantity of salutary agitation to them. I think I could give them much aid ; and I am most desirous of throwing into their hands the direction of all the influence which I may possess—whatever that be."

Two days later Mr. O'Mara writes :—"I never witnessed anything so turbulent and angry as the populace were in Dublin this day—not even in the height of '98."

It is to be regretted that the letter to which the following is a reply was not returned by the Premier, but its gist may be gathered from the acknowledgment :—

"LONDON, 9th February 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD,—On my return to London, I found your note of the 28th of January. The contents of it are highly important, and have been of use to me in my interviews with Ministers. The experiment of the statement has, I feel reason to say, been successful : it has produced conviction and alarm. I was invited to call on a leading member of the Cabinet on Sunday evening, and after an hour's conversation he asked me to dine with him on Tuesday, to meet another Minister, so that we should have an opportunity of talking over affairs without interruption. Our party took place yesterday, and led to a conversation of some hours' duration, in which I had an opportunity of urging all my views, and exposing several erroneous conceptions of what was the true state of the case. I have been confirmed in the opinion I have already expressed in a former letter, that the Government are as well disposed as possible to do everything they ought to do—but their fault is slowness. What ought to be done in a week, they have some half-digested notion of doing in six months ; but circumstances of different kinds are accumulating to excite more activity. I feel no doubt that if the people can be kept from open outrage, that all will end well. There must be some notion of looking to me to help them, by sending to me and speaking to me in the way Ministers do ; and some of their own suggestions have exceeded my expectations. H. PARNELL."

On the 8th of February, O'Gorman Mahon brought recent proceedings in Ireland before the House, and in warmly advocating

Repeal was repeatedly called to order by the Speaker. Lord Althorpe dwelt on the difficulty of maintaining a connection between two countries of which each possessed an independent Legislature, and vindicated the conduct of the Government in availing themselves of all the means at their command to frustrate the attempt at separation. Repeal of the Union meant the dismemberment of the Empire. No man held civil war in greater detestation than himself, but even that he should prefer to the dismemberment of the Empire. This declaration was received with loud applause. Sir Robert Peel and others warmly echoed the sentiment.

Dr. Doyle privately writes :—

“ It is not easy to foresee what the effect will be in this country of the reckless speech of O’Gorman Mahon, and of the position taken by Ministers : I fear the worst. No nation was ever awed into submission by words ; and Ireland in her present state ought not to be set at defiance. There is a bad spirit gaining ground among us ; and in place of its being checked by the proceedings in Parliament, I apprehend it will be strengthened. Even without new provocatives administered to us, it was impossible to judge whether, on the conviction of O’Connell, we were to have peace or a million of men in a state of insurrection. Providence may avert the evils impending over us ; but Lord Anglesey and Mr. O’Connell have placed us in a state of unexampled peril.

“ The views expressed in your statement are all sound. If acted upon when presented to Government by you, the country would have been successfully managed. At the present moment, I cannot see clearly how that may be done. The parties have proceeded too far to recede ; and whilst they proceed there is no guarantee that the peace shall be preserved. No one who is now discontented will be satisfied with what Ministers have offered to Ireland ; and of those who hoped in the Government, there are few who will go over to their side. The democratic party is becoming more and more bold ; and if not awed by the threat of the Ministers, which I think unlikely, will not be easily controlled either by law or force. The dispositions of the peasantry in Tipperary, and I believe generally in the south, as well as in the counties bordering on Dublin, are enraged against our rulers, and to a degree even beyond what I supposed the arrest of O’Connell would occasion. They talk openly in some places of marching on Dublin if O’Connell be imprisoned ; so that till the threat is disposed of, all speculation about what is to be done may be suspended. You may easily suppose what my anxiety is in the midst of such and so imminent danger, and how deeply I lament that your advice was not attended to whilst yet there was time.

Since I wrote to you, I heard from Dublin that my absence from the levee was felt by Lord Anglesey, and I was urged to go up to town and speak my sentiments to him ; but besides that I might be stoned if I were seen at the Castle, I had no reason to think that my opinion would be attended to. Had Lord Anglesey wished to see me, except for ceremony, it was easy for him to make such a wish known to me."

The funds indicated the feverish pulse of the country. Bank of Ireland stock declined immensely. On the 8th of January 1830 it was £255½; on the 22d of March 1831 it had fallen to £207.

Meanwhile O'Connell's trial approached ; but the expiration of the Algerine Act, under which he was indicted, also drew near. He completely baffled his prosecutors—first, by demurring, then by retracting the demurrer and pleading "not guilty," and afterwards withdrawing that plea for one of "guilty," provided that the Attorney-General would allow a writ of error to be tried before the traversers were called up for judgment. This understanding having been come to, O'Connell contrived to get the trial postponed until the last day of the January term. Sentence, therefore, could not be passed before next term, and until the writ of error had been argued. In the midst of these difficulties and ingenuities the Algerine Act expired, the 22d April 1831 ; and thus the Government was out-manœuvred by O'Connell.

The result of the conflict threw an immense increase of power into the hands of O'Connell, and the weakness of the Administration was not more evident than their alarm. But he hesitated to avail himself fully of the triumph he had achieved.

Some one has said that politics tend to file the soul out of a man. Dr. Doyle's anxiety for the country, as exhibited in his communications with statesmen, made a serious inroad in that paternal and often playful correspondence which he had so long maintained with the convert girl, Mariana. A letter to her at this period, of which the late Rev. Dr. Harold was the bearer, observes : "I calculated upon seeing you at this time, and apologising in person for my long silence, but events and circumstances which I could not control prevented me from leaving home. Mr. Harold will help to satisfy you of my regret at not seeing you, and of all the pleasure which a visit to you would have given to me. He will also tell you I am quite well in health, and enjoying those moral and political tumults which bring fear and trembling to all sober and well-disposed persons. I really have nothing more to tell you of myself, and am at this moment so deprived of all sentiment as to be unable to induce you either to laugh or cry—two

operations which you perform, as all things else, with a grace inimitable; thus proving that you possess in your own proper person those qualities which immortalised two sages of antiquity. Farewell, my dear friend; the world is in a state of what is called moral revolution, which is placing those who were uppermost lower down, and those who were depressed in a higher position. If it should penetrate your enclosure, I will doubtless find you a lady abbess when I visit you next; and truly, whether abbess or not abbess, I shall be delighted to see you."

Another short note, written in the same spirit, observes: "As to your expectation of my providing for you a person to conduct a retreat, it has not been in my power to procure one to conduct our own—and surely you don't expect we are to improve on the Gospel, and love your neighbours better than we love ourselves. Your mention of Kilkenny and Ranelagh made me smile, and inclined me to say with the Jews in their daily prayer, 'I thank thee, O Lord, that Thou hast not made me a woman.' The women pray, saying, 'I thank thee, &c., that Thou hast made me what I am.' Do you and your dear sisters imitate these good daughters of Abraham, and leave us to be corrected in the next world, for we are incorrigible in this.—Yet I remain truly and affectionately your faithful servant in Christ."

Mr. Spring Rice communicated to Lord Melbourne the remarkable letter which appears for the first time at p. 42 of this volume. He sent it, he said, "more as a curiosity than anything else, for, as to its reasoning, I do not by any means admit its applicability." Lord Melbourne rather surprised Mr. Rice by replying: "I agree with much of Doyle's letter, and I do believe the people are monstrously aggrieved by rent and tithe. He mentions C——. Now if one-half of what is told me of him be true, and it comes from many different quarters, if he had had forty thousand lives, there could have been no wonder if they had all been taken."

This letter gave Lord Melbourne a strong impression of Dr. Doyle's powers of mind. He thus introduced himself to the Catholic Bishop. Dr. Doyle in his public letter dated November 24, 1830, complained that the Subletting Act had not been amended. The Government now bore his wishes in mind.

[*Private.*]

"HOME OFFICE, 9th February.

"SIR,—Although I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with you, I am sure you will forgive me for addressing

you upon a subject which relates to the welfare of your country, and upon which you are capable of affording me useful and important information. You are probably informed that we are engaged upon a revival of the law commonly called the Subletting Act, and for this purpose I am very anxious to obtain some certain and actual knowledge with respect to the real extent and effect of its operation. The perusal of your evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last year, proves to me that no man is more intimately and practically acquainted with the state of Ireland than yourself. In that evidence I find, that 'this disposition (viz., to consolidate farms and eject the poor tenantry) was encouraged and aided by several legal enactments, among which I may specify Sir John Newport's Act, &c. ; next the Subletting Act, and afterwards the Act annexed to the late Relief Bill, which disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders ;' I apprehend that since the clamour raised by Mr. O'Connell against the Subletting Act, any man who for any cause is removed from his tenement in Ireland conceives himself to be so removed under the provisions of that Act of Parliament. What I wish to hear from you is, how many cases you actually know of your own knowledge in which tenants have been removed by their landlords by virtue and force of that law ; and whether you can communicate to me the form of the notices which have been served, and whether their validity has been disputed and brought to trial ; and before what courts and in what manner the questions have been decided ? I have myself made much inquiry to this effect, but I cannot obtain authentic information of any single case in which prosecutions in ejectment have taken place under that law. This difficulty will, I feel confident, excuse in your eyes the trouble which I give you by this application ; and I remain, with great respect, your faithful and obedient servant,

"MELBOURNE."

The reply to this letter is not within our reach, though we sought for it through Lord Brougham, one of the executors. Dr. Doyle responded fully, and Lord Melbourne again writes :—

"It appears to me that the effect which you ascribe to the Subletting Act is exactly that which the Legislature intended to produce. The object of the law was to prevent subletting for the future ; an object which, according to your statement, is effectually attained by it. The objection generally urged against the law, and which it is intended by the new law to obviate, is, that its provisions have a retrospective effect ; but with the working of the measure, as far as it is prospective, no interference is con-

templated. Will you allow me to trespass so much further upon your time and intelligence as to ask you whether you think the law in this point of view prejudicial or the contrary, and what is the nature and character of the enactment, in which you observe that 'a law going directly and not circuitously to prevent the subdivision of land is what this country wanted and still requires?'"

It is somewhat remarkable that, with so many eminent lawyers to consult, Lord Melbourne should pass them by and apply to a Catholic Prelate for information on a legal question. But Lord Melbourne clearly saw, that besides the peculiar advantages Dr. Doyle possessed of gathering accurate knowledge on the operation of local laws, the style both of his spoken evidence and written arguments was that of a great constitutional lawyer. His frequent references to legal maxims and precedents, and the strength and conciseness of his deductions and conclusions, demonstrated his legal acumen and knowledge.¹

While O'Connell's favourite motto was "Agitate, agitate, agitate," Dr. Doyle generally inculcated "Educate, educate, educate!" In February 1831 we find him intrusting to the care of Sir H. Parnell a petition from Carlow on behalf of the free schools, in which 600 children were educated :—"The unassisted support of those establishments," he writes, "presses on the inhabitants; hence they feel strongly and express themselves freely regarding the education grant. It was mentioned to me from London before the recess, that Government would place at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant at least £8000 of the money hitherto voted to the Kildare Place Society, to be employed in establishing or aiding schools; but to be given only upon the joint requisition of Catholics and Protestants willing to act on the principles laid down in Mr. Spring Rice's report of 1828. I notice this because, if entertained, one remark from you will expose the futility if not folly of such a scheme; for who in his senses will expect that the Protestants, who now enjoy the entire education fund, and to whom the greater part is to be continued, will unite with the Catholics to subvert a system most favourable to themselves, and

¹ During Dr. Doyle's earlier visits to Dublin, whenever he had an hour of leisure, he invariably spent it beneath the galleries of the Four Courts, watching with intensity those great forensic combats in which Gould, Wallace, O'Connell, Joy, or Blackburne, figured, and listening to the lucid legal expositions of Plunkett or the silver tones of Bushe. But it was often his unpleasant lot to witness the judicial bench degrade itself, and blind bigotry cast aside disguise. Dr. Doyle, in his letter on the character of the laws and the administration of justice, written during 1824, says: "I have sometimes sat for hours in courts of justice, both in Dublin and in the country. I have heard witnesses examined, lawyers declaiming, judges charging, juries bringing in verdicts; and I have observed, in many cases, the influence of the penal code working throughout everything I heard or saw. But what seemed to me most lamentable was, the unconsciousness of this influence, which sometimes seemed to prevail, whilst at others it escaped, as it were accidentally, or was unblushingly avowed and acted upon." The reader is also referred to vol. i. p. 136, and vol. ii. p. 126, *ante*.

for the purpose of introducing one which would be the reverse? There is no use in expecting peace in this country if Government do not abandon party and sectarian views. We have in these dioceses nearly 30,000 Catholic children in course of education; schoolhouses unfinished, unfurnished; school requisites and competent teachers wanted—and yet no aid!”

A correspondence ensued, in which the matters alluded to were more fully discussed. “I do not understand,” he writes on 8th March 1831, “where the difficulty lies in the case of Kildare Street. If the grant be withheld from them and vested in commissioners, there is probably not a single school in connection with that society which will not gladly seek and receive aid from such commissioners; so that there is no necessity of reducing by degrees the grant to Kildare Place, as was done in the case of the charter schools, for these latter were old establishments, filled with children who could not be handed over to a new department. The schools in connection with Kildare Place, however, are mere day-schools dispersed through the country, and receiving an irregular sort of aid, which may as conveniently be administered to them by one set of men as by another.”

The biographer of Sheil tells us that the long day-dream of his youth and manhood was a seat in Parliament. In 1830 he contested Louth with a Tory and Liberal. The effect of the division in the popular ranks was the defeat of both Whig candidates. In Meath he met another rebuff; “and his child-like delight may therefore be conceived when a communication was made to him early in the year, that Lord Anglesey was willing that he should be returned for Milborne Port, a borough in Dorsetshire, one of the seats for which belonged to the Marquis.”

As Sheil's letters are scarce, we give the following in full. His biographer, Mr. Torrens, states that “writing upon ordinary subjects was irksome to him, and hence the comparative scarcity and the almost invariable brevity of his epistles. But there were few, even of his intimates, to whom he wrote at any length on the topics that most interested him.”

“LONDON, ATHENÆUM CLUB, 25th February 1831.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I expect to be in Parliament before a week will elapse. I do not go in free, but I believe that I shall have liberty enough to do good. I intend to devote particular attention to the subject of education. The Government mean, as far as I can collect, to appoint commissioners, and give them nearly £9000 for the Catholics. This is to be distinct from the

Kildare Street Society fund, which is to be *gradually* extinguished. I shall use every exertion to have some of the Catholic Bishops named commissioners.

"May I beg of your Lordship to give me your views respecting education, and to refer me to such documents as you conceive I may successfully employ. Your opinions respecting Poor Laws I of course know through your evidence, but you could serve me much, and perhaps render some benefit to the public, by furnishing me with materials in a regular form. I know that your Lordship will excuse this trouble on account of your regard for me, besides the service which you may render to the country, whose interest you have so much at heart. Pray direct under cover to E. Geoffrey Stanley, Esq., M.P., Irish Office, London.

"The present Government are, I think, in a perilous condition. Their financial measures have failed, and exasperated the monied interest. There is a reaction respecting Reform. I very much doubt that they will succeed in carrying the question through the Commons. A dissolution seems to be a formidable expedient. It would infuse a large share of republicanism into the House. The King may startle at this result, and put in Sir Robert Peel. These are the observations made in the political coteries. I do not think that the Whigs will *venture* to touch the Church; they have every disposition, but they are holding fast to their places, instead of spreading out their hands to pull down what might bury them in its ruins.—Yours most faithfully,

"RICHARD SHEIL."

It was not the fault of the Lord-Lieutenant that the Government should have shrunk from effecting a radical reform in the Irish Church establishment. Lord Anglesey writes, 14th March 1832: "There is not a syllable in your letter in which I do not concur, nor a sentiment expressed, nor a suggestion made, that I have not urged over and over again upon Ministers; and not merely to Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley, but to other members, begging of them to aid me in carrying forward the *whole* tithe and Church and bishops' land-measure."

Notwithstanding his recent triumph, O'Connell refrained from pressing the Repeal agitation. George Ensor wrote a public letter, reproaching him with having deserted the Repeal cause; but his biographer asserts that in the course he pursued he acted with "prudence, good sense, and foresight." "The first intimation of this policy on the part of O'Connell," adds his biographer, Mr. Fagan, "was manifested in his address to the electors of the Queen's County in favour of Sir H. Parnell. It was altogether

a Reform address : Repeal was not even alluded to. Again, in his letter to the people of Ireland after the dissolution, Repeal was not mentioned : it was all Reform."

This change of policy proved, on the whole, satisfactory to Dr. Doyle. "I am exceedingly glad" (8th of March 1831) "that O'Connell is found manageable. I supposed, if there were a chance of bringing him to think rightly, it would be in London, when separated from sycophants and the mob. Everything should, however, be done to gain him; for from what occurred lately at Kilkenny, and what I noticed to you in my last, I am convinced that he has the power of disturbing the peace and totally deranging the affairs of this country. Lord Duncannon would, without doubt, have lost his election if the priests had not been withheld from opposing him; and I think, from what I heard and saw in Kilkenny, where I spent the last week with Dr. Kinsella, that at the next election they would there, and probably elsewhere, burst through the hands of the Bishop."

O'Connell, in a public letter dated 5th of April 1831, explains the cause of his hostility to Lord Duncannon. "Lord Duncannon is certainly an excellent man—but he joined the Ministry before they published their comprehensive and most patriotic plan of reform. I opposed Lord Duncannon because I did not believe that a Ministry which confided the affairs of Ireland to Lord Melbourne, Lord Anglesey, and Mr. Stanley capable of bringing forward any other than a delusive plan of reform. That Ministry has nobly vindicated itself from these my suspicions."

Dr. Doyle, in the same letter to Sir H. Parnell quoted above, says: "The plan of Reform is well received in Ireland, except by the steady opponents of all improvement; even here and in Kilkenny the corporations can give it no opposition. They were prepared for some encroachment on their monopoly. For my part, I did not anticipate so radical a measure."

The Tithe Composition Act, he said, "should be made compulsory, and some means found of lightening the pressure of it. There is a very extensive combination against the payment of either tithes or a composition for tithes existing at the present moment. Government has assembled in the County Kilkenny a large police force to awe the people into the payment of them. This proceeding will not be successful. The clergy should be instructed to make abatements and keep things quiet; but there is a military spirit in the Government, which creates the necessity for employing force."

This "military spirit" found a vent, three months later, in the slaughter of eighteen persons who had assembled at Newton-

barry with a view to resist the hated impost. The people, while endeavouring to rescue some cattle which had been impounded by the tithe proctor, came in fatal collision with the yeomanry; and before the year terminated a similar conflict took place in an adjacent county, not less calamitous in results. The foresight evinced by Dr. Doyle in his appeal to Mr. Stanley will be in the recollection of the reader. At Carrickshock, during the same year, the people slaked their vengeance in a terrible triumph. A number of writs against defaulters were issued by the Court of Exchequer, and intrusted to the care of process-servers, who, guarded by a strong force, proceeded on their mission with secrecy and despatch. Bonfires along the surrounding hills, however, and shrill whistles through the dell, soon convinced them that the people were not unprepared for hostile visitors. But the yeomanry pushed boldly on: their bayonets were sharp, their ball-cartridge inexhaustible, their hearts dauntless. Suddenly an immense mass of peasantry, armed with scythes and pitch-forks, poured down upon them—a terrible struggle ensued, and in a few moments eighteen police, including the commanding-officer, lay dead. The remainder fled, marking the course of their retreat by their blood just as, through the intricacies of English law, the decadence of Ireland had long been traced. In the *mêlée*, Captain Leyne, a Waterloo veteran, narrowly escaped. A coroner's jury pronounced "Wilful murder." Large Government rewards were offered, but failed to produce a single conviction.

All this while Lord Anglesey was devising a number of measures calculated to serve the country, and pressing them on the attention of Ministers. Writing to Lord Cloncurry, 15th July 1831, he says: "Can you dine with me to-day? I have much to talk to you about. Be prepared for education, poor laws, employment, Newtownbarry, Castlepollard, Orangemen, yeomanry, and the d——I else besides." Dr. Doyle was given to understand that many valuable measures would be carried if O'Connell ceased to embarrass the Government by agitating "the Repeal." Lord Anglesey told him that "it was the continued excitement and unceasing agitation which pervaded the country that prevented the influx of English capital since the passing of the Relief Bill, and the promotion of Irish manufactures which would be the natural consequence." Under some of these impressions he addresses Sir John Sinclair.

"CARLOW, 8th March 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I do hope earnestly that the regard with which you have honoured me may not be diminished by any cause. The occasional interruptions of our correspondence cannot affect

it ; still less can they alter, in the slightest degree, the exceeding respect with which your kindness to myself—but still more your unwearied efforts to serve this country—have inspired me.

“ I am very much of your opinion on the Union question as to the difficulty or impracticability of repealing it. Good measures by Government will quiet the minds of the people ; but if longer neglected or ill-treated, they could easily be led, in despite of me and of such as me, to adopt any plans, however absurd, which would hold out to them a hope of relief.”

The following letter from Sir H. Parnell strengthened Dr. Doyle's hopes in the good intentions of Ministers :—

“ 89 JERMYN STREET, 17th March 1831.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I have had a long conversation with Lord Brougham about education, &c. Although he and some other Ministers display a readiness to agree to do all that is required, the measures which are brought forward show the old character of making the least possible amount of concession ; but an end, I now have reason to think, will be put to all this, for there seems to me to be no doubt that a great change will soon be made in the present Cabinet, so as to bring the advice and influence of Lord Brougham into operation. The support of Government to Sir John Newport's motion about ‘ first fruits ’ will, I think, be followed by some effectual reforms. An offer was made me last week of the office of Secretary at War which I declined ; principally on account of my disapprobation of the new measures of finance.”

Before this letter reached Dr. Doyle, the Ministry were beaten on the timber duties by a majority of forty-six. A dissolution loomed.

“ CARLOW, 24th March 1831.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad you declined taking the office vacant by the retirement of Mr. Wynne, because I think some place to which more power is attached must await you, if the present Administration or the chief portion of it continue in office ; and besides this reason, there are persons among your constituents who might be so foolish and perverse as to make a show of contesting your election, if your seat were vacated. The late majority against Ministers has excited here considerable alarm, for no one is insensible to the evil of a dissolution in the present state and temper of the country ; let us hope it may be avoided without an abandonment of the measure of Reform, which would be a still greater evil. I am of opinion that to mismanage the education

affair at this moment would be most injurious to Government, and increase exceedingly the embarrassment of their friends here ; it would irritate a great number of people, and never was repose more wanted.

"What I mentioned to you of tithes in my last has produced its ordinary result. On yesterday a most brutal murder was committed near Gowran. The victim was employed, I heard, levying distress for tithes. There is a radical error in the mode of conducting the affairs of this country.

"I lament exceedingly the death of the estimable Lord Darnley ; I fear the precarious state of public affairs, especially in Ireland, preyed on his mind and impaired his constitution. The country has sustained a great loss by his removal to, I hope, a better world ; nor can I cease at any time to recollect the many marks of his Lordship's confidence and regard with which he has honoured me since 1825, when I was so fortunate as to be made acquainted with him. May I beg you will have the kindness to present my best respects to the present Earl, and to assure him how sincerely I condole with his Lordship.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

On fuller reflection, Sir H. Parnell decided upon accepting the Secretaryship at War, which being a financial rather than a strictly military office, seemed specially suited to his taste and capacity. "In accepting office," he wrote, "it is my intention not to deviate in any manner from that line of conduct which has been approved of by you, but to use all the influence which the holding of office will give me in promoting measures for the public good."

CHAPTER XIV.

Dr. Doyle's new work on Poor Laws and Church property—The orphan daughter deliberates whether she shall surrender her life to hunger or her virtue to sale—Telling retorts and stubborn facts—Curious picture of pecculation—Church property originally held in trust for the poor—Dr. Doyle's description of himself—His scheme of recovering the Church property before a Court of Equity—Hostility of the Irish people to tithes noticed by Giraldus Cambrensis—Remarkable letter from O'Connell avowing that Dr. Doyle had convinced him—Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury—Dr. Doyle flings his energies into the struggle for Reform—He denounces the oligarchy—Correspondence with the Viceroy—Despair of the anti-Reformers—Pastoral to the freeholders.

ANXIOUS to give the Government every assistance in carrying the "satisfactory" measures noticed by Sir H. Parnell, Dr.

Doyle published in March 1831 a letter addressed to Mr. Spring Rice "on a legal provision for the Irish poor, and on the origin, nature, and destination of Church property." The work was of larger dimensions than its unambitious title of "letter" would seem to indicate. It occupies 133 large octavo pages, and includes two distinct essays, the first on Poor Laws, the second on tithes. Among the reasons which induced Dr. Doyle to address his work to Mr. Spring Rice was the unwearied attention with which that able statesman had investigated the state of Ireland; the extensive knowledge which he had acquired of that state; his ability and desire to improve her condition; but above all, the patience with which he had "at all times listened to my crude opinions, even when those opinions differed very widely from your own."

The question of making a legal provision for the Irish poor had remained as yet undecided. The committee of inquiry had abstained from any specific recommendation to the Commons, and rested satisfied with referring to the evidence as reported. Dr. Doyle felt that it was essentially desirable, under the circumstances, to lay before the public a lucid summary of the arguments contained in that evidence. He enumerated with great candour the various points employed by the opponents of a poor-rate, and unfolded in reply to them a wonderful array of conclusive reasoning. It transpired, among other startling facts, that the orphan girl—well born and educated, beautiful and young—often deliberated whether she should surrender her life to hunger or her virtue to sale; and that the labouring classes subsisted on a species of food capable only of supporting animal existence in the lowest state.

Dr. Doyle made no assertions of the truth of which he had not personal cognisance—thus, at page 37, he writes: "How often have I seen the wife or daughter sit hungry by the father's side, whilst he, resting from his labour, partook in sorrow of the scanty meal; and how numberless are the instances where the parent abstains altogether from food that his children may not die of want." The Bishop impressingly laid down the great moral principle that not to feed the hungry man in the day of his utmost need was to imbrue our hands in his innocent blood!

The work contained telling retorts as well as stubborn facts. A favourite objection to the Poor Law was that "a provision would tend to narrow the exercise of charity and to weaken the ties of neighbourly kindness." Dr. Doyle wished that it were in the power of Parliament to obtain a return of the sums expended in works of charity by those who, with much apparent godliness of manner, brought forward this objection. He had often heard

and read of discussions on the subject, but he never heard this objection proceed from any person eminent for disinterestedness or noted for kindness or compassion to the poor. There was a class of cold politicians who loved to refer the dying pauper to that manna which public improvement might eventually rain down. They were men, Dr. Doyle said, who calculated human labour and human life as they would bales of cotton and quarters of wheat; who look upon the labouring classes as articles of merchandise or machines for creating wealth; and who would calculate on the extinction by hunger of a surplus population as the housewife calculates the lives of bees to be smothered for their honey when their work is done, preserving only so many stocks as will be necessary to yield to her a similar increase in the coming year.

Another objection to a Poor Law was, that, in the event of a provision for the poor being legally established, there could not be found in the several districts of Ireland persons fit and able to carry into effect the provisions of such law. In replying to this prediction he gave his opponents the benefit of a very curious picture of the administration of public money in Ireland: "This objection is the most specious of any we have met with. It deserves attention; it deserves to be temperately discussed. There can be no doubt that, till within these very few years, every administration of public money or business in Ireland was most corrupt. There was no faith kept with God or man by those to whom the public interests, or any portion of them, happened to be committed. From the highest tribunals to the lowest collector of excise, bribery, extortion, perjury prevailed. In all the public offices peculation and plunder were reduced to system—openly avowed and acted upon. The commissioners at the different boards were as regularly feed by those who had business to transact with them as they were paid by Government. But the Government itself was the great debauchee! There was no job too gross, no proceeding so licentious, no abuse of power or patronage so glaring to which its active agency or tacit sanction was not extended. The Church was in perfect keeping with the State—the public offices were dens of thieves—the courts of justice with their purlious were sinks of corruption—and the grand juries throughout the country invited, by their practice and example, the suitors or claimants at every court of assize in Ireland to disregard both truth and justice, to commit perjury, and to plunder or oppress their neighbour. There is no exaggeration, no high colouring in this statement. The truth of every portion of it is either already recorded in evidence reported to Parliament,

or could be proved by ten thousand living witnesses. No wonder that men doubt whether money could be levied equitably and expended honestly and impartially, even for the benefit of the poor. Let it however be considered, and in the first place, that, until within a few years past, an exceedingly small fraction of the people of this country held exclusive possession of the administration of public business in all its diversity and ramifications. That fraction of the people lived by their offices, pensions, sinecures, or employments; they alone constituted society in Ireland; they were all sharers alike in oppression, and each took his portion of the spoil produced by it. They were not ashamed of each other—for no man blushes at his own theft in a company of thieves. There was no Government to exercise control. The business of Government was to divide among them their ill-gotten store. There was no court to which they could be cited, for they themselves filled the bench and composed the juries: there was no tribunal created by public opinion to which virtue could appeal from oppression, or before which profligacy might be arraigned and convicted. No! for there was no press but that worked by the hireling of corruption; or if another press only breathed on gilded or ermined crime, it was subdued, prosecuted, persecuted, and extinguished. But as the people of this nation multiplied, they waxed strong; they caught a glimpse of knowledge, as Moses saw the Deity, whilst it passed by; and the multitude, warmed and invigorated by it, overthrew and broke down that fortress of corruption which had held them so long enslaved. This popular might, operating upon Parliament, has bid a new order of things to arise in Ireland. The Government is already more than half emancipated from the slavery of corruption; the courts of justice are being gradually purified; the boards and public offices are everywhere cleared or clearing out; speculation is now obliged to work in secret. Public monies are now accounted for; jobs, to pass current, must be highly varnished, and a decree, though not yet published, has gone forth against the evil deeds of grand juries. Nay, it is even allowed to tell the world that the Irish Church Establishment must yield to common sense and public interest, and that it is too revolting to allot the tenth of the lands and produce of the most fertile, but poorest, nation in Europe to a clergy whose followers do not amount to even a tithe of the people. There is, finally, a tribunal already established by public opinion in Ireland, and though it may not yet be formally recognised as the *custos morum* or *vindex injuriarum* of the country, it undoubtedly already exercises the powers and privilege of a supreme court."

Dr. Doyle proceeded to say, that every candid man would admit that though, at a period not remote, no public fund was or could be well managed in Ireland, it did not follow that such fund might not in future be well administered. An unshackled press and a Parliamentary inquiry had succeeded in breaking up and subduing one of the strongest combinations ever existing in any country.

The system of Poor Laws which Dr. Doyle desired to see established was dissimilar to that in force in the sister country and since extended to Ireland. With eloquence and force he besought the Government to avert famine, to stop the current of disease, to arrest the bitter curse, the troubled commotion, the ill-suppressed sedition of those who were maddened with hunger and almost driven to despair. A Poor Law would take away no capital; it would not raise money to be poured into the Exchequer, or remitted to absentees, or expended in luxury. On the contrary, it would be employed in producing food and raiment and in feeding the industrious whilst it supported the poor. He called for a Poor Law which would gladden the heart of the widow, be a staff to the aged, and a resting-place to him who had no home—that would shelter the homeless, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the afflicted, and relieve the distressed. He demanded a Poor Law which would put an end to vagrancy, separate the impostor from the virtuous, compel the idler to work, and remove from the turbulent the food of sedition.

An influential opponent had asserted, that the poor possessed no just claim to a provision at the expense of the rich. The gifted Prelate declared that for the last ten years he had been frequently urged by his feelings to discuss in public the rights of the poor, but he had been withheld from doing so by a reasonable dread that if those rights were known to the mass of the people labouring under privations often insupportable, such knowledge might be misapplied, and that men taught to distinguish between moral and legal rights might be led to violate the latter, at any hazard, when freed from the apprehension of offending against the former. He deemed it wise to parley with error, to appeal to public policy, to the interest and duty of the Government, and to direct at the same time the minds of the people to the power which impended over them, to the sources of hope which were discoverable, but above all to those principles of the Christian religion which lead its followers to derive good from evil, and to convert the trials of this life into the means of sanctification in the next. But the Prelate's patience was sorely tried when he found it asserted broadly, and in the midst of the Gospel light, that a man may

be let to perish of hunger without any violation of justice. He displayed a profound knowledge of the principles of political economy in the arguments which followed, and clearly demonstrated that no theory could supersede the obligation of a Government, whether Christian or infidel, to provide for the starving people.

Some pampered pedant had alleged that "voluntary contributions or the alms of their own class ought to support the poor." "I have often pleaded for the indigent, I have sometimes wept over their distress; I never hesitated on my own account to share with them my scanty pittance; but I confess that I have not, to my recollection, solicited in their behalf the goods or money of the industrious classes without feelings of indignation mingled with remorse. Were all the men of Ireland of my way of thinking, they would in ordinary times have no charity-sermons, no houses or institutions supported by the voluntary gifts of the industrious; but in place of these, in lieu of extorting by sermons and collections, and never-ending appeals to the precepts of the Gospel, money from those who cannot afford to bestow it, and from whom it is little short of injustice to receive it, they would assail the Legislature by constant petitions, and the Government by strong remonstrance on behalf of the poor. They would insist with the Apostle, 'that some should not be eased and others burdened, but that there might be an equality.' They would teach the poor themselves to abstain from violence and be submissive to the law; but also tell them, that they had higher claims to relief than those arising from the exhibition of their distress. But, above all, they would proclaim from the house-top, in the hearing of rich and of poor, that Church property was held in trust; that it was bequeathed by our ancestors in part, and principally for the education and maintenance of the poor, and that so long as the State withheld it from them, the people should not seek for rest, nor the Government enjoy repose."

The Bishop then entered on the second portion of his task, and proceeded to set forth, in luminous language, the origin, nature, and destination of the property which had been confided in trust to the administration of the clergy in the different ages of the Church. Here Dr. Doyle was peculiarly at home. The old canons of the Church had long been familiar to him: they formed a portion of that history of the human race from which much wisdom may be learned; and he regarded them as the index of the growth, maturity, decay, and ruin of institutions that once filled the places since occupied by other powers. Such of these canons as related to Church property had produced both good

and evil ; but to a dispassionate mind, reviewing the history of Church and State from the period of their union, it was impossible to banish the conviction that rich benefices, and especially tithes, had proved more hostile to Christianity, and more mischievous to the Church, than the darkness of paganism or the sword of the infidel. But if the Spirit of Christ could not exclude enormous wealth from the sanctuary, it secured to His indigent members a participation in the spoil : and the same law which enforced by excommunication the payment of tithe to the priest, commanded that priest to dispense, in mercy and humility, their own portion to the poor.

Dr. Doyle hurriedly glanced at the Revolution as it affected these countries, and observed that the results of various conflicts was to leave England and Ireland subject to the monstrous tithe system, unmitigated by any one of those redeeming qualities which, up to the sixteenth century, had commended it to toleration. He then entered on his inquiry, but previously bespoke the candour as well as the attention of his readers.

"I am a Churchman, but I am unacquainted with avarice, and I feel no worldly ambition. I am, perhaps, attached to my profession, but I love Christianity more than its earthly appendages. I am a Catholic from the fullest conviction, but few will accuse me of bigotry. I am an Irishman, hating injustice and abhorring with my whole soul the oppression of my country ; but I desire to heal her sores, not to aggravate her sufferings. In decrying as I do the tithe system and the whole Church Establishment in Ireland, I am actuated by no dislike to the respectable body of men who, in the midst of fear and hatred, gather its spoils ; on the contrary, I esteem those men, notwithstanding their past and perhaps still existing hostility to the religious and civil rights of their fellow-subjects and countrymen ; I even lament the painful position in which they are placed. What I aspire to is the freedom of the people ; what I most ardently desire is their union—which can never be effected till injustice, or the oppression of the many by the few, is taken away. And as to religion, what I wish is to see her freed from the slavery of the State and the bondage of mammon—to see her restored to that liberty with which Christ hath made her free—her ministers labouring and receiving their hire from those for whom they labour, . . . that thus religion may be restored to her empire, which is not of this world, and men once more worship God in spirit and in truth."

Pages full of pith and point, logic and learning, followed. He argued that by the common law of England the poor were still fully entitled to their portion of the tithes. He had examined all

the statutes affecting the Church, from the 27th of Henry VIII.—which first transferred to that prince the property of some monasteries—up to the 43d of Elizabeth, which created a new provision for the poor ; and unless the latter can be said by implication to have repealed their legal right to a fourth part of the Church revenue, he knew of no statute or usage which could at present bar that right. He used the word “usage” because it is a maxim in the common law of England that no lapse of time or possession can create a title by prescription against the Church, unless the adverse possession is proved to exist from the time of Richard II. or Henry IV. ; and as the right of the poor to their share of the Church revenues was strictly and legally an ecclesiastical right, they ought not to be excluded from the possession and enjoyment of what the law had assigned to them. “I was myself,” he adds, “once nearly resolved to try this right in Ireland by having a bill filed in a Court of Equity ; but Lord Manners was Chancellor, and the temper of the time was unfavourable.”

In 1824 this scheme largely occupied his mind. He consulted Sheil, who, in a well-digested written opinion, expressed his conviction that if the right were tried before a proper tribunal it would prove successful. But Dr. Doyle clearly saw that the strong political bias of Lord Chancellor Manners opposed a formidable obstacle to success.

From this topic Dr. Doyle passed to the examination of the state of Church property in Ireland—“the only Christian country which enjoyed, up to the period of the English invasion, a total exemption from tithe ;” and the Bishop showed very conclusively that the law of tithe, whether civil or ecclesiastical, had never, either in Catholic or Protestant times, the assent of the Irish nation : “They have always been at war with it, and I trust in God they will never cheerfully submit to it. It was imputed to them as a crime by Giraldus Cambrensis that they had never paid tithe, and would not pay tithe notwithstanding the laws which enjoined such payment ; and now, at the end of six hundred years, they are found to persevere, with increased obstinacy, in their struggles to cast off this obnoxious impost. There are many noble traits in the Irish character, mixed with failings which have always raised obstacles to their own well-being ; but an innate love of justice and an indomitable hatred of oppression is like a gem upon the front of our nation which no darkness can obscure. To this fine quality I trace their hatred of tithe—may it be as lasting as their love of justice !”

He thought that it ought to be abolished utterly and for ever, and a land-tax—not exceeding one-tenth of the value of the land

—substituted. The produce of this tax and the Church lands—placed at the disposal of Parliamentary Commissioners—would enable them to provide amply for the support of the poor, and to promote works of public necessity or national improvement. Dr. Doyle promised that, should he have leisure, he might at no distant period resume the consideration of Church property, with the civil and ecclesiastical laws relating to it. “Should I do so, many thoughts, which now I can scarcely allow to escape me, will be stated at length, and these laws, at present but glanced at, will be exhibited in full view, as pillars in the mighty edifice that they had so long sustained.” But this labour was too much for the Bishop’s jaded life; and during his three remaining years he published no other works on tithes, although, in 1832, he spoke against the system with an energy and lore peculiarly his own.

[“For some years before his death,” writes his late curate, Mr. O’Connell, “he well knew he was dying. Whenever the priests adverted to some probable event, he would say, ‘I shall be dead long before that.’”]

Meanwhile a great accession of fame was brought to him by his book. Its power and beauty were universally recognised. A proof of its irresistible force is found in the fact that O’Connell, whose hostility to Poor Laws had long been formidable, avowed himself completely convinced, and declared that he was ready to relinquish the pursuit of “Repeal,” and co-operate with all the energy of which he was master in the great and good work pointed out by Dr. Doyle. Coming from a man whose profession had rendered him familiar with all the subtleties of logical science, the following admissions are certainly most remarkable :—

“LONDON, 29th March 1831.

“MY LORD,—You have convinced me—your pamphlet on the necessity of making a legal provision for the *destitute* Irish poor has completely convinced me. The candour and distinctness with which you state the arguments against that provision, and the clear and satisfactory manner in which you have answered and refuted those arguments, have quite overpowered my objections, and rendered me an unwilling, but not the less sincere, convert to your opinions. I candidly acknowledge that you have done more—you have alarmed me, lest, in the indulgence of my own selfishness as a landowner, I should continue to be the opponent of him who would feed the hungry and enable the naked to clothe themselves.

“My Lord, I am much pressed in point of time, but I feel it imperative on me to announce this my conversion, with a view to endeavour to render it useful. I am not an admirer of that species

of conviction which contents itself with mere mental gratification. You will not be surprised that I do not estimate too highly the value of 'faith without works,' and you will, therefore, be prepared to find me ready to endeavour to realise that which I believe to be salutary to the people—the poor people of Ireland.

"The scenes which you have *actually* witnessed—the misery which you have *actually* beheld—the woe which you have *actually* wept over—the famishing children—the starving parent—the perishing youth—the young blood running cold, chilled by penury—the aged sinking into the grave under the pressure of hunger—avaricious cruelty thinning the folds of their population, and starvation filling the churchyards with emaciated victims! I cannot, my Lord, endure to look at the picture you have drawn from the life, and strewn with real dead. I will not bear it without at least a struggle, and now I offer myself—all that I have of energy and perseverance—to the cause which you support and ornament—the cause of the poor, the destitute, the famishing—the cause of the unjustly afflicted man—the cause—am I at liberty to say it without profaneness?—the cause of God. . . .

"During the continued struggle the people are scarcely heard crying for bread, and there is none to break it to them. Let us, my Lord, attend to their cry, and whilst we pursue, as reason and conviction may dictate, our respective views of other measures for national relief, let us combine, as well as we can, good men of every party, sect, and persuasion, to afford relief to the aged, the sick, the destitute, and the famishing." O'Connell thus concluded:—"But I have run on longer than I intended. My leading objects were to thank you for that pamphlet which has worked my complete conversion; and to offer you my active and persevering exertion to carry into effect your plan of relief for the persons in the world who require it most."

A letter from John, Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom O'Connell had a warm pamphleteering controversy afterwards, forms an interesting companion to the "Tribune's" tribute:—

"ALTON TOWERS, 5th April 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have just procured your admirable letter to Mr. Spring Rice, and have devoured it with the avidity which I always bring to everything that falls from your pen. God grant that it may find good ground in which to produce its fruit. But there is a selfish apathy about our legislators which astonishes and confounds. Were it otherwise, is it possible to conceive that Ireland would be thus abandoned in her distress—that myriads of the King's subjects should be suffered, by that government which

is established for their protection, to starve in the midst of plenty—to remain idle under abundant means of affording them profitable employment—to be destitute of all things when they had only to open their stores and dispense their blessings. What this portends your Lordship is much fitter to say than I am. To me it is inexplicable and amazing. But I begin to think that an English Parliament will never learn how to feel for Ireland. Yet where are her own representatives? How comes it that out of the talent and public virtue which she sends forth—perhaps far beyond her quota—to the great council of the nation, there should be none to stand up for the rights of the poor? Is it that they too, being landed proprietors, are infested with the sin of covetousness, are enamoured with high rents and large returns, and are unwilling to share the produce of the soil with the needy and the infirm and the unfortunate? Are they fearful to defend the rights of the poor against the State, lest the State should say, ‘They are yours—see you to them’? The lamentable condition of the labouring poor in this country, and the melancholy events of the last winter consequent thereon, ought to have endued our rulers with at least common foresight and circumspection. Abstracting from morality and religion, where is the policy in allowing the process of disorganisation to be going on from day to day, unconscious of the hour in which the explosion may take place, without applying the corrective? It is this dangerous state of things which lately induced me to write a few suggestions. I had intended to have remarked upon the destination of Church property, and the rights of the poor upon it, in the same spirit as your Lordship (would to Heaven I could do so with the same force); but I judged it more prudent to abstain till after the passing of the Reform Bill. I am, however, delighted that *you* have done it, and that so ably and so beautifully. What a system to have endured so long—what a monstrous shame that it should still find abettors and supporters!” Lord Shrewsbury concludes a long letter with “Irish landlords should be *compelled* to do their duty if they will not do it otherwise.”

The King, a staunch reformer, viewed with indignation the borough-mongering Senate. He came down suddenly to the House, prorogued Parliament, and on the 22d of April it was dissolved.

[A letter to Robert Cassidy, Esq., written on his visitation, and dated 12th April 1831, promises to express to the clergy whom he was about to meet his earnest wish that full information should be afforded to Mr. Cassidy in reply to a circular which that

gentleman had prepared. "In 1827," adds Dr. Doyle, "I did that in reference to the then Report of the Kildare Place Society which you are now doing, and succeeded in exposing the falsehoods published by them; but my efforts were vain. Yours may now be more successful. I have often felt, and will have at all future times to feel, that want of active co-operation to which you advert. We never shall be able to inspire many men with intelligence and activity, and must be satisfied to suffer disappointment and disgust in our efforts to promote the public good. Your petition on the state of the church in the parish of Lea is a happy exposure of abuse. There are not many such cases; when found they ought to be exposed; but of absenteeism in the case of parsons I never complain. It is the injustice and oppression of the system, independent of non-residence, that our petitions generally set forth. Till the measure of Reform is disposed of, little will be done against the Church. Then, not now, we may pray with a hope of being heard to be delivered from its pressure."]

Both sides vied in the promptitude and vigour of the preparations which were forthwith made for a most desperate and costly contest. Upon the issue of this memorable struggle depended not only the fate of parties, but a nation's cause. In the question of Reform was involved the property, the freedom, the lives of the people. Dr. Doyle, in flinging his energies into this great constitutional struggle, promoted the dignity of the Crown, the independence of the Legislature, the interests of commerce and agriculture, the liberty of the press and of the subject, and peace and good-will among nations. That a reformed Parliament, speaking the sentiments of an enlightened people and enacting laws for their good, should promote these boons, he had no reasonable doubt. A meeting of Carlow freeholders having been held to ensure the return of members pledged to support the King and his Ministry in their efforts to reform the Parliament, Dr. Doyle enclosed £10, adding:—

"An oligarchy has usurped the just and constitutional power of the King and people. This usurpation has corrupted the nobility, oppressed and impoverished the people; it has burthened the nation with an insupportable debt, confirmed or introduced every imaginable abuse, and sustained them by foreign wars, internal corruption, and a system of taxation oppressive to human industry.

"This oligarchy has by many bad laws abridged the liberty of the subject, retarded the progress of every social improvement, and reduced the industrious and labouring classes of the community to difficulties of distress or to utter destitution; they even attempted lately to cramp the freedom of the press, that the complaints and

sufferings of the aggrieved might not be made known. But the people of the whole Empire have revolted against this domination, and, headed by the best of kings and a virtuous Ministry, are now in conflict with this oligarchy for the recovery of their rights.

"That the cause of the nation must be triumphant is as certain as the rising of the sun ; but whether that triumph shall be obtained by peaceable means or through a sea of blood, depends mainly on the issue of the present elections. This issue, therefore, is a cause of life or death to the people ; and the man is a traitor to his own interests—to the interests of his children and of his country—who does not exert whatever power or privilege he may possess to support the best of kings and his Ministers in their present contest with a powerful and despotic party.

"Justice, honour, loyalty, the safety of the state, and the future peace and happiness of this country, are all committed on the present election. If the people be wanting to themselves, oppression, bloodshed, and civil war are, I fear, not far removed from us. If the cause of Reform succeed, peace and happiness await the country.

"I need not add, that whosoever is not pledged to support the King and his Ministry in their plan of Reform is in reality opposed to all Reform ; for that plan of Reform which is supported by the Crown and its Ministers can alone succeed by peaceable means." In conclusion he hoped that wisdom, which is unanimity, would govern their proceedings.

Dr. Doyle observes to Sir H. Parnell, during the previous February, that if Lord Anglesey really wished to confer with him on public affairs, it was easy to make such a desire known. The Viceroy seems to have opened a correspondence with the Bishop. The following fragment of a letter throws some light upon the present stage of our narrative :—

"MY LORD,—I avail myself of your Excellency's permission to write on any matter deserving attention. My object at present is to beg the favourable attention of your Excellency to a memorial from the committee of the Liberal candidates for the representation of this county, which is forwarded this evening to the office of the Chief Secretary. This memorial prays for the immediate appointment of two justices of the peace, who would attend during the coming election to administer the usual oaths to the R. C. voters, or for such other arrangement by your Excellency as would disable the anti-Reform party from impeding, by artifice, the progress of the election. The motives of the memorialists and the reasons alleged by them are pure and well founded, and though I pray your

Excellency may have their request granted, I feel confident that the merits of the case themselves would move your Excellency to have that done which may be of the utmost necessity—nay, of vital importance in the impending contest. Though your Excellency will probably be supplied with abundant details and representations of the excitement prevailing here, you will suffer me to state what appears to me the true position of the contending parties. The opponents of Reform are the large, rude, small gentry ; with few exceptions a class not enlightened, but long accustomed to domineer over the other classes. The former endeavoured to stifle every expression of public sentiment on the Reform question ; but having failed in that, when the Parliament was dissolved, they sought by threats and intimidation to lead the tenantry to support the candidate opposed to Government. The middling classes, composed chiefly of Catholics and Protestant dissenters, encouraged by me, resolved to withstand this usurpation of right, and, through many difficulties, have organised a force sufficient, in my opinion, to secure the return of one, and most probably of two members pledged to the support of Government. The adverse party are enraged, and not only have recourse to a religious cry, but charges" . . . [The remainder of the letter has been lost.]

In labouring to promote Reform, Dr. Doyle did not feel himself justified in venturing on the platform ; but in every legitimate exertion short of that personal display he indulged with a hearty earnestness. He wrote up the movement, sometimes under his own signature, but more generally under a *nom de plume*. He proved that he who refused to support the King and the people was not only pledged to uphold the dominion of a corrupt and despotic oligarchy, but had conspired to sustain every old abuse, to introduce new modes of plunder and oppression, to arm citizens to spill each other's blood, to shackle the press, and immure in dungeons every advocate of freedom, to commit the nation to never-ending wars, and to devour, under the name of loans and taxes, the fruits of all the nation's industry.

The great party against which Dr. Doyle had arrayed himself was fired with rage at finding its title to power denied, and that the whole nation, headed by the King, had resolved to destroy that power, and re-establish the Government of the country on the basis of right and justice. But despair was mingled with this feeling of rage ; they poured out their treasures to corrupt ; they resorted to intimidation against those whom they had long oppressed. Wiles, intrigue, bribery, threats, promises, rewards, were all employed by the anti-Reformers as their natural allies ; but it became fatally

evident, notwithstanding, that victory had abandoned them. Dr. Doyle, in a paper before us, predicts the character of the exertions to which the opponents of Reform would be sure to have recourse. "They will resort, without shame, decency, or remorse, to any and every means whereby the strength of the country can be divided and their own defeat retarded. They will libel the innocent and applaud the guilty. They will speak of the throne, whilst they war against the King ; of chartered rights, whilst they attempt treason by invading the privilege of the people to select freely their own representatives. They will call the endless oppression of tithes and vestry cesses by the name of the Church, and invoke religion, whilst they belie their neighbour and sow dissension among brethren. They will declaim on the constitution, as if the constitution signified the power of a plundering oligarchy to make laws and execute them in despite of the sovereign and all the millions of free-born subjects over whom he rules ! They will do all these things, and whatever else rage and despair can suggest to their infuriated minds. But their days, nevertheless, are numbered—their overthrow is certain ; and their body, like the body of some hideous monster, will in a few days lie lifeless, and be gazed at by the victors with mingled feelings of horror, scorn, and disgust. The youth of the country will assemble about it, and ask each other—Is this the beast that trampled on our fathers, that made widows of our mothers, and drank our brothers' blood ? Is this the beast that provoked nations to war against each other ; that polluted religion by its lusts, and committed fornication with all the kings of the earth ? Is this the insatiable beast that devoured the earnings of the poor, that swallowed up the fruit of the nation's industry, that bound down the neck of England with an insupportable debt, and gave to Ireland a stone or a scorpion when she asked for bread ? They will ask each other—Is this the monster that corrupted the Legislature, put manacles on the kingly power, debased the nobility, and tempted the people to hate and persecute each other ? The youth of the country will ask these questions, and they shall be joined by the old men—their fathers and grand-sires—who will assure them that all this was but too true ; that the dominion of this monster was worse than even their conception of it, and the deliverance from its power, its defeat and destruction, a boon from heaven granted to the magnanimity of the best of kings, to the wisdom and energy of his councillors, and to the union and courage of a loyal and virtuous people."

Dr. Doyle proceeds to observe that every man in the country felt that he had been, to a certain degree, plundered and enslaved. Should the faction, therefore, appeal to its prescriptive rights to keep

British subjects for ever in a state of vassalage, even their own mercenaries would revolt. "If they claim to exercise over their tenantry a feudal or tyrannic power—if they call upon them to prostitute their votes because they are tenants, to sell the liberties of their country because they and their fathers were blinded and oppressed—then the faction proclaim their own infamy. They confess that tyranny is a governing principle of their life, and that a *freeholder*, in their estimate, is only *free* to prostitute his franchise, to commit treason against the constitution, and perpetuate the degradation of his country. But if such principles be proclaimed by the faction—if their strength reposes on such a basis, who can fear the result? For is it now, when light and truth pervade the world—when nations who have delivered themselves from bondage cover the Continent, and, with drawn swords and shouts of victory, proclaim to the world that man is free—is it at such a period that in these kingdoms, the home of freedom, men can be enthralled or led to combat for an oligarchy against truth, honour, religion, reason, liberty, and independence? What then remains to the faction?—despair!"

This paper was published anonymously, but the scriptural allusions which it contained were almost sufficient evidence to establish its authorship. Speaking of the oligarchy, he said that the decree of their destruction had doubtless been sealed above, and their despair resembled that of Lucifer when hurled by the Archangel from on high to the depths of the abyss!

Dr. Doyle's pen sped rapidly in furtherance of this great question. He declared that he who did not pledge himself to support the Reform Bill of Earl Grey was opposed to every boon and blessing. He called upon his countrymen to cast to the winds those religious bickerings which had so long blighted the land and divided the people's strength. The excitement which pervaded the ranks of both parties at this crisis may be inferred from the earnestness of the Bishop's language and the asperity of many of his points. "Whilst the enemy is in our front, and our very existence, as it were, at stake, we will not be so senseless as to cast away our arms or turn them against each other. In despite of our enemies we are one nation—we must stand or fall together. Let us, therefore, reform our own minds, and learn even at this the eleventh hour that we were divided only to be subdued—that our divisions hitherto enslaved us—that religious bigotry was the weapon of our destruction—and that union alone can restore us to life, to health, and to vigour. Let the people know no division but that which separates the faction from those who love the constitution; let there be no division but between the sons of freedom and

the slaves of the oligarchy—between the subjects who support the King and his Government, and the rapacious faction which would enslave both King and people.”

He did not forget the prelate in the patriot. Whilst the general election impended, he republished his pastoral instructions regarding freeholds, which he had addressed to the people the previous year. The object was to instruct them in the duty which they owed God, and to guard them, as far as possible, against the crime of perjury. Were he silent, and they erred through ignorance, he should be an accomplice in the sin of his flock; and he felt that their blood should, under such circumstances, be required at his hands; whilst, on the other hand, if he pointed out to them their duty, he might claim the merit and the reward due to those who instruct others unto justice. He prayed that God might enlighten the poor people, clear away their doubts, and give them strength to fulfil His will. The Bishop’s instructions were well-timed and useful. “If any one of you should unhappily have been led by fear or hope, or through ignorance, to register a freehold which you have not, or to swear falsely respecting such freehold at the time of its registry, you may know that it is not now lawful for you to tender the vote or exercise the franchise which you obtained by such false swearing.”

Similar instructions followed. The Bishop begged his flock to be admonished by him, who discharged an embassy from God towards them, and not to place their conscience in the keeping of those selfish and worldly men, “*‘who oppressed them by might, and drew them against the judgment-seat,’* for they cannot defend themselves or you on the day that we must all appear before the judgment-seat, not of sheriffs or magistrates, but of Christ.” Having given an exposition of the bribery oath, Dr. Doyle explained that in all elections every voter is under a moral obligation of supporting the candidate who to him appears most worthy. Any deviation from this principle, whether by hope, or fear, or threat, or reward, involved a moral transgression.

There was also published anonymously a long dialogue between “a Bishop and a Judge,” of which Dr. Doyle was the writer. Baron Smith had rendered himself conspicuous by the political animus of his judicial charges, and Dr. Doyle, in this dialogue, very effectively satirised the Judge’s weakness. Various public matters were reviewed, including the Continental revolutions, the Reform Bill, the Church question, and the changes in the domestic policy of Great Britain.

[Father O’Connell, his burly curate, had a high-bred horse which he one day urged the Bishop to ride, thinking that the

exercise might serve his health. The animal shied, and at last ran away with its venerable burden. Dr. Doyle pulled with all his might, but ineffectually. As he met many persons on the road, who were coming into Carlow to a fair, he did not like to appear before them as having been mastered by the horse. We give the sequel in Fr. O'Connell's own words :—"As often as he passed any one he laid on gently with the whip, to encourage the impression that he, and not the horse, was the conqueror. Four long miles, totally out of his course, he galloped over in this manner. His health was not strong, and he was gradually becoming exhausted. At last he came to a very heavy hill. The animal's speed gradually slackened, and Dr. Doyle was enabled to pull up. He retraced his course to Carlow, and dismounting, with the air of a victor, he handed the horse to his man, saying, 'You had better diminish this animal's oats ; but in truth I have pretty well sobered him.'"]

CHAPTER XV.

Triumphant issue—New Members—R. L. Sheil—Letter from General Sir J. Doyle—Notice of Sir Milley Doyle—Letter to his niece—Correspondence on the state of Ireland—Not a Catholic on the judicial Bench—Magisterial corruption—Facts about Sir H. Parnell—The Irish Reform Bill—Letter to a person who desired to embrace the Catholic faith—Letter to his niece—Dr. Doyle at the head of his own table—His modesty in the drawing-room—His awful austerity of manner on some occasions, and almost womanly tenderness on others.

THE result of the Irish elections proved entirely satisfactory to Dr. Doyle. The Corporation sustained an extraordinary defeat. The genius of Orangeism was vanquished in its strongest hold. Moore and Shaw, the hereditary champions of ascendancy, were overthrown. "It was imagined," writes Sheil, "that the position in which they stood was impregnable ; but Reform has scaled the fortress, and planted the green flag on the proudest tower on which the standard of the Williamites ever waved !" Mr. afterwards Judge Perrin and Sir Robert Hartly were returned by the Liberal interest. A phenomenon in political conversion was presented by Major Sirr, the quondam terrorist of the people, who voted for the popular candidates. The result of the election throughout the country generally was not less signal and satisfactory. Sheil, in a magazine paper on the Irish elections, writes : "But what shall I say of Carlow ? what of Sir Milley Doyle and of Mr. Walter

Blackney? and what, above *all*, of their nominator, who turned them into Members of Parliament with a single touch of his magic crozier—Dr. Doyle? Strange vicissitudes! Who could have conjectured that a ‘bachelor of Coimbra,’ and afterwards a priest in Wexford, should now, with a mitre lofty as that of Becket (although without a gem in it) on his brow, and a pastoral staff of Bellarmine potency in his hand, legislate for the passions of the people, and not only summon and dismiss at his bidding the popular emotions, but without a stretch or effort, and by the simple intimation of his will, accomplish that which not a peer in the Empire could have effected? Where is the man, except James, Bishop of Kildare, who could return two county members? Even the great Daniel himself could not achieve so much in any single Irish county. He can recommend the principle, but not prescribe the men; but the Episcopal Augustinian can with a hint of his sacred predilection return two members without a struggle.”

In the midst of his canvass, Sir Milley was cheered by the following note from the Bishop :—

“BRAGANZA, CARLOW, *2d May 1831.*

“I continue to give you all the aid in my power, and though great difficulties are to be surmounted, I feel the utmost confidence that the united exertions of the friends of Reform will be successful. Do not, I pray you, relax in your exertions. You may depend on mine.”

A characteristic note from General Sir John Doyle, uncle of the new Member, Sir Milley, claims insertion :—

“4 SOMERSET STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE,
16th of May 1831.

“MY DEAR BISHOP,—‘Nil desperandum te duce.’ “You have nobly upheld the champions of your selection. You have triumphantly supported the good cause, and with it have reburnished the armour and restored the banners of our common clan. Accept, I pray you, the heartfelt thanks of an old and zealous friend of Ireland, the expression of his admiration of your splendid and useful talents, and his gratitude for your combined and efficient friendship to his near and dear relative, who feels it as he ought to do—and that speaks volumes. I am so fatigued with writing all day, and the ‘postman is so clamorous for my letter, that I have only time to assure you of the best regards of, my dear Bishop, yours most gratefully,

“J. DOYLE, *General.*”

Sir John Doyle had served in the American war, and was elected in 1782 Member for Mullingar in the Irish Parliament, where he advocated the Catholic claims. He enjoyed the confidence of the Prince of Wales, who made him his private secretary; and when Catholic hope was brightened by the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Viceroyalty, Colonel Doyle, as a friend, received office under that short but memorable rule. He was Secretary at War for some time under the Administration of Lord Camden; but the liberality of his views led to his removal, and the gallant Colonel resumed the profession of arms. In the harassing Egyptian campaign of 1801 he eminently distinguished himself, and in 1805 received a baronetcy.

Sir John Milley Doyle was his nephew. He had fought at Fuentes d'Onor, Ciudad Rodrigo, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and other engagements, and, from the number of memorials which his breast displayed, was nicknamed the "Walking Wellington Column."

The election in Wexford gave great satisfaction to Dr. Doyle.

"CARLOW, 26th May 1831.

"MY DEAR MARY,—You may be assured I participated both in your anxiety during the late elections, and in your joy at the result. I delayed writing to acknowledge your letters until I should receive that other which you promised; but your promise was like most of those made at elections—*not* to be relied on; and having despaired of its fulfilment, I hasten to congratulate you and all our friends on the issue of our struggle against the old and irreclaimable enemies of our country. I should never again have boasted of my native county had she not acted now as she has done, for I knew the power was in her if she had only virtue to exert it; and if she had not, I would resign her to the Saxons or Normans, and attach myself to some more Celtic soil. I have, however, been spared the pain of separation, and will continue attached to the county of my birth. Our victory here was signal. We had no aid but God and our own strength; but when a good cause is well conducted it succeeds in spite of all opposition.

"The affairs of Ireland are beginning to improve; but only beginning. We have many difficulties to contend with, and if we relax we will be thrown back; for our enemies, though now defeated, have still great resources, and have no notion of quitting the field. You have an excellent representative in Mr. Walker; and I trust Mr. Lambert will realise all your hopes of him. Tell John Richard, and all my friends, how delighted I was with the exhibition of their patriotism."

Charles Arthur Walker, of whose future career Dr. Doyle wrote with confidence, fully realised the Bishop's anticipations. As a consistent friend of liberal progress he enjoyed general esteem. His parliamentary career was honest and distinguished. Though a Protestant, he preached the reform of the Church Establishment, and on the 14th of February 1832, concluded an able speech with "the sentiment of a great Prelate—' May our hatred of tithe be as lasting as our love of justice ! ' "

An able letter from Dr. Doyle to the new Secretary at War urges many points which we find duly acted upon.

"CARLOW, 26th May 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Though I have some business in Dublin, and intended to be there next week, I will defer my visit until the fever of politics shall have somewhat subsided, and the town be less agitated than it now is. I should be exceedingly glad to avail myself of the opportunity, which meeting you in Dublin would afford, of recurring to the affairs of this country before your departure for England ; for in your absence there is no person here to whom I would communicate my mind freely, except the Lord-Lieutenant ; but his station is so high, and his Excellency's knowledge of me so slight, that intercourse with him could not be free of restraint. You must see, as I do clearly, that the present calm here is one of suspense rather than of repose, and that good dispositions or intentions, if not speedily followed by good measures, will be accounted as nothing. It is useless to repeat what, in my opinion, those measures ought to be ; but if they do not go directly and immediately to the substantial relief of the industrious and poorer classes of the people, the most extreme and violent questions will be agitated, and with perilous effect. To prevent this you ought, in my opinion, to urge incessantly on the Ministry the state of Ireland, and the proper means of settling the system of her government. Leaving out of view the laws which now exist and require so much amendment or alteration, the whole machinery of the government itself is Tory and partial. The country is covered with a military force called police, and I believe in my conscience they are one of the chief causes of discontent and disturbance. The expense of maintaining them is enormous, and every addition made to their numbers is but an addition made to the causes of discontent ; they are all of the Orange or *ci-devant* ascendant party ; they must be so while the selection of the men is vested in the local magistracy, and few or no Catholics among the officers. Discipline may and does

restrain them to a certain extent, but fails to remove that distrust or lurking hatred which appears whenever they come into collision with the people. Besides, why should we have a military police? They are required only to support odious and unjust laws, or the unfeeling severity of such men as the gentry of Clare. Even in the present state of the law and of Ireland, perfect peace could be preserved if one half of the magistracy were deprived of their commissions of the peace; the few horse-police reserved to carry messages and the execution of writs; the maintenance of order at fairs and markets intrusted to some ten or more special constables selected in each parish from among the farmers' sons, who would serve voluntarily and without pay if the country were freed from the expense and annoyance of the police establishment.

"If it be possible to induce Government to legislate for the public good and to confide in the people, let them cease to watch them like thieves; let them cease to appoint to public and prominent situations their own enemies and the old oppressors of the people; let the Catholics receive proofs, not professions, that they are thought worthy of confidence, and the present calm may not be the presage of a storm, but the commencement of a season of repose. It would be to me, and to some thousands of persons who think and feel as I do, the most painful event that could happen, to be obliged to combat those whom we now with all our hearts support and defend; but certainly I should rather die in the last ditch of my country than submit to arbitrary or partial government. You know all my sentiments, and you have had many opportunities of judging how, justly or otherwise, I have estimated the state of this country, and will therefore be enabled to urge your own views as if sustained by the experience and knowledge which my situation affords."

Dr. Doyle might well complain that while Catholics were excluded from all situations of trust, their old enemies and oppressors daily received office. Not only in 1831, but long after, there was hardly a Catholic on the bench, and Mr. Sheil complained that "out of twenty-six stipendiary magistrates recently made, not one was a Catholic." It is curious to contrast the present judicial strength of the Irish Catholic body with its poverty under the Administration of Earl Grey.

Dr. Doyle felt hurt, on national as much as on religious grounds, at the system of invidious exclusion from office which marked that *régime*. Not one Irishman, at the period of which we write, was permitted to hold any office of political trust in the Irish executive.

[King William, finding a refractory element in his Parliament, suddenly appeared on the scene with his crown awry, and dissolved it. Dr. Doyle, in promoting successfully the object of Mr. Sheil, who aspired to represent Louth, also sought by a letter to Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to arouse to a more vigorous policy old Lord Grey's Administration :—

“CARLOW, 6th June 1831.

“DEAR SIR,—I thank you very much for the attention you have given to my letter to Mr. Sheil, and am satisfied you will not lose sight of the request contained in it until my friend shall have been gratified.

“I signified to you when Lord Grey came into office my resolution to aid, as might be in my power, his Government. This resolution, to which I religiously adhered, exposed me, for a time, to considerable difficulties, and in urging, as I have done, the settlement of the Education question, and suggesting the appointment of some Catholics to office, I am influenced as much by a zeal for the present Ministry as by any other motive whatever. We have given to you our full and undivided support on the recent elections ; had we done otherwise, we might have turned the greater number of them against you. We have looked on our poor people in a state of famine or goaded into insurrection, and an unworthy magistracy in many places augmenting and stimulating to acts of insult and blood an Orange military force called a police ; whilst the executive appointed to office some of the worst men in the kingdom, but in almost no case appointed a Catholic, though a few such appointments might have quieted whole districts. We have seen these things with all the legal and established abuses untouched ; and we have been not only quiet but friendly to Government. We have made great allowances, and more, for the difficulty of your position ; but I know, and it is but just to inform you of it, that if in a little time this state of things be not altered, your most zealous friends will become your most violent opponents. I before mentioned to you that the Liberal party in this country, of which the Catholics form the vast majority, are able and willing to sustain the present Ministry, but in return they expect just laws and an impartial Government ; and such is their temper and determination, that I firmly believe they would perish in the field or obtain both.”

The new Parliament was opened on the 21st of June, and a policy more befitting his early professions was speedily declared by Earl Grey. In the teeth of terrible difficulty were carried bills for the reform of Parliament and of the Irish Church.

The collision at Newtownbarry, where eighteen people were shot by the Orange yeomanry in resisting payment of tithe, verified Dr. Doyle's repeated warnings. The following is addressed to Sir W. Gossett, and it appears by an endorsement that it was answered by the Lord-Lieutenant himself :—

“CARLOW, 2d July 1831.

“SIR,—I have the honour of enclosing to you, for the information of His Excellency's Government, two letters which I received this morning : they depict strongly the state of alarm prevailing in the neighbourhood of Newtownbarry, as well as the over-excited feeling of the party which considers itself aggrieved. It is with a view of enabling Government to see, as it were, both sides of the case growing out of the late melancholy occurrence at Newtownbarry, that I have ventured to place under their eyes a correspondence not intended to pass from my hands.

“If I could venture a suggestion in a matter of great delicacy, but pregnant with danger to the public peace, it would be the placing at Newtownbarry of a military force sufficient at this moment to overawe and at the same time to protect the population,¹ and to disarm the corps of yeomanry who were present at the late catastrophe in that town. Newtownbarry is situated on the confines of my diocese, and the excitement prevailing extends to a great portion of the people inhabiting it. ✠ J. DOYLE.”

The Bishop's suggestion at last triumphed, notwithstanding the powerful adverse influence of the Duke of Wellington, who, having been appealed to, writes, August 21, 1831,—“The lives of the King's subjects would not be safe if the yeomanry were put down.”—“Civil Correspondence,” vol. vii. p. 506.]

The Bishop, addressing Sir H. Parnell, is more communicative than in his letter to the Under Secretary for Ireland.

“CARLOW, 8th July 1831.

“I was quite beginning to fear that Irish affairs could not be attended to by the Ministers. I am glad to hear of a prospect of improvement ; but here at home there is a good deal of what it is difficult to understand. The Newtownbarry affair was a certain if not necessary effect of the proceedings of Government with respect to the magistracy, the constabulary, and yeomen.

“Last Christmas, when Mr. O'Connell was forcing Government to adopt strong measures, you recollect how I besought Mr.

¹ [Dr. Cahill once said to us that Dr. Doyle had “a strong dash of Vinegar Hill in his composition.” He held, however, no very high opinion of rebel armies. To his curate he said, “Give me ten dragoons, and I will undertake to rout 300 undisciplined troops.”]

Stanley and the friends of Lord Darnley to send here a few regiments of the English militia, if necessary, to strengthen the military, and not to call out the Orange party in the person of the yeomanry. But at that time they feared O'Connell over-much, and precipitated themselves into new difficulties of greater and more lasting magnitude. They made themselves the debtors of a party with whom they should have no connection, and thereby committed themselves to sustain old abuses, to oppose the just wishes of the people and of the enlightened public, and here they are now pampered with a magistracy as ignorant and corrupt as can well be conceived, and which they fear too much; with a constabulary and yeomanry all Orange, who hate the Government with all their heart and soul, and take their instructions more from Lord Farnham and his associates than from Lord Anglesey or his colleagues in office. This armed banditti, urged by their leaders, are at this moment using every possible exertion to excite the people to insurrection, thereby to defeat the Ministry and Reform; whilst the mass of the people have resigned all confidence in Government, as if leagued with their inveterate foes, and are at this moment more liable to be led astray than they were at any period those ten years past, if some Mr. O'Connell appeared to merely give a direction to their passions. This is the real state of Ireland now, so far as the administration of its affairs and the temper of the people compose its state; and I need not add, that order can never arise out of such a state of things. As to trusting to the ordinary course of law for redress of wrongs, &c., it is a weakness approaching to fatuity. There is not a sheriff in Ireland who is not too strong for the judges of assize. Even the assistant-barristers cannot do justice in the smallest things where party spirit enters; nor are they all inclined to act justly; and as for the magistrates, their corruption, like the wisdom of Solomon, surpasses all that has been told of it. I assure you that even in this country it is quite shocking.

"I wish to God you thought with me on Poor Laws. I think your present project without them will be quite nugatory. You will find that on no other basis can the settlement of this country be built. That and the Reform of the Church Establishment are as necessary for Ireland as air and water. The present system will certainly produce war or bring in the Tories."

Some facts about Sir Henry Parnell, who shared the friendship and confidence of Dr. Doyle, may enhance the interest of this correspondence. He was the great grand-nephew of Dr. Thomas Parnell, the associate of Swift and Pope, and the youngest son of Sir

John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. In 1808 he published his "History of the Penal Laws against the Catholics," and he clung to their cause when others, from apathy, treachery, or despondency, had deserted it. The empty benches, to which he was often doomed to address himself on this subject, would have disgusted or disheartened a man of less moral determination. He also published a work on financial reform, which contains much accurate information on the income and expenditure of the British Empire, and shows what reforms might be made by an honest Government, without impairing security at home or tarnishing the national honour abroad. For many years this work continued to be the manual of those who would retrench without robbing, and amend without pulling down.

His exclusion from Lord Grey's Government was considered a fatal error, and the reparation made at the eleventh hour gave general satisfaction. In 1832 he resigned the Secretaryship at War because the Ministry would not concur in his estimates, and he had the independence to vote against them on the Russian Dutch Loan question. But on the formation of Lord Melbourne's Administration he again took office, and urged with some success many radical reforms. In 1841 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Congleton. The author of "Random Recollections" criticises his manner, which was more English than Irish. "His utterance is well-timed, and he speaks with great ease; but his gesticulation is too tame for his speeches to produce effect." Sir Henry had married, in 1801, Catherine, granddaughter of the Prime Minister, John, Earl of Bute. At the time of his death, in 1842, he was grandfather to Lords Drogheda and Darnley.

Sir Robert Peel, aided by all the available strength of the Conservative party, gave the Irish Reform Bill a determined opposition. They feared any increase of popular influence in the Irish representation, lest it should be brought to bear on the Church Establishment, which had already begun to totter. On the other hand, Mr. Sheil justly complained that the Irish Reform Bill was a measure not calculated to satisfy popular expectation. It was easy to plant a thorn in the hearts of the Irish people, but not so easy to pluck it out.

The paternal expressions and spirituality of thought disclosed in a letter to a young lady who desired to embrace the Catholic faith tend to relieve the angry clangor of politics, which have been so long falling upon the ear.

"June 1831.

"I was gratified by the receipt of your letter, and I give thanks to God that, as I find by it, He has not only opened your heart

to receive His truth, but also strengthened your faith. It is thus by His own power, and not by the persuasive words of human wisdom, that He reveals His truths, not to the prudent of this world, nor to those who are wise in their own conceits, but to the little ones, who, with simplicity of mind and with hearts cleansed of guile, seek the ways of God as men seek for gold. Were you disposed to dispute I should not probably write to you at all, for I am deeply impressed with the justice of St. Paul's remark : ' If any one love disputes, we have no such custom, nor (has) the Church of God ; ' and though faith is from hearing, and comes generally from God through those commissioned to preach His Gospel, yet it is entirely a gratuitous gift of God, freely bestowed for the sake of Christ, and seldom imparted to any others than those who, excited by grace, pray for it, and receive it into an humble heart. This conviction on my part has always rendered me averse to religious controversy. I put no trust in it, and were I to undertake it I should not probably conduct it well. I content myself upon nearly all occasions with a simple exposition of the doctrines of the Church, being assured by Christ that she cannot *err* ; but when called upon, as I am by you, to give an account of those doctrines, I do so with the utmost freedom and with entire sincerity ; thus endeavouring to water what some better hand has planted, and leaving to God to give or to withhold the increase as it pleaseth Him.

" It is time, after this long preface, to reply to your letter, and tell you why you believe there is a purgatory, or place in which some just souls are detained after death in a state of separation from the perfect union and full enjoyment of God.

" The reason why we believe this is, because the Church of God has always believed it : it was believed by the faithful before the coming of the Redeemer, in His time on earth, and since His ascension, without any interruption. This is testified by all the liturgies in the Christian world, wherein prayers for the dead are inserted as a part of the canon or rule, prescribing what was to be done by the bishops and priests when offering the sacrifice or celebrating the Eucharist. The doctrine identified with this practice must then be holy and true, because the Church of God cannot consistently, with His promise to her, believe or practise anything which is opposed to true faith or pure morals. As to the texts of Scripture bearing upon this doctrine, they may be clear or they may be obscure, or hard to be understood, but they cannot be rightly interpreted unless in a manner agreeable to the doctrine held in the Church, for the Scriptures and the right interpretation thereof belong equally to the Church, and whoso-

ever wrests them to any other sense only wrests them to their own perdition, for none of them are of private interpretation ; the interpretations of them and of any part of them belong exclusively to the Church or to that ministry in the Church which Christ commissioned to teach His doctrines to all nations, even to the end of the world.

"So true it is, my dear child, that when sectaries rejected the interpretation of the Church of these words of Scripture, 'This is My body' they (the sectaries) attributed to them more (it would seem incredible, but it is true) than one hundred different meanings.

"The Church has not defined the meaning of all the texts adduced by you, and therefore I cannot tell you with certainty what it is ; but I will tell you what occurs to me from my reading, when reading and teaching was my profession.

"'The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. Having by His own blood entered once into the holy place, He obtained eternal redemption for us.' This truth is the great basis of our religion, and is defined by the Church as showing the all-sufficiency of the atonement made by Christ on the cross ; but though He thus died for all, all are not sanctified by His death, but only they to whom the mercies of His death are applied—to wit, they who believe and are baptized, and who by grace keep His commandments and persevere to the end in the observance of them ; so the doctrine of atonement has nothing to do with that of purgatory, more than with any other of the institutions of Christianity, which are ordained for the recovery of the sinner, or with the greater sanctification of the just within the Church.

"'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ ;' and 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth they may rest from their labours.'

"The first of the above texts has reference to the excellence of the new covenant, founded, not by Moses, but by Christ, who reconciled to His Father, by the blood of His cross, all mankind, who, by believing in Him, and observing His laws and ordinances, live and die in peace with God. Here, as in the former case, the Apostle discusses a great and fundamental truth, without prejudice to, or even reference to, any other of the manifold tenets or duties of the Christian religion, which tenets and duties he discusses or inculcates at other times and in other passages of his writings. The drunkard, for example, and the liar may believe in Christ, but they are not in peace with God ; and though they had been once justified, yet they shall not, unless through repentance, enter into His kingdom.

"The second of the above texts may be understood of all those who die in the state of grace—for they are truly blessed, they rest from their labours in this world, they are secure of future bliss, and the happiness of such of them as are detained in purgatory, though incomplete and joined with suffering, is greater than any to be found on earth. The text may properly be understood as spoken to the nobler portion of the elect who actually possess God, as the better portion of anything is sometimes in the Scripture language made to represent the entire. The various and almost capricious interpretations given to other passages referred to by you only serve to satisfy you of what I first said—that no Scripture is of private interpretation, and that when men undertake to define its meaning, instead of seeking that meaning from the Church, they become lost in their own intentions—are always learning and never come to the knowledge of the truth. The safe and simple rule is 'to ascertain what the Church has defined, and believe it,' for it must be true, as Christ came in the flesh; and all interpretations of text which are not in accordance with her doctrine must be erroneous.

"I have, I fear, tired you with this long letter, but it will, I hope, be acceptable to you, though it may bring fatigue. I shall be glad to hear from you, not in controversy, but to assure me that you serve God, and endeavour by piety of life and constant prayer to deserve from Him that He would increase your faith and bestow on you 'every good gift.'"

To Sister Mary Joseph he expresses sincere regret for the disappointment she had met with in not receiving his reply to a former letter. "Perhaps on making application at the post-office you may succeed in getting a minute reply to each of your queries, for I was particular in answering each of them, in giving you some general rules for the regulation of your conduct in cases of doubt. I should do the same again at present, if I could recollect what your difficulties were, but they have entirely escaped my memory, and your letter I did not preserve.

"When you receive this, you may write to me again, and leave nothing unsaid on which you wish to have my opinion or advice, even in case that you receive my former letter, should any doubt still remain on your mind.

"I am very much gratified by the account you gave me of the good spirit which prevails in your little Community. May the Bestower of all good gifts grant you an increase of it, and enable you to advance in His love and service, even as the sun advances from the horizon to the midday brightness. 'The just shall be still more justified.' The more fervent you are in the progress you make

towards heaven, the sooner will you be dissolved, and be with Christ. Thus in a short time the saints are riper for eternity, and their old age is not computed by the number of their years, but by the number of their sacrifices and the perfection of their virtues."

His early correspondent, Mary Howlett, is next addressed.

"CARLOW, 16th July 1831.

"MY DEAR MARY,—I am almost angry with you for not letting me know when the doubts you mention of my dispositions occurred to you; and, only I am sure they arise in part from your great affection and interest for me, I should be distressed at your having for a moment entertained them. They are, I assure you, totally unfounded; and if there was anything in any part of your conduct which appeared to me not right, I would immediately tell you my sentiments. But I well know who has made you think thus, and it was but reasonable they should observe in me the change which age, care, and the thousand trials of life have certainly produced in me. I myself feel that change, and that I have become almost another, but not a better, man in the last twenty years; but if there be anything in me uniform, it is my interest and affection for you. If you do not visit Harrogate, go to Lucan; the Spa there is also sulphureous, but Johnstown is a chalybeate, like Cheltenham or Leamington—the town and country about abominable, whilst Lucan is very agreeable."

[If Dr. Doyle were now living, he would doubtless hope to see Lucan Spa—so accessible to the citizens of Dublin—reopened.]

"Hospitable, courteous, and communicative at home," observes Bishop Clancy, "Dr. Doyle seldom or never dined abroad except at the College, where he was in the habit of coming (when in health) and spending a few hours in the evening, two or three times a week. His habits were most abstemious; he was up at six o'clock in the morning, and for the latter part of his life did not use spirituous liquors. He was literally a prince at his own table—not so much in the costly quantity or quality of his hospitable board as in his own dignified solicitude for the comfort and ease of his guests. Thomas Moore has happily compared him to St. Basil; and some of his ecclesiastical acquaintance recognised many traits in the person and character of Dr. Doyle which confirm the analogy."

Dr. Doyle has been pronounced by unkind critics to have been vain, fond of hearing himself talk, and not indisposed to inhale the adulation of the censor. The reverse, however, is the fact. He hated to be lionised, and, as Bishop Clancy states, "he seldom

or never dined abroad." On one occasion, when in Dublin, he was prevailed upon to dine at the hospitable table of Mr. Corcoran, Clerk of the Crown, with whom he had been intimate. After dinner the gentlemen adjourned to the drawing-room, where some ladies had also assembled. "Dr. Doyle," observes a fair informant "said not a word, but sat with his eyes fixed upon the ground like a timid *débutant*. Singular emotions were awakened within me when I contrasted his meekness and modesty in the drawing-room with the denunciative severity and awful austerity of manner that so often impressed his audiences elsewhere with the idea of an almost supernatural agency."

As Dr. Doyle knew not what *mauvaise honte* meant, it is hardly necessary to say that his retiring demeanour in the drawing-room was the result of sense of duty. In his diocesan statutes we find: "Remember that an ecclesiastic, whether officiating in the sanctuary or dwelling in the midst of the world, should appear to be a man of superior mind and exalted virtue—a man whose example can improve society, whose irreproachable manners can reflect honour on the Church and add to the glory and splendour of religion—a man whose modesty should be apparent to all men, as the Apostle recommends, and who should be clothed with justice, according to the expression of a Prophet."

"The awful austerity of manner," noticed by our correspondent, was generally assumed by an effort, and cannot therefore be fairly regarded as an index of the Bishop's heart, which often betrayed almost womanly tenderness. Dr. O'Grady writes: "On taking leave of the Bishop, I knelt and implored his benediction. When I stood up he placed his arms on my neck and closely embraced me, while tears fell from his eyes. I never felt as I then did, nor can I ever since revert to that moment without feeling emotions indescribable."

[Dr. Doyle having observed a man constantly going into the College, he at last challenged him as to his object. "My name is M'Namara. I was once a soldier and I now earn a pittance cutting the hair of the students. My Lord, we have met before. During the Peninsular War, when the students were one day leaving Coimbra, one of them dropped a book, which an English soldier picked up." "I was that student," exclaimed the Bishop, with some emotion. "And I was the soldier," cried the barber. The rencontre is described as full of dramatic interest. Dr. Doyle promised to befriend M'Namara so long as he lived, and until the last few years he continued to work for the College.

While the Cathedral was building he always breakfasted in the adjacent convent, from which he could view the masons at work.

When at last it had been completed, one of the pupils sent a ball through its handsome stained-glass window. Dr. Doyle was deeply pained and extremely angry. The boys were at study when he entered the hall, and a round of plaudits was as usual beginning to greet him, when he sternly cried, "Stop ! I came not here to court your empty applause. You have committed an act from which the tramps of the road would shrink. My fine window has been smashed, and I shall be obliged to expend £10 upon a wickerwork to shield it from a repetition of your barbarity." Another day, when the Bishop entered the grounds, a little boy who had been engaged in ball-playing suddenly stopped, which led his companion to say, "Don't mind that old fool." "I bet a dozen oranges that you don't say that to his face," said the first boy. "Done !" He immediately ran to the Bishop and told the whole circumstance. "My child, you have won your wager," was the unexpectedly gentle response.]

CHAPTER XVI.

How he could argue orally and in writing simultaneously—Another letter to Lord Farnham—The tithe system severely handled—Government may be honoured while reminding it of its duties—Bishops' lands—Reform of the Church Establishment—Death of Archbishop Magee—Bishop Bathurst—Revival of Canonical Synods in Ireland, and a revised system of Church legislation framed—Imposing ceremonial at Maynooth—Dr. Doyle elevates the condition of Curates—Indulgence to Friars—Men drop by thousands into a grave dug in the most fertile soil of Western Europe—Sir W. Scott and Dr. Doyle agree on the necessity of Poor Laws—Mr. Sheil—Anecdote—Severe letter to Mr. Senior—"Famine holds her feasts"—Petition of the Catholic Prelates to Parliament—His fatal disease stings him with its presence—Letter to Miss Anderson—Visit to Lord Anglesey.

THE reader does not need to be reminded that Dr. Doyle wrote with ease, but he may have yet to learn that, like Cæsar, who could read, write, and dictate at the same moment, our Prelate exercised the rare power of examining students while written composition flowed *currente calamo* from him. "He would put," observes a priest, "a succession of the most knotty questions to us, involving a most remarkable retentiveness of memory, and his pen running all the while. He could preserve in his mind the two distinct trains of subtle argument." A striking instance of this peculiar gift occurred at the present period in his celebrated letter to Lord Farnham.

This peer, whom Dr. Doyle had addressed so trenchantly in

1827 on his proselytising efforts at Cavan, was now indiscreet enough to draw the wrath of J. K. L. again upon him. His speech in the House of Lords specially charged Dr. Doyle, not alone with being the head of a conspiracy formed in Ireland to resist the payment of tithe, but of being the cause of the slaughter at Newtownbarry. Lord Farnham further complained that Dr. Doyle had lately been invested with the commission of the peace.

Our prelate on the 29th July 1831 replied. He reminded that pious peer how, in a former letter, he had predicted the issue of his evangelical labours. Was there not some reason to fear that this, his second letter, might presage the coming ruin of what Lord Farnham had taken so untowardly under his protection? But the Bishop preferred to discuss rather than prophesy events.

"I would not, my Lord, for your estate accept and exercise such commission. I am forbidden to exercise jurisdiction of any sort in criminal cases connected with blood; but, independent of this prohibition, the 'commission of the peace' is not compatible with that higher commission which I hold. Even if I were a private individual, I could not but feel that the office of 'justice of the peace' has now-a-days ceased, in Ireland, to confer honour on those who hold it. Nay, if that office were accepted by any one of the numerous clergy subject to my control, he should cease to hold his spiritual office in conjunction with it. The clergy throughout the world have been too long labouring to serve two masters; they should now make their selection of one of them, for the spirit of reform being abroad, 'it is time that judgment should begin from the house of God;' and I would sooner dissolve my little church establishment than suffer the clergy of it to bear two incompatible commissions."

But this part of the charge was of minor importance. Dr. Doyle had much reason to complain that he should have been attacked where he could not be present to defend himself, and cover with shame and confusion the slanderer of his reputation. He had been stigmatised as the head and life-blood of a conspiracy. Dr. Doyle reminded his noble assailant that secrecy was the soul of conspiracy, and that conspirators often tasted blood to confirm their iniquitous league. Startled, he asked himself, "Am I then such a man—such a monster as this charge inflicts?" Conscience—that herald of future judgment—acquitted him. He was no conspirator. Unwilling to be profane, he was yet obliged to say, "I have spoken openly to the world, and in secret spoke nothing."

It was quite true that Dr. Doyle had frankly averted

tithe system as unjust in principle and odious in practice—as an impediment to the improvement of Ireland in peace as well as in agriculture—as injurious to the best interests of religion, oppressive to the poor, inconsistent with good government, and intolerable to the Irish people. In justification of those strong phrases the Bishop detailed many striking proofs of their truth, from the tithe laws enacted in the Irish Parliament to the Battle of Skibbereen; and he inquired whether the recent slaughter at Newtownbarry was the effect of a cause different from that which produced the former collisions. The exaction of tithe was incompatible with the peace of Ireland. It had been hated and resisted before J. K. L. was born, and it would be cursed when he lay in his tomb. That the system was not less injurious to agriculture than to peace he clearly demonstrated. He had seen the hay left to rot and the field untilled rather than pay the tithe of the produce to the parson. But was it not self-evident that if culture created ten pounds' worth of produce from an acre of land subject only to £1 annual rent, that the tithe of this produce was taken, not from the land or its value, but from the seed, labour, and capital employed in producing the crop?

The full amount of the Church property in Ireland had never yet been ascertained. All the returns made respecting Bishops' lands and the rentals of them were fallacious. These lands amounted to two-elevenths of the entire kingdom. The incomes of the Sees consisted not so much in the return of rents as in renewal fines. "The estimate of the value of their rents might be justly appreciated by the quarter of a million of money which several of the Bishops had been enabled to amass in a few years, after maintaining the charitable institutions which bear their name, and exercising that hospitality for which they were distinguished." Dr. Doyle indignantly denied that Ireland—the poorest country in Europe—could support an affluent and luxurious priesthood, which did not profess the religion of the people or minister to the wants of the poor.

The clergy of the Establishment expressed themselves in high wrath against Dr. Doyle. He was inundated with stinging retorts. A letter jointly addressed to him by Dr. Daly, Bishop of Cashel, and Dr. M'Ghee, said: "You, sir, professing to be a Christian Bishop, openly appeal to the Government to overturn the property of the Church. Your attack upon the revenues of the Established Church is but natural. If you are true to your principles you consider all its members heretics, accused by an infallible decree; and it was a more easy and popular method to direct your efforts against its property than its principles. . . .

"But it is not vague accusation you bring forward in your letter; you come to matter of fact. This, sir, is an important point to attain. You state that the ministers of the Established Church '*take the blanket from the bed of sickness, the ragged apparel from the limbs of the pauper, and sell it by auction for the payment of tithe.*' . . . Now, sir, you are defied to substantiate with *dates, names, and places* the 'instances' which you assert you have *so often seen.* . . .

"You stand spiritually aghast at the imputation of accepting the commission of the peace, as being totally incompatible with that high and holy commission which you profess to hold; and you reprove in no measured language the sinful secularity of Protestant clergymen for assuming an office so inconsistent with their profession. But, sir, if it is incompatible with the sacred office to endeavour to preserve the public peace, is it reconcilable with its functions to use all diligence to disturb it? . . .

"It is painful, sir, when the general interests of men are concerned, to be obliged to direct their attention to an individual; but the rank which you hold in this unhappy country renders this necessary on the present occasion. Your opinions are looked up to by a poor, infatuated people as possessing something little short of infallible authority in politics, in morality, and in religion; and it is of vast importance to their temporal and eternal interests to examine, in the light of truth, the object of their veneration. It is but a short time since the Roman Catholics of Ireland were in a situation very different from that in which they now appear, and it is but a few short years since you appeared as the prominent advocate for their political claims, and the conciliatory supplicant of Government for their emancipation. . . .

"Tithes may be abolished—the property of the Church, with all other property, may be trodden under foot; but truth—eternal truth—shall triumph in the conflict; and we shall rejoice in any event, however injurious to the temporal prosperity of the Church, which shall issue in the vindication and diffusion of her principles, and bring salvation to our poor benighted countrymen, whose intellect, whose freedom of thought, whose 'whole body, soul, and spirit,' you, sir, and your coadjutors, are bowing down beneath a yoke that keeps them in bondage here, and is calculated to bind them in chains of outer darkness for eternity. . . .

"What do the ministers of the Established Church do for Roman Catholics? Alas! sir, they have failed indeed in their duty. There is much that they ought to do, and much that they do not do. They do not denounce, with bold and apostolical fidelity, in every quarter of the land, the principles and superstitions

that bury it in darkness and ignorance, and hopeless misery and ruin. They do not stand forth and summon you, sir, and all the priests and bishops of your Church, to vindicate before your fellow-creatures and your God the spiritual tyranny with which you presume to shut up from man—from freeborn, rational, immortal man—that Word and that salvation which is the birthright of the poorest Roman Catholic in Ireland. They do not ‘lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions,’ and draw ‘*the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God,*’ to hew the chains of mental bondage that fetter and enslave their countrymen. But now, sir, you have given the word, and challenged them as to what they do for the Roman Catholics. Let him who is the minister of falsehood now shrink back from the conflict in the open light of truth. . . .

“Do not tell us we are *heretics*, unworthy of an answer, unworthy of the condescension of your mighty talents ; if so, appoint men less worthy and more suited to such an ignoble task ; but remember that the more vile we are, the more is a man who calls himself a Christian Bishop bound to labour for our salvation.”

It having been remarked to Dr. Doyle that the clergy of the Established Church spoke ill of him, and wrote some very offensive pamphlets against him, he replied, “Many of them are young men not occupied with business, who know a little of theology, and having got a good classical education, they employ their time and their talents in defending, as they imagine, the cause of their Church, and in avenging the injuries which they suppose I have done to it. But they are mistaken. I hate their excessive Establishment, because it is injurious to this, an agricultural country, blasting the capital and industry of the peasant as well as the soil, and also because it has induced them to form an alliance with the Orangemen, who are the sworn enemies of our rights, and of the peace and happiness of Ireland. But though I think Dr. Jebb could scarcely find one amongst them, except himself, to suit his character of an Irish clergyman of the Establishment, and considering them as oppressive by the nature of their tenure and income, rendered odious to us by their tithes and detestable church-rates, yet I respect them generally as a class of men eminent, many of them, for their domestic virtues as well as for their literary acquirements.”

[His correspondence with the Rev. George Carr, A.M., affords a pleasing glimpse of this feeling. One letter is subjoined as a sample :—

“MY DEAR REV. FRIEND,—I was much pleased at hearing from

you, and would be truly gratified if enabled to render you even a slight service.

"Mr. Corcoran, whom you mention, is a person to whom I owe many obligations, but who would, I am confident, be anxious still to oblige me. I am very glad that you, of whose honour, integrity, and friendship I have had so many proofs, should, in settling your accounts, have to do so with Mr. Corcoran, in whom you will meet the kindest disposition, with a tact and ability for doing business almost peculiar to himself. If you will have the kindness to present this letter to him, though addressed to yourself, he will receive you as my old and intimate friend, and offer to you, in the passing of your account, every facility and attention which he would show to me; for he knows that I value a kindness done to any of my friends as if done to myself.

"Mr. Corcoran is a Roman Catholic, but even in those evil days he adheres to the charities of his religion, as you do yourself to those of yours, without permitting a difference of faith to diminish his cordial good-will to all men. I have the honour to remain, my dear rev. friend, your faithful, &c.,
 J. DOYLE."]

Dr. Doyle's strong truths against the Establishment worked their way. A bill for reforming the Church was prepared. Church cess was to be abolished—a relief to the amount of £80,000 per annum. Twenty-two archbishops and bishops were reduced to twelve, and a general tax on all bishoprics, from five to fifteen per cent., was imposed. All sinecure dignities were to cease, and where no duty had been performed nor minister resident for three years before the passing of the Act, commissioners received power to suspend the appointment. There were several other reforms enumerated, and the bill thus concluded: "The commutation of tithes for land, and the laws of enforcing residence and prohibiting pluralities, to be the subject of another bill." This measure, after receiving violent opposition in the Lords, passed into law.

The death of Dr. Doyle's early opponent, Dr. Magee, in August 1831, caused a vacancy to occur in the Archbishopric of Dublin. Lord Grey offered the See to Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, a staunch advocate of civil and religious liberty, and a personal friend of Dr. Doyle's. Dr. Bathurst, however, was in the sear and yellow leaf, and he felt little disposition to grasp a crozier with an enfeebled hand, and he died soon after. Fr. James Maher heard Dr. Doyle say that had he been in London, he thought it likely that Dr. Bathurst would have sent for him, with a view, like Bishop Ives, to embrace Roman Catholicism. This step has since been taken by nearly all Dr. Bathurst's grandchildren.

Dr. Bathurst, speaking of Dr. Doyle in a letter dated 15th May 1824, pronounces him to be the most learned and agreeable Bishop he had ever met.

In our fourth chapter we noticed the Synod of 1614, and the relaxation of discipline which it reluctantly sanctioned in the suffering Church of Ireland. The revival of Canonical Synods in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin was slow and cautious. Not until the year 1831 can it be said that measures were earnestly adopted to remove the tarnish which had gradually overspread the brilliancy of the Irish Church. "A great work," writes Monsignor Meagher, "was to be performed—on the successful execution of which the welfare of religion in their province for ages, perhaps, depended. Numerous important changes were called for—ancient and once valuable customs to be superseded cautiously; interests and feelings of great consideration to be managed with adroitness and delicacy." To Dr. Doyle and his zealous colleague, Dr. Murray, the success of this great and holy task is due. All the preliminaries of a sound and permanent system of Church legislation having been arranged, Archbishop Murray, attended by his suffragans, Drs. Doyle, Keating, and Kinsella, commenced a series of mature deliberations and painstaking inquiries. "They were all men of singular eminence and worth," writes Dr. Meagher—"one of them among the chief lights of the Western Church—the great Dr. Doyle. The objects to be attained were substitution of ordinances, in stricter conformity with the canons of the Church at large, for local practices introduced in periods of disaster, and establishment of a uniformity of discipline in matters of more prominent importance throughout the province."

His labours to enact a system of legislation in accordance with the ameliorated condition of the times proved eminently successful. The diocesan statutes, of which we have already spoken, were the work of his master-hand. For zeal, learning, and wisdom they have never been surpassed. They bear, in many places, a strong resemblance to the celebrated Synodical Statutes of the Church at Milan under the illustrious Borromeo. "Its golden maxims have been followed by still more golden results," writes Dr. Meagher; "with devout alacrity its prescriptions were accepted, and with fidelity they have been adhered to. When about to render his soul into the hands of the Pastor of pastors, there was no other circumstance of his episcopacy which yielded Dr. Doyle so much unmixed delight as the recollection of the part he took in preparing and promulgating that code of wisdom and piety."

In July 1831, for the first time within 150 years, a diocesan Synod was held with great splendour and solemnity throughout the province. That at Maynooth lasted from the 19th to the 22d inst. One hundred priests attended. It was opened by a solemn procession from the hall of theology to the chapel, consisting of cross-bearers, curates, parish priests, superiors of religious orders, canons, officials of the Synod, the Archbishop, and deacons, in red vestments. The aid of the Divine Spirit having been invoked by a Mass to the Holy Ghost, the Creed of Pope Pius IV. was sworn to, first by the Bishop on his knees and afterwards by each of the clergy present. The decrees of the Council of Trent were then recited, and the constitutions of the diocese read aloud.

[It was about this time that Dr. Doyle dined at Maynooth in company with a number of his clergy. That evening, in an argument with Dr. Montague, the Burser, it was observed that he did not seem familiar with a Bull of Urban quoted by Dr. Doyle, who said, "It strikes me, Mr. Montague, that you know more about bullocks than bulls." A loud laugh was immediately raised at the bucolic priest's expense, who merely muttered, "Indulge your merriment, gentlemen; it is not often that Dr. Doyle makes you laugh."]

Long before the publication of the statutes many wise reformatory regulations had been effected by Dr. Doyle. There is one fact connected with his executive career as a Bishop which, as we do not happen to have noticed it before, may now be mentioned. He early made a successful effort to increase the independence and elevation of the working clergy of the diocese from being mere hired servitors. "I know no rat so unfortunate as a poor *cu-rate*," observed one. There is some truth in the joke. The curates had long been paid by agreement, each parish priest making his bargain on the cheapest terms. Under Dr. Doyle's *régime* and since, each curate received a fourth of the parish dues if he resided with the pastor, and a third if he lived elsewhere. Dr. Doyle in a letter to Archbishop Murray says: "With us, the curate living apart from the parish priest receives one-third of the emoluments, and thereout pays £25 to the second curate, who is supported by the parish priest without charge." This arrangement, without doing injustice to any other class, secures the independence and respectability of the men who do the hard work. The same distribution of parochial dues was introduced into Ossory by Dr. Kinsella, the friend and pupil of Dr. Doyle.

He had proved himself equally indulgent to the regular clergy, who had suffered much in bygone times from the caprice or

cruelty of Bishops. The Rev. James Crane, O.S.A., Ross, writes : "Dr. Doyle not only gave me faculties in his diocese, but also gave faculties to all members of this house, who should enjoy the faculties of this diocese without any application to him; which extraordinary privilege was continued by his two successors, Dr. Nolan and Dr. Haly."

Having contributed so largely to set his country free, Dr. Doyle now laboured to make her freedom a substantial not an empty gain. He continued to uproot the abuses which the tyranny of ages had sown in the institutions of the land; he toiled in the teeth of sharp opposition to better the condition of his humbler fellow-men by tearing from selfish opulence the pittance of the poor; he extended with a lavish hand the blessings of order, and diffused the lights of education among the people, that they might appreciate its worth, and improve its advantages, and shun the errors which had so often exposed them to its loss.

The leading subject of his thoughts, however, was a provision for the poor. Few will be disposed to cavil with him for pursuing this course, although at the time there were persons found to object to it. To whom are the poor to look, if not to the ministers of religion, for support and protection? Before a bishop receives the imposition of hands, he solemnly and publicly promises to be a protector to the widow and orphan, a guardian to the poor and helpless. "But," writes Bishop Kinsella, "he ventured, in his ardent zeal for the impoverished people of this country, to go one step farther, and this it was that brought a tempest on his head. He suggested that there were certain public funds a part of which was originally destined for the support of the poor, and he claimed for the poor that these funds should be appropriated to their original object. This was the sin that self-interested persons never forgave; it was by touching this sore point that he raised up a host of enemies, who never ceased to malign his motives and to misrepresent his acts."

Dr. Doyle's labours in private to promote a legal provision for the poor were hardly less extensive than his public efforts in the same direction. The Knight of Kerry, writing to the author, observes : "I have a perfect recollection of having seen among my father's papers one very long letter from Dr. Doyle on Poor Laws, which struck me as particularly interesting." This letter was probably addressed to the Knight when he filled the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

Dr. Doyle and Sir Walter Scott had, several years before, concurred as to the necessity of Poor Laws for Ireland, though different motives may have led them to the same conclusion. Sir

Walter (4th February 1829) says: "If Ireland were to submit to a Poor Rate that should secure to the indigent their natural share of the fruits of the earth, and enable them at least to feed while others are feasting, it would raise the character of the lower orders, and deprive them of that recklessness of futurity which leads them to think only of the present."

"Official men, both Whig and Tory," writes Mr. Torrens, "supported the Malthusian theory of allowing misery to burn itself out. O'Connell and his disciples advocated a repeal of the Union. Wise and practical men of all parties among the middle classes, and the pious and benevolent among the clergy of all persuasions, urged that while politicians were wrangling about remedies for the future, and economists were contending about the abstract definitions of wages and rent, it was a scandal and a sin that a people should be suffered to rot by thousands into a grave dug in the most fertile soil of Western Europe. Dr. Doyle gave valuable evidence before the committee in support of the Christian as opposed to the scientific and red-tape theory; and to this Mr. Sadler alluded in an elaborate speech, which he concluded by moving—'That it was expedient and necessary to constitute a legal provision for the poor of Ireland.'"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply, hesitated to gain-say the existing destitution, or the duty of Parliament to alleviate it; but he did not then see how a remedial measure could be carried into operation. Mr. Sheil started to his feet, and made a brilliant speech in favour of the position taken up by Dr. Doyle. "The two witnesses," he said, "most conspicuous were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Doyle, who, dissenting in opinion, coincided in humanity, vied with each other in lofty faculty and in pure emotion—differed in dogma but agreed in benevolence, and exhibited such a union of truly Christian attributes that they should reconcile the two religions of which they are the ornaments, and induce Rome to forgive Geneva, and Geneva to pardon Rome. When men so distinguished took views so opposite, it was difficult to arrive at a conclusion free from doubt. He thought, however, that Dr. Doyle must be allowed to have as a witness this signal advantage—he spoke of what he had seen; the other of what he had heard. Dr. Chalmers talked of human nature; Dr. Doyle of its peculiar modification in his own country. Dr. Chalmers was afraid of congealing the pure sources of gratuitous benevolence. He did not know that in the heights of society in Ireland the moral temperature was already below the freezing-point, and that there was a crust of ice upon the fountain of sympathy which charity could not melt, but which the law perhaps might break."

Critics by profession failed to form that high opinion of Dr. Chalmers' evidence which Mr. Sheil so warmly expressed. "The Morning Chronicle," 18th January 1831, then edited by Mr. Black, observes: "We have, for some years, looked with attention to the exertions of the Irish priesthood, and we consider many of them to possess talents of the first order, both for speculation and action. Who is there of the Established clergy, either of England, Ireland, or Scotland, to compare with Dr. Doyle? Compare his evidence on the Poor Law Committee with that of Dr. Chalmers, and his superiority appears immense."

Dr. Doyle disliked to see or hear himself eulogised. The Rev. James Maher one day began to read aloud for him some articles of a highly complimentary tone, but had only proceeded a line or two when Dr. Doyle exclaimed, "Stop that nonsense!"

Dr. Doyle wrote powerfully on the Poor Law question this year, although he generally came to the discussion of such matters exhausted by the professional labours of the day. On the 3d of September he addressed a letter to the "Times," in reply to a leading article and some extracts from Mr. Senior's work on Poor Laws, which had charged Dr. Doyle with using declamation in place of argument. "I respect you as a public writer so highly," said Dr. Doyle, addressing the "Times," "as to feel anxious to set myself right in your opinion. Mr. Senior, in his present work, and in his answers to certain questions, has erred so widely through ignorance of the state of Ireland, and has evinced, especially in the questions above-mentioned, so much absurd bigotry in his estimate of the Catholic clergy, that if the limits of a short letter, such as I intend this to be, allowed me to express my thoughts fully, I would probably furnish to him just cause to judge correctly of the use to which language called declamatory may be applied."¹

Dr. Doyle declared that all his testimony on this question, during a difficult and protracted examination by able men holding opinions adverse to his, was employed in justifying the principle of the

¹ The Bishop would seem to have displayed his usually accurate perception of character. Twenty-nine years afterwards we find, in a Dublin morning journal, the following: "It is stated that the Government have determined to supersede Mr. Senior, the junior Poor Law Commissioner for Ireland. It has transpired upon inquiry that to him is chiefly attachable the major part of the blame of the recent anti-Catholic proceedings of the Board, and that he is mainly accountable for the letters which have brought so much obloquy upon the working of the system, and rendered it so obnoxious to the people of this country."

[This highly distinguished man, originally Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, prepared for publication in 1861 his "Journals and Conversations," in which he claims the merit of having promoted some plans of Church Reform, adding, "*Other measures of perhaps still greater importance have been carried into effect which I cannot claim the merit of having proposed or even supported—a Poor Law has been introduced—the best which any country has ever adopted*" (Preface p. x); but Mr. Senior complains that the Irish people "are still the tools of their priests" (p. viii).]

plan noticed elsewhere, or in replying to the objections brought against it. "These answers of mine are upon record. They contain arguments which, in whatever language they may be clothed, whether clear or obscure, vague or precise, plain or declamatory, have not hitherto been disproved. Mr. Senior has not refuted any one of them. He insinuates that I have exaggerated the distress of our poor. How does he know? Is *he*, buried in the dens of the Inns of Court or vending political economy to beardless youths at a *coterie* in the 'west end,' or I, visiting the hovels and communing with the hearts of the Irish poor—is he or I the better judge? And who is Mr. Senior, and who am I, that he should presume to question a statement vouched by me? My arguments are not to be admitted because I entertain a horror of infanticide. My reason is not purified by philosophy because I look upon it as a crime to promote concubinage, to check by artifice the legitimate procreation of the human kind, or believe that if any one be not born again of water and the Holy Ghost 'he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' I may in all these opinions be extremely silly—very superstitious—perhaps an idolater, but that is no reason why my arguments in favour of the poor should not have the weight they merit. An atheist may cavil at the consequences which flow from the existence of God and of His attributes; he may discover many apparent inconveniences inseparable from the order of things established by the Supreme Being, and argue from them against His very existence; but such wisdom is folly: so, without comparing small things with great, I contend it is folly to argue against the justice and wisdom of a provision for our poor, if the arguments adduced in support of their rights cannot be replied to otherwise than they have been by Mr. Senior and the disciples of his politico-economical school."

Dr. Doyle went on to say that he had long been acclimatised to a tempest of defamation. In 1825 he had heard two Right Honourable gentlemen imputing to him in Parliament bad faith and disaffection, and he adds, "I heard one of them speaking of me the foulest falsehood with regard to a matter of fact; it was thus my arguments were replied to then; thus they are every day replied to by a swarm of things that creep and die in Ireland; and is it thus also that my arguments in favour of the poor are to be answered? Dr. Doyle is vague and declamatory—he exaggerates and has ulterior views; he has given no specific plan of relief for the poor; let his reasoning be disregarded, his arguments despised, and let the poor and their advocate perish together."

Dr. Doyle's pleading for the suffering poor rose to a tone of manly indignation. He complained that political economy was

perverted, argument slighted, false pretences and professions advanced, and that men without bowels of mercy, without hearts of flesh, or consciences accessible to remorse, continued, like Nero—who fiddled while Rome was burning—to speculate on theories whilst famine held her feasts, and disorder approaching to anarchy desolated the fairest portion of this empire. Had the measure of Reform, really difficult and complicated, thus lingered under “consideration,” what should have been the consequences?

“I have stated in my evidence how and in what the improvement of Ireland is apparent; but I have maintained, and without any profession of sincerity which I was not entitled to make, and without any profession of knowledge which I did not actually possess, that this apparent improvement covered debility and decay in the classes of the people which ought to be substantial, just as the *rouge* on the face of a coquette hides for an hour the furrowed pallor of her worn cheek. But this simile, no doubt, is also declamation; and to show how inapplicable it is, some political economist, out of the depths of his wisdom, will observe that ‘Poor Laws would ruin Ireland.’ There, however, he leaves his assertion, as the bird of fable or history leaves her egg to be hatched into life by the sun’s heat or to perish. He does not deign to utter any of the proofs so familiar in the groves of his sect. Supply and demand, checks of superabundant population, level, transition, or perhaps clearance of land, and free trade, may be uttered by him in an undertone intelligible only to the initiated; but press him to argue the question, and the whole vocabulary vanishes into thin air. Nothing can be more contemptible than to see young boys and superficial men charge themselves with the destinies of nations; and because they are vested with a little brief authority, or seated in some chair of metaphysics, vend their undigested learning as arguments against truths as old as the sun, and as necessarily true as that God is the author of society and the Lord and Father of the human race.”

Dr. Doyle concluded with a telling allusion to “those who purchase the consolidation of farms, the amassing of wealth, or the enjoyment of luxuries, with the blood of the poor.” It was evident, by the force and closeness with which he met and rebutted his opponents, that he felt his positions to be as immovable as the rock of truth whereon they were based.

In September 1831 a petition from the Catholic Bishops was presented to Parliament. In its generosity of purpose and courageousness of expression it is not difficult to recognise J. K. L. “Petitioners have never ceased to hope that, the great cause of political and religious discord in Ireland being removed, your

Honourable House would, without delay, devote its attention to the wants which prey upon the laborious and destitute classes of the Irish poor ; that you would not suffer famine to ravish a country not only fertile and productive, but abounding with provisions ; nor permit disease to grow and spread itself amid a healthful and vigorous population intrusted by Providence to your superintending care ; for petitioners humbly submit that to you it most especially appertains to so apportion the burdens of the several classes of the community, and so to regulate the enjoyment of property in the commonwealth, as that the poor be not goaded by want into acts of outrage, or left to perish unheeded by those whom their toils have enriched. . . .

"God, may it please your Honourable House, is the Father of the indigent : it is by His power you legislate. He is provoked to anger when the poor are neglected or oppressed ; ' He transfers kingdoms from one people to another, because of injustices, and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits.' Your Honourable House should fear Him, and ensure His protection to this mighty Empire by extending your care to His poor."

From his letters of this period we find that the fatal malady which eventually killed him was, even already, stinging him with indications of its presence. Writing to Miss Anderson, the Bishop's former ward, 6th October 1831, he assures her that he has been "very unwell." "I do not like to receive gifts," he adds, "for I think it is somewhere written, 'they corrupt the heart ;' and I sometimes endeavour to decline them when offered. Should that, by which you would testify your kindness and that of your dear sister, be of very small intrinsic value, I will receive it with thankfulness. Should it be otherwise, do, my dear child, bestow it on some person more worthy of you and it ; but do not suffer this suggestion to lead you to think that I am not grateful for your good-will, and truly interested in your present and future welfare."

On 11th November Dr. Doyle is announced by the newspapers as having accepted an invitation to dine at the Viceregal Lodge, and that the company consisted of Lord Cloncurry, Archbishop Murray, Dr. Ponsonby, Bishop of Derry, and the Right Hon. A. R. Blake. Dr. Doyle, though invited, was not present. When Mr. Finn accused him of sharing the Viceregal hospitality, the Bishop replied that he had never dined with his Excellency, although repeatedly asked. In his evidence on tithes (3244), Dr. Doyle makes the same assertion.

[In examining some students at this time a most amusing incident occurred with one who seemed very obtuse.

"What is your name?"—"Doyle!" "I am ashamed of the name. Pray what may be your Christian name?"—"James!" The Bishop winced. "Where are you from?"—"Wexford, and my mother often told me that I had the honour of being a cousin of your Lordship!"

A few wore cloaks. "If you cannot come without a cloak we will dispense with your attendance."

But how gentle and kindly he was in the familiar intercourse of daily life is shown in those beautiful letters to nuns, not the least of whose trials in a life marked by many sorrows must have been that of his early death.]

CHAPTER XVII.

Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald"—Dr. Doyle protests against an imputation—Moore and Sheil—The tithe question—Disagreements between the Viceroy and Chief Secretary—Letter from the Chief Remembrancer—Mr. Blake's services—Matters of conscience—Letter from Lord Shrewsbury—Important correspondence on the state of Ireland—Dr. Doyle visits the collieries and surveys the bloody corpses of the Whitefeet—Address to the conspirators—Sir John Harvey's account of the Bishop's visit—The flag of Repeal again unfurled—Dr. Doyle consulted as to whether the Attorney-Generalship ought to be offered to O'Connell—Important correspondence—O'Connell's attack upon Dr. Doyle—The Bishop offered patronage and place, but austere rejects both.

AT this period of general revolution and heat Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" was published, and had no small effect in fanning the flame of popular feeling in Ireland. An ambiguous passage in the work was liable to the imputation of seeking to cast the suspicion of betrayal on Samuel Neilson, one of the staunchest disciples of the patriot chief. It naturally gave offence to the relatives and friends of Neilson, including Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who expressed to Moore surprise at an imputation which he felt convinced Neilson did not deserve. Mr. Hancock—the nephew of Neilson—sought the influential interposition of Dr. Doyle, who writes from Carlow, 30th November 1831 :—

"I am not acquainted with Mr. Moore, but I send by this post, to one of his intimate friends in London, the copy you placed in my hands of Macneven's letter. I added my own conviction of poor Neilson's innocence of the guilt imputed to

him, and that he would even deliver up his own life if by doing so he could have saved that of Lord Edward. Mr. Moore, I have no doubt, will reconsider the passage in his book, which has given so much pain to the descendants of one of those brave men whose greatest fault was to have loved their country too well."

This letter shows Dr. Doyle's accurate perception of character. It was not for thirty years after that evidence transpired to indicate beyond doubt the betrayers of Lord Edward.¹

Mr. Sheil was "the intimate friend of Moore" to whom Dr. Doyle communicated his protest against the imputation on Neilson. Mr. Sheil having received the following characteristic reply from Mr. Moore, enclosed it to Dr. Doyle :—

"SLOPERTON COTTAGE, 6th December 1831.

"MY DEAR SHEIL,—It is odd enough that I had just been writing a sentence about Dr. Doyle (in his praise, of course) when I received your letter. Our ancient delegate, Devereux, will have it that the Bishop and I are cousins; and he once startled me not a little at Brooks's by saying, 'Have you read the very able letter your cousin has just published?' My cousins having never (as far as I know) been much in the publishing line; I should be right glad, however, to see the relationship made out. With respect to the subject of his Lordship's letter, I have sent a letter to 'The Freeman's Journal' which will, I trust, put all this commotion about Neilson to rest. People seem to have got it into their heads that I have charged Neilson with betraying Lord Edward; whereas I have merely said that such a suspicion against him existed, and then assigned very sufficient reasons why it should be considered as unfounded. I might, to be sure, have put his vindication more strongly, and . . . it will give me real pleasure, on the very first opportunity, to repair whatever injustice I may have done to his memory. Pray, say all this for me to your able and eloquent correspondent, and believe me,

THOMAS MOORE."

Mr. Moore's letter was enclosed in a gossiping communication from Mr. Sheil :—

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have given notice of a motion for an address to the Crown to cause the Archbishops and Bishops to make a return of the value in rents and renewal fines of their Sees. I suppose the Government will resist the application, as it involves

[¹ See "Ireland before the Union," p. 85, and "The Sham Squire, or the Informers of '98," *passim*.—W. J. F.]

the great question of right to interfere with Church property. I find it difficult to ascertain the exact number of parishes in Ireland. Beaufort states it at 2500. I do not believe that it amounts to so much. I find that in the returns from the Board of First Fruits the Church lands of the diocese of Kildare are stated to be only 562 acres. How does this come to pass? What has been the cause of the most part being contained in one or two Sees? There were formerly twenty-four Bishoprics in Ireland; how did they happen to be consolidated into eighteen? Mr. Stanley has not yet announced the details of his project as to tithes. I suspect that it will be far short of what is required. But let him lay his hand upon the ark. Yours most faithfully,

“R. L. SHEIL.”

The Lord Lieutenant felt sincerely anxious for a settlement of the tithe question, and was disposed to go much further than the Irish Secretary, Mr. Stanley; but the latter, having a seat in the Cabinet, was placed above the Viceroy, and had all his own way. Lord Anglesey, however, was resolute in carrying a point, and many were the warm differences of opinion between them. “Mr. Stanley,” he writes, “would prefer a more submissive master I work at great disadvantage. He knows all my schemes, and I know few of his until he finds himself in a difficulty. Thus all my projects, when laid before the Cabinet, if he does not go the whole length with me (and half measures are worse than useless), are probably thwarted by him. He tells his own story, and I have no one to support and back my views.”

Dr. Doyle, writing to Sir H. Parnell, says, “I doubt whether Lord Anglesey will recover his popularity. Mr. Stanley is even less likely to stand well with the people. A man of great experience and intimately acquainted with Ireland is much wanted to fill the place of Chief Secretary, and I doubt much whether Lord Anglesey would co-operate cordially with any Secretary who is disposed to stand between him and the public.”

A letter from the Right Hon. A. R. Blake to Dr. Doyle shows the high opinion entertained of the Bishop's abilities by the legislators of the day, and how anxious the Viceroy felt to effect an adjustment of the tithe question. The letter is franked by Lord Anglesey:—

“MY DEAR LORD,—I went out to the Park this afternoon to inquire for the Lord Lieutenant, and on my name being mentioned, his Excellency desired me to be shown into his closet, where the Archbishop of Dublin was with him on the tithe question.

"His Excellency is anxious that you should meet the Archbishop, and talk the subject over with him. The Archbishop's views are, in my humble judgment, wise and just. He is decidedly for a commutation. The main difficulty appears to spring from the arrears now due. The Archbishop says if he could decide he would say, 'Pay the arrears; they are due by the law. The law binds you in conscience while it is law,¹ but the law shall be altered, and you shall never have to pay tithe again.' If you have an hour or two that you can devote to this all-vital question, pray write and tell me what you would recommend. I do hope that you and the Archbishop may meet, and, with his Excellency for an umpire, I should have no doubt of a sound arrangement being settled between you."

Dr. Whately—the prelate referred to—was reputed the ablest logician of his day; but in Dr. Doyle he met his match. Dr. Doyle admitted that the law sanctioned tithe; but the law had also sanctioned the burning of witches and the persecution unto death of men, women, and children for following the dictates of their own conscience. Law sanctioned the slave trade and all manner of monopoly, of feudal tyranny, of rapine, prostitution, and fraud. There was nothing in the history of mankind so absurd or iniquitous which might not, at one period or another, claim the sanction of the law. The laws might be as replete with error or injustice as any other human institution, and their amendment or repeal could only be obtained by exposing their pernicious effects.

Lord Anglesey's honest views on the tithe question were not entered into cordially by Ministers. A letter of his expresses regret that "when there was a scheme worked up by Blake and Griffith, and approved by Lord Plunket and Blackburne, and recommended by me, who was without prejudice and in no respect committed by public declarations, and had only calmly to listen to the opinions of such able men, and then to form my own—what a pity that such a plan should be thrown overboard, and that another of little promise should be substituted."

Mr. Blake, whose name occurs so frequently in these memoirs, was a highly influential actor on the stage of Irish politics; but as his tact was exerted rather behind the scenes, his name will be new to many. We first catch a glimpse of him as an ensign in a Galway regiment of militia; we next find him practising with success at the English Bar. For having extricated Lord Wellesley

[¹ A man in confession to Dr. Doyle said, "I stole from the pound a cow which had been seized from me for tithe." Dr. Doyle made no comment: the penitent thought he might be dozing, and repeated that confession. "What else?" was the sole response.

The parish priest of Leighlinbridge asked Dr. Doyle what penance should be given to a man who had confessed murder. "I would give him the Litany of Saints every day for seven years, sir, and, if I could, I would lay it on him as long as he lived."]]

from some legal difficulty he received the office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer—the first Catholic who filled it since the Reformation. Mr. Blake was an agreeable, gossiping man, who knew everything and everybody, and exhibited a striking taste for diplomacy. He received scant courtesy from O'Connell and the journalists of his day, but there can be no doubt that his honesty was sound, and that in his multifarious exertions he had the interest of the country at heart. His influence with Lord Wellesley was immense, and, as Sheil tells, could procure knight-hoods, and even baronetcies, by the dozen. Mr. Blake was the first Catholic who became a member of the Privy Council after Emancipation, and received the offer in advance of Archbishop Murray. He was a Commissioner of National Education, and bequeathed at his death, in January 1849, a large sum in aid of it. By Mr. Blake's counsel almost every important move on the part of the Wellesley, Anglesey, and Mulgrave Administrations is said to have been taken.

The following letter to a nun, like many others of the same kind, is of little value, except as helping to delineate Dr. Doyle's accurate spiritual views, and the genial kindness and affection with which he could share the little cares, and enter into the minor incidents in the lives of his spiritual children :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I was truly gratified by the receipt of your letter, as it affords to me good reason to expect that you are commencing, with the special grace of God, that mode of life for which His goodness destines you. As to the uneasiness you feel, it is not of much moment, and you will yourself yet perceive how trivial it is. We have all, my dear child, abused the graces of God, but He is never angry with the converted sinner. When He enables us to see that fault with the many others of our lives, He confers on us a new grace, and is disposed to add to it by enabling us to repent of such abuse. Though He takes us into His service only at the eleventh hour, He forgets or forgives our former indolence; for ‘He is patient and of much compassion, and easy to forgive evil.’ When He has enabled you to enter upon a religious life, and that you have corresponded with His grace by doing so, you may be well assured that He will not punish hereafter your past sins, but use them to render you penitent, humble, and fervent in His service for the time to come. Satan, who transforms himself into an angel of light, would avail himself of your timidity to trouble your peace, distract your mind, and interrupt, by useless reflections on your past life, your prayers or communications with God; but be not deceived by the old serpent; rather repose on the words of our Saviour, ‘Confide in

Me, for I have conquered the world.' This you may do, my dear child, with infinitely greater confidence than you could rely on the kindness or indulgence of any person in this world. As to a general confession, I am well satisfied that you should make one at a convenient time, and an exercise so painful should be assisted by every means, so that if you prefer one clergyman to another, you may do so with all my heart. But at present it is not necessary, as the causes which seem to have induced you to desire it need not in future occupy your attention, and are in truth but the effects of your fears. I rely much more on your having gone to the trouble of making a general confession, on the amendment of your life, and on your embracing your present mode of life, as proofs of the validity of your former confessions, than on anything you can say of the want or defect of contrition. As to the other circumstance which you mention, of reserving certain sins till you would enter a convent, it does not deserve attention : it was a happy mode of getting rid of scruples ; I only wish you now to defer them till the Bishop comes to hear you.' Let your preparation be one hour each day during a week for your examination, and one hour each day for a week in praying to God in any way tending to inspire you with contrition—the entire to be concluded before I next visit the convent, should you not think well to confess to Mr. ——. Do not make the daily acknowledgment of your faults ; it is enough to do so as the rule or custom of the house prescribes. Avoid all things that are singular, however good, nay, excellent they may appear ; serve the Lord with joy in all things, for we are children of love, not of diffidence ; and do not make a yoke of religion, but look to it as a bond of union with your Father who is in heaven. Please assure Miss Gurley of my increased esteem for her on account of her attention to you, and tell — of the sincere interest I feel in her recovery."

But Dr. Doyle, as usual, had to satisfy the scruples of the exalted as well as of the humble. John, Earl of Shrewsbury, writes to the Bishop : " I should be much obliged for your Lordship's opinion upon the nature of our Parliamentary oath as it regards our rights as peers of Parliament. Does it exclude us from a free discussion and free vote upon questions relating to the Establishment ? I have always been fearful of touching upon such matters, lest it should be objected to me that I had sworn not to meddle therein ; yet, as far as I can judge, the objection is not valid. I think the word *privilege* alone is used in the oath, while we sit and vote as peers of Parliament by right, and not by privilege. Yet was it the intention of the Legislature in imposing

this yoke to leave us free, and should not the intention of the Legislature be the law that binds us?"¹

Lord Shrewsbury had a sincere admiration for Dr. Doyle. In his "Reasons for not Taking the Test," he recommends J. K. L.'s refutation of Dr. Magee "to every dispassionate reader—for argument and eloquence it stands unrivalled." One passage he specially liked: "The furious men who now agitate this country seem to know that the sword of the law could not have been drawn, or, if drawn, could not have been wielded with such deadly effect against the holy and ancient religion of these islands, if that religion had not first been decried, abused, and maligned, until it appeared to the multitude a very moral monster. 'From the sole of its foot,' like its Founder, 'to the top of its head, there was no soundness in it.' It was buffeted, abused, spit upon; it was covered with a mantle of derision; it was scourged and drenched with vinegar and gall; the waters of affliction entered into its very soul; and it was when thus disfigured by a clamorous rabble, and seemingly abandoned by God, that the bigots and the fanatics cried out to the agents of the law and of the sword—'Away with it, away with it.'"

Meanwhile Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Sir H. Parnell, a member of the Grey Cabinet, continued.

"CARLOW, 8th August 1831.

"I have been on the best terms with O'Connell since he relinquished the agitation of the Union, and would most willingly labour to dissuade him from re-opening that question if the state of Ireland be taken up in a decided way by Government. But even now the difficulties created within the last year are great beyond belief, and are every hour increasing. I cannot account on any principle for the errors that have been committed. If anything happens to the Reform Bill, the Administration is ruined in both countries; and this in Ireland through their own wilful blindness.

"It is useless to advert to the question of poor laws, or to any other, until the system in this country is changed. All my thoughts are occupied with apprehensions for the future. But is the continuance or change of the present course of policy to depend on the contingency you mention?"

On the 1st October 1831 he writes:—

"Your letter gave me great pleasure, or rather revived my confidence in the Ministers, who so long and so industriously had

¹ Mr. Hope Scott and Mr. Serjeant Bellasis, the executors of Lord Shrewsbury, kindly made a search for Dr. Doyle's correspondence with his Lordship, but without effect.

been preparing this country for even greater shocks than it had as yet experienced. I would have written to express my satisfaction; but as I could not venture to do more, I thought that, knowing my sentiments, you would excuse my silence. The decision on the Education question is an act of justice, which, though tardy, has already produced good effects. But we would have obtained it a year sooner from the Duke of Wellington had he been in office. What think you that the notice given by his Government to the Kildare Street people, not to enter into engagements, was by this Government put aside, and a pledge of support for the present time substituted for it without the consent of Parliament. I am told, but do not believe it, that Mr. Stanley would be inclined to defeat his own measures on this subject.

"So fully am I impressed with the necessity of adopting the measures suggested by you, that, before I was acquainted with your proceedings, I urged the expediency of giving some pledge to the popular members in London of substantial changes in Ireland previous to the close of the session, if we were not to be thrown into a state of anarchy during the recess. Much will depend on the pending decision on the Reform question in the Lords. That decision may greatly affect the Ministry as to its position in the country, supposing they are retained in power; but your views in any event must be substantially right."

The state of anarchy which Dr. Doyle apprehended gave some alarming indications of its approach during the ensuing winter. Blood was shed almost at his own door, and the conspiracy which he had already twice broken up had formidably reknitted within the heart of his diocese. To the disturbed districts he made special visitations, and endeavoured to argue with men whose reason seemed to have been surrendered to fatuity.

Colonel Sir John Harvey, Inspector-General of Leinster, was examined by the Tithe Committee in the House of Lords. Touching the recent affray between the Whitefeet and military he said: "I arrived at the colliery (sent down by Government) the day but two following this occurrence. I found that Dr. Doyle had been in the colliery the preceding day, and had preached at the chapels to very large congregations of the people; had used most energetic language in describing to them the enormity of their conduct, and showing them that they had been very properly visited, for resisting the law, in the number which had been killed and wounded; and from the altar authoritatively ordering that the wounded should be denied the consolations of religion,¹ and

¹ If one of the Whitefeet were dying and he sent for a priest, the latter would not be justified in refusing to come to him. Absolution and the viaticum were permitted in

those who had been killed the rights of sepulture." Referring to the beneficial result of Dr. Doyle's admonition, Sir John said : "I can speak particularly of the effect produced, because I had anticipated that the small force of military and police left in the colliery were placed in a situation of great danger. There was a population of about 4000 persons, all of whom had been highly excited ; and it has been usual at the funerals upon occasions of this kind that vengeance is vowed, and that an opportunity is taken for entering into violent resolutions on the part of the people to revenge. I was walking through the colliery with Captain Mathews the day following Dr. Doyle's address. We were unprotected either by the military or police, and we met one of the funerals of the people who had fallen. They were conveyed quietly to their graves, without being attended by any priest, and there was an appearance of dejection—a subdued appearance—on the part of the few people attending. They even touched their hats to me and Captain Mathews as they passed, and I said, 'Can it be possible that these are the persons that have been killed in the late affray?' He said, 'Yes ; and several others have been buried under the same circumstances.'"

On Dr. Doyle's return from one of his memorable missions to the collieries, he addressed a printed pastoral "to the deluded persons illegally combined under the unmeaning appellation of 'Blackfeet' and 'Whitefeet.'" "Dearly beloved brethren," he began, "for though the world may justly reject and condemn you, you are still my children and the sheep of that fold, though you have strayed from it, of which I am the shepherd. I have but just returned from that portion of the collieries which are within my diocese, and from touching the lifeless corpses, covered with the blood of your companions, slain in the criminal and unprovoked attempt to rescue from the power of the law men accused and apprehended for offences which that law condemns."

The Bishop, with singular patience and good temper, laboured to prove that the league entered into by these wretched men would only prolong and aggravate the evils of which they complained. "Attend to me, therefore, while I reason with you. I only ask your attention. I know your confidence in me is

the event of the penitent repudiating all further connection with the illegal society. But there was a low cunning among its illiterate members which, on one or two occasions, is said to have outwitted even Dr. Doyle. A priest came to one of the dying Whitefeet, but finding that the man was vowing vengeance on his enemies, he refused to administer to him the rites of the Church. The priest took his departure, but in an hour afterwards was again sent for. "Well, my poor man," he said, "I hope you have forgiven your enemies?" "Yes," was the reply, and the priest accordingly absolved him. Next day it transpired that during his absence from the couch of the wounded man, the latter had sworn his son to be revenged. "I forgive my enemies," he muttered, "because I'm dying, but *you* wouldn't be your father's son if you let his wrongs go undressed."

without limit. Hear me, then, for your own sake. Hear your Bishop while he advocates your own cause."

He explained to them that they could not redress wrongs unless by such means as reason sanctioned and the law allowed. Was it lawful that a banditti should sit in judgment and execute decrees against any person, whether innocent or guilty? Where was their authority for doing so? By what right was the punishment to be proportioned to the offence; who would try the case in the absence of the accused, or how or by whom was the sentence to be executed? Their proceedings were an outrage on common sense, and a violation of the laws of God and of society. There might be and would ever be oppression and injustice in the world; but of all the oppression and injustice which ever afflicted mankind, there were none so flagrant as the oppression and injustice committed by men illegally combined. "Look to your own deeds! What have you done? You have commenced by an unlawful and impious oath, in which you called the God of holiness to witness your crime; you enlarged your combination by force and violence; you confirmed it by drunkenness and violations of the Lord's day. As you advanced, you made war like the savage of the desert upon your next neighbour, if not of your own tribe. You polluted the fair and market-place by savage warfare; or, like Cain, you went into the field to spill the blood of your defenceless and unsuspecting brother. You plundered the house where you could meet with no resistance; you fled from him whom you most feared and hated; you wreaked your vengeance on the industrious man who supplied you with bread and fed the poor out of his substance; and if you found a man straying in the fields or travelling on the highway unarmed and defenceless, him did you murder and assassinate. These are your deeds; this is the reward of your crimes, which will one day be tried by the Judge of earth and heaven. And what can you say in your defence? You will say, forsooth! that you were employed in redressing wrongs, in affording protection to the oppressed. But you will be taught how that office did not belong to you; that evil could not be done though good should come from it; that your whole combination was a tissue of iniquity, and that all your deeds were crimes. Whatever, therefore, may be the plea of those amongst us who are burdened or oppressed, you have nothing to plead in your justification. All the arguments which other men might employ are totally inapplicable to you. But let us proceed to consider whether those evils which afflict the country, and which you resort to as a pretext and a cloak for your crimes, may not be alleviated or removed by means far

different from your proceedings—means which may be adopted without offence or the violation of any law.”

He bade them reflect on the state of Ireland when their fathers were young. “In those days there was no law—there was no shame—no justice. All was plunder and oppression, and the indulgence extended to the poor was the degrading indulgence of a master to his slave. The few who were wise and virtuous understood the condition of Ireland, and saw that she could pass from a state of bondage and oppression to one of freedom and abundance only through the narrow way of obedience to the law and unqualified allegiance to the ruling power. We preferred that allegiance, and swore to God that we would observe it. We kept our oaths ; and in return the penal laws were gradually repealed, and the rights which had been so long withheld from us were at length restored. But in labouring to attain this blessing for our country, we had to contend with powerful opponents, and struggle with enemies of every kind. There was one enemy in our own house more strong and powerful than all the others—the combination formed from time to time by such as you. The poor, and the oppressed, and the ignorant people of Ireland, goaded by the old and inveterate enemies of all freedom and justice, could not comprehend that resistance to an all-powerful oppression is as wicked as it is vain. Wicked, because it confirms the power of the oppressors ; vain, because no effort by a disorganised rabble can ever be productive of success. Whilst we, therefore, the clergy, the gentry, the educated and intelligent of the Irish people, sought for redress by pleading and urging incessantly the justice of our cause, you, who combined illegally against partial or general oppression, afforded to the common enemy a justification of those harsh laws by which ourselves and our country were kept enslaved.”

Dr. Doyle reminded the wretched Whitefeet of the hapless fate which had overtaken their predecessors in illegal conspiracy. “Houses were burned, arms plundered, robberies committed, cattle houghed, and some obnoxious characters slain.” The law seemed to slumber, but it did not sleep—it was, to use an expression of a prophet, like a “rod watching.” It walked forth in the proper time, and it scourged the innocent and the guilty ; it almost laid the country waste, it filled the valleys with lamentations, and the sound of its stripes responded from hill to hill, till it was lost in the wailings of the widows and orphans of those who were hanged upon the scaffold or banished to some distant land. If the Whiteboys, and Hearts of Steel, and Shanavests, and Ribbonmen fared thus, what think you will be the fate of the Whitefeet ?

What success think you awaits the Blackfeet? You may not know, but I will tell you. They shall be ground to the earth, and scattered like dust before the wind; but not until they will have disgusted this Government, alienated the sympathies of the Legislature, strengthened the hands of the oppressors of the poor, degraded the country with a sort of magistracy unknown to the law and the constitution, and forced the public to employ, in the payment of an armed police, that money which, were you peaceable, would be paid to you as the price of your labour."

The result of Dr. Doyle's appeal, though not signally successful, was on the whole good. A few months later we find a deputation of priests waiting upon the Lord Lieutenant of the Queen's County, and saying that "as a considerable number of the deluded have, since the advice of their Bishop, renounced their evil practices, the difficulty in overcoming the remainder is considerably diminished."¹

Owing to his parliamentary success, O'Connell returned to Ireland with accumulated popularity. Of this increased strength he promptly availed himself by reviving the Repeal agitation, which many supposed he had relinquished. A general impression prevailed that the reformed Parliament would do justice to Ireland; and Dr. Doyle was filled with sincere regret at acts which could hardly fail to embarrass the Government. [O'Connell's policy clashed with Dr. Doyle's. In a public letter to the people of Ireland he said, "I'll write you a pastoral in which there will be no deception."] The Tribune again called on the Radicals and Orangemen to unite, he conjured the Blackfeet and Whitefeet to forget their local league, he urged the "Shanavests," the "Terryalts," the "Rockites," and the Ribbonmen to cast their evil combinations to the winds, and to follow his advice and leadership in constitutional agitation. He was received with enthusiasm by the people while he once more unfurled the flag of Repeal, "which was kept floating in the popular breeze," writes his biographer, Mr. Fagan, "until it was again unadvisedly withdrawn."

Ministers, knowing O'Connell's great talents and power, thought that it would be advisable to attach him to the Government by offering him an office of responsibility and emolument. Dr. Doyle was consulted, who thus replied on the 10th October 1831: "I think it will be hard to gain O'Connell, for he is more popular in Ireland now than he ever was, and he can, if he please, get twenty or thirty thousand pounds from the country on his return. This popularity and emolument is more than

¹ "Report from the Select Committee on the State of Ireland," 1832, p. 6.

Ministers can offer to him ; but I believe the man is honest, and will not be disposed to plunge the country into utter confusion, if your views towards him be acted upon. I will write to him to-morrow, but he may have already decided."

And again, 17th October 1831 :—

"I shall, as you desire, write this evening to Mr. O'Connell. He will be in the hands of the agitators even before my letter arrives ; but this moment is not one that he should select for agitation, and he may pause.

"My application to him was more successful than I anticipated, but finding how isolated the proposal of office was made to him, I fully agreed with him that it should be rejected. Does the Government or any member of it suppose that, seeing their acts for the last year, we can expect a change if they hesitate to state, however confidentially, that there will be a change, and to what extent ? or do they imagine we are such simpletons as to commit ourselves with a bad system, cast from us the means of improvement which we possess, and render ourselves, for base lucre, the byword of the age ? I leave home for two or three weeks, and will remain in the neighbourhood of Dublin. I intend to pass a few days with Blake, who is a depository of all knowledge. I shall not, however, inform him on the subject of O'Connell."

Some weeks later we find the Government empowering Dr. Doyle to present O'Connell with a patent of presidency at the bar. This compliment had already been accepted by Mr. Brougham under the Canning Administration, and O'Connell regarded it as no ordinary courtesy. But a more substantial compliment was paid him, as we gather from one of his letters to Richard Barrett. "Strictly private and most confidential ; I could be Attorney-General in one hour." It is a singular fact that a man who had spent his entire life, but especially the previous year, in dexterously evading the law, should be intrusted with the direction and conduct of state prosecutions ; yet such would seem to be the fact. The report of the negotiation soon became bruited about. O'Connell's organ, the "Pilot," of 19th October 1831, observes :—

"Whether accepted or rejected, it will be upon very different motives than any derived from personal hate or resentment—motives unworthy of a statesman or a Christian. For the same reason that a man who was once with the people deserves censure if he afterwards oppresses or deserts them, so should a repentant sinner be taken back to public favour ; and the man who would resent past faults, should there be a determination to do present good, would be unfit to be trusted with the destinies of a nation,

No statesman or patriot would act upon such a principle—none but a deist (*sic*) or a demon would urge it. If O'Connell refuses office, personal or political resentment will have nothing to do with the refusal; and if he accepts office, it will be without the compromise of a principle, and only because he will have attained more power to serve Ireland *in* than out of office. We will go further, and say that if O'Connell refused office under such circumstances—in dread of the misconstructions of the *vile* and the misconceptions of the weak—he should show want of moral courage, be a deserter of his country; because he would miss an opportunity of doing *practical good*, lest he might be subject to imputations from the basest of the human race.”

But to resume Dr. Doyle's confidential correspondence :—

“CARLOW, 23d December 1831.

“I owe you a long account of our proceedings with Mr. O'Connell, and of the failure of all your wise projects. When I last wrote you, I adverted to the apprehension I felt that he would fall into the hands of the agitators before my letter reached him, on his arrival in Dublin. I had already expressed my regret that, if any arrangement with him was practicable, it had not been made whilst he was in London. My letter, and the communication made to him on the subject of the patent, restrained him for several days. I saw him in Dublin, and impressed on him my views and wishes. He was then, I doubt not, fully prepared to adopt them and act accordingly; but I hoped, and led him to hope, that what you informed me of from Paris would be communicated to him in a very short time. Several days elapsed, and I returned here from Dublin before your last but one letter arrived. This was so indefinite that, knowing his temper and mind, I thought it better not to inform him of it. During this long interval the agitators and the public press assailed him continually. He thought his popularity was escaping from him, and that Government intended only to delude him. He became ill-tempered, and by degrees ferocious, until he recanted all that he had said of a wish to serve Government, and atoned for his temporary moderation by the most unqualified abuse of friends and foes. He even charged me with being deluded by Lord Anglesey, and with having sought to delude the unhappy people who were leagued here to subvert all rights of property and defeat the operation of all laws. I could have rebuked him publicly, but I thought it better to remonstrate privately with him. I did so, and he has written me a long and laboured explanation. . . . I know not what can be done with him now. You lost in London an opportunity of

gaining him which may never again present itself, but that is neither your fault nor mine. His attack on Lord Cloncurry and me has detached from him many supporters, but he is still most powerful, and this fault of his will be easily forgiven, though at present it may cause him to lose several thousand pounds. If I could advise, my advice would be,—come to some understanding with Mr. O'Connell on his going to London after the recess, for without him you cannot in his lifetime govern this country; but I can no longer serve you in any negotiation with him."

Besides writing the elaborate explanation of which Dr. Doyle speaks, O'Connell on two occasions sought a personal interview with the Bishop. The Tribune was accompanied by an immense concourse of people, who cheered lustily, and remained outside Braganza gate while he and Dr. Doyle walked round and round the lawn, conversing earnestly.

Ere the foregoing letter reached London, Lord Wicklow had learned the facts of the pending negotiation, and "charged Ministers with having endeavoured to conciliate a certain individual in Ireland, who was most active in his hostility to them, by the offer of a situation of considerable importance." Earl Grey said: "Knowing the extent of that individual's ability and influence, he should have been glad if he could have been detached from the course in which he had been engaged, and have been attached to the support of his Majesty's Government. If he had pursued a proper course—if he had shown himself a well-disposed and peaceable subject, his abilities and his professional reputation would undoubtedly have entitled him to entertain considerable expectations. But if any offer had been made to the individual in question of any such situation, and in any such manner as might enable him to say that he had such situation in his power and had rejected it, he (Earl Grey) was ignorant of it. . . . It was impossible to contemplate a country so fertile, so productive, so admirably placed, so abounding with harbours and other conveniences for commerce as Ireland, and inhabited by so brave, so intelligent, and so enterprising a people, without the conviction that all that was necessary to the prosperity of such a country was the establishment of quiet and order." In a letter to the new Secretary-at-War, Dr. Doyle alludes to an attack which had been made upon him by O'Connell. In endeavouring to reason with the Whitefeet, who were constantly spilling blood for the purpose of sealing their dark league, Dr. Doyle, knowing those good intentions of Lord Anglesey which have since come to light, spoke of him as their friend, and who felt like a father for the sufferings of Ireland. O'Connell retorted on the 6th December 1831: "This he says of

Lord Anglesey amidst those very people whose fathers and sons were butchered by the yeomen of Newtownbarry, slaughtered by those very men whom that Lord Anglesey armed—ay, amidst those people who walk upon the sod red and clotted with the unatoned blood of their relations slain by those yeomanry. The Irish people are a shrewd, an intelligent people, and an observant people, and they are not so easily led to adopt those opinions, no matter how justly influential be the authority that promulgates them. I said before this evening that Ireland had few friends, and the few she had are lessening and becoming thin. There is something dangerous in the contact and the lure of power. It is perilous to approach it. There is one who was once a friend of Ireland whom the Government have caught, Lord Cloncurry—God help him ! But there is another of far higher character and superior mind and endowment to whom I will take the liberty to advert—the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. That able and splendid man has addressed the people who are placed under his spiritual jurisdiction in that pastoral letter whose style and energy every one admires, but we find by it that not even his intellect, with all his transcendent talent, can come into contact with power without losing some of that strength and energy which he carries with him into the camp of the enemy. When I look into the pastoral letter, what do I find in that great man's address? He addresses them in that fine and peculiar style he possesses, and unaffectedly talks of the evils of Ireland, and of the crimes and the misgovernment of its oppressors. But who would expect that any man of his intellect would address such language as this to the poor people, and tell them the Legislature are willing to listen to their complaints? ”

It is generally supposed that it was to Archbishop MacHale that O'Connell gave the title of “the Lion of the fold of Judah.” Dr. Doyle has, however, the real right to it. O'Connell continues: “It is astonishing how such a man as Dr. Doyle could so far be led astray as to adopt such language respecting the chief governor of this country. Indeed it is to be wondered at, for he is truly a man of transcendent talent, the Lion of Judah; like one of our own western mountains, towering in its sublimity, and lifting its bold and majestic outline to the skies, it is not alone an object of admiration to the beholder, but it stands a mighty and eternal barrier against the western wave, to resist its waste of waters from overflowing with their desolation those plains which it ennobles and protects. Shortness of sight is supposed to be produced by strength of vision. The eye is then too powerful, and cannot separate the objects as they crowd upon the vision. This must be the mistake of Dr. Doyle, who is incapable of being

deluded, and would suffer rather to die than assert that which he did not believe to be true. If it were any other, I might be inclined to call it cant or hypocrisy—of both, or either of which, I hold him utterly incapable.”

Dr. Doyle, in personal converse with O’Connell, did not conceal his conviction of the anxious interest which Lord Anglesey felt in the concerns of Ireland, and of his honest desire to ameliorate her condition, and he hoped that the period was not distant when he should be enabled to realise his benevolent intentions in practical measures. “We may, perhaps, hereafter see him realise those benevolent intentions,” observed O’Connell. “The Italian proverb says that hell is paved with good intentions, and that the fiery stones that render rugged the paths of the damned are the good intentions with which the depths are so plentifully supplied. These good intentions—ah! it is delusion to talk of good intentions. They are a mockery and a deceit, like the mirage of a desert. The sand in the distance appears to be water, but when you approach it you find the delusion vanishes and the reality meets your eye. I say to the Political Union—Ireland has but few friends, let them not throw her overboard. I have seen the peril, and when such a man as Dr. Doyle cannot come in contact with power without losing some portion of his utility, and when I see Lord Cloncurry bury himself in the atmosphere of a court, I am convinced that there is something dangerous in the contact with power and authority. When I see such men as Dr. Doyle and Lord Cloncurry yielding to the incense of power, I know my part; and I take my stand opposite them, watching them and looking at them, cheering them so long as they are right, and when they deserve it no man will give a louder hurra than I.”

Mr. Gibson followed. “Mr. O’Connell has alluded to the letter of Dr. Doyle,” he said. “I do not coincide with Mr. O’Connell’s observations on this subject, especially as a Tory journal has taken the same view of it as the learned gentleman; but I consider that this inference is to be drawn from the letter, that it is a contrast between Lord Anglesey and Mr. O’Connell—unfavourable to the former.”

How any one could have interpreted in a hostile spirit the kind allusion to O’Connell which Dr. Doyle expressed in his pastoral seems indeed strange. The Bishop observed that the pressure which weighed down all the energies of Ireland, and produced that disorder which defamed and degraded the character of the country, originated in the oppression of the weak by the powerful. “Your poverty, your ignorance, and the wiles and craft of your taskmasters, prolonged the days of our captivity, and if the

providence of God had not raised up in the person of Mr. O'Connell a man who could and did persuade you to seek redress by constitutional and legal means, not by riot, combination, or insurrection, we should this day be suffering under all the rigours of the Penal Code. But under his guidance you became amenable to the law, you bore injustice patiently, you became of one mind and of one purpose, you loosened the root of the tree of oppression—and it fell to rise no more. If you have effected what was difficult and almost impossible, may you not effect what is not difficult but easy to be done? If you have torn up the tree by the roots, are you not able to cut off the branches? If you have taken and laid waste the fortress and strongholds of corruption and injustice, are you not able to subdue all her weaker stations and detached outposts? You are !”

O'Connell had taken great umbrage at a passage in this pastoral favourable to the Administration, while the Government, on the other hand, felt sore that Dr. Doyle should have denounced tithes through the same medium, and told the people to employ against that devouring impost all the resources of their wit and talent, with all the means which the law allowed. “But in your opposition to this pest of agriculture and bane of religion,” he added, “keep always before your eyes a salutary dread of those statutes which guard the tithe. Let no violence or combination to inspire dread be ever found in your proceedings. Justice has no need of such allies. In these countries, if you only obey the law and reverence the constitution, they both will furnish you with ample means whereby to overthrow all oppression, and will secure to you the full enjoyment of every social right.”

Dr. Doyle, when under examination by the Tithe Committee, 28th February 1832, was asked—

“Q. 3243. Had not you reason to think that that sort of advice, addressed to the people in the then state of Ireland, would be ill received by his Majesty's Government and disapproved of highly?

A. Certainly; in writing pastorals I never look to the Government as a Government; I have always a view to the peace of the country and to the law; I feel myself totally unconnected with the Government, entirely independent of them; and though bound in duty as a subject to give them any support in my power, my business in society has no reference to them: so that in writing pastorals I look only to the interests of religion, and to the good of the people over whom I am placed Bishop through the providence of God. In that pastoral letter I laboured, with the little ability I possess, to show to the people the folly, injustice, and criminality of their proceedings, and I employed every argu-

ment which occurred to me to induce them to desist from their illegal courses and to return to a better sense ; and at the conclusion of it I deprecated their violent and illegal opposition to tithes, and charged them, in conducting their opposition, to abstain from every violation of the law ; so that after this exposition and charge, when I exhorted them to employ their wit in conducting that opposition, I ought not be understood, either by the Committee or by the Government, or by any impartial man, as insinuating, still less advising, anything in its nature culpable. I do not, therefore, agree in thinking that the insertion of that phrase ought to embarrass the Government, or to be understood as leading the people into any course inconsistent with that duty which I had so strenuously pointed out in the foregoing part of that pastoral.

"Q. 3244. Had you any reason to know, previous to its publication, that it would be disagreeable or otherwise, or that it would be approved or disapproved of by the Lord Lieutenant. A. Certainly not ; I had no communication direct or indirect with his Excellency upon the subject, either before or after. I have indeed been charged in the public prints, and I believe elsewhere, with having been noticed by his Excellency in a manner that perhaps might reasonably be found fault with, but all that is unfounded. I never had the honour of even dining at his table ; I never had an interview with him but twice or thrice, and on those occasions I had no conversation with him which was at all of the nature supposed or alluded to ; and if he had attempted to bias me in my conduct, or to influence my acts in any way which my conscience did not fully approve, I should, with all the respect due to his station and to his personal virtues, have intimated to him how much he was mistaken in my character."

O'Connell's hostile criticism of Dr. Doyle was relieved at intervals by eloquent panegyrics. "He reminds one of a mighty eagle," said Dr. Doyle in conversation with a friend. "He takes me in his talons, soars with me aloft, and then drops me on the ground. It was a proverb among the Greeks that a flatterer who lifts you to the clouds has the same motive as the eagle when he raises the tortoise in the air—he wishes to gain something by your fall."

Dr. Doyle was grievously distressed by the public attack which O'Connell had made upon him. His curates had never before seen him so much pained. "Ah !" said Dr. Doyle, "why does he seek at this crisis to weaken my influence with the misguided people whom God has confided to my care ? Why appeal to the passions of an excitable and ignorant multitude for the purpose of

sinking me in their estimation? Why attribute to me base and sordid motives, when feelings of the purest conscientious growth fill me? I paid my respects at the court of a liberal Viceroy on one solitary occasion only.¹ Having been branded as a Republican and a Leveller, I went merely to mark my respect for the civil authority, and in obedience to the wish of the representative of a reforming king. Having discharged this double sense of duty, nothing could induce me to go a second time. I am well aware, without O'Connell telling me, that the less intercourse an ecclesiastic has with courts the better. His pursuits and calling have no sympathy with them. It would be difficult to indicate a steadier priest than myself; yet I know enough of human nature to be convinced that no Churchman, however pure, could make a practice of frequenting the Castle without his views gradually warping. The dazzling splendour and imposing prestige of the throne before which the priest bows; the language of the court is so diplomatically persuasive; the atmosphere so charged with an insidious virus of fascination, that the integrity of the ecclesiastic who is brought into contact with it must, sooner or later, and by imperceptible steps, decay. So far O'Connell is right; but it is cruel to brand me before my flock with sordid and corrupt motives, of which he well knows I am as free as the babe unborn."

The truth and justice of Dr. Doyle's remarks have been recognised in all ages. Julian the Apostate, describing the duty even of a pagan priest, writes, "The priest of the gods, if he sometimes visits the palace, should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy."

Lord Anglesey offered Dr. Doyle private favours, but the Bishop rejected them with the firmness which was a specialty with him. Mr. Blake paid frequent visits to Dr. Doyle, telling him that he had been commissioned to offer place to any personal friend or relative for whom the Bishop might feel interested; but Dr. Doyle's invariable reply was, "I am grateful to his Excellency, but my kingdom is not of this world, and I have no link to bind me to it."

His detachment from the world was indeed complete. Not all

¹ It was either to this occasion or when he accompanied his brother Bishops on a deputation to George IV. that Mariana refers.

"I was often amazed at the trifles which amused him, and could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw him pass about a quarter of an hour with a string and ball in his hand, a kitten running after him; nor on another occasion when he was through some necessity obliged to appear at the Castle, he begged of me and of some others to purchase for him a *chapeau bras*, and it afforded him and all present great and long-continued merriment, when trying on each hat and practising to use it, he accompanied it by such stories, and quotations, and comical applications, that it sufficed for amusement for a week after."

the links of strong affection which bound him to the members of his excellent family ever led him, in any one instance, to be swayed by the considerations of flesh and blood. Great was his influence with those who, to use their own phrase, had plenty of the loaves and fishes at their disposal; but Dr. Doyle's lofty austerity of character ever forbade him to ask for one. Rank had no charms for him; and that little with which the affection of a grateful flock loves to invest their prelates in moments of salutation, he utterly disliked and often charged his friends to abstain from. To be called "Father" was his utmost ambition—to deserve that endearing appellation his unwearied aim. Riches he held in contempt, unless so far as they enabled him to minister to the suffering members of Christ; but for the poor he would willingly coin his heart into gold. The knowledge of their miseries filled his soul with bitterness, and often caused him greater pain than they endured themselves.

Lord Anglesey did not increase his own popularity by his courtesies to Dr. Doyle. We find in "Raikes's Journal," under date 11th of February 1832: "[Lord] Glengall has arrived from Ireland. He says that Lord Anglesey has made a fearful mistake in his view of pacifying Ireland. He called in Dr. Doyle, Blake, and some other Catholics, whom he attempted by kindness and attentions to bring round to the Government. He thus displeased and alienated the Protestants, who were his real friends, without attaching the other party; he is therefore unpopular with all. Arms must be used to enforce the tithe system; and then the rising will become general."

O'Connell's popularity was in its zenith. On 3d December he went to witness the first representation of a new play—the "Warden of Galway." Throughout the entire of the performance enthusiastic cheering in his honour continued to deafen. "It is as impossible for us to criticise," observes a newspaper, "as it was for the audience to know what the performers were saying. Soon after the play Mr. O'Connell retired alone, but having been perceived, the loudest applause followed him; and the cheering was kept up by those outside until he was set down at his own house."

[At a time that Dr. Doyle was selling his property to buy stones for the "chapel," he was waited upon by the Rev. Mr. Gordon for aid in building another. "I have now but ten pounds in the world," said the Bishop, "but here is half of it with my blessing." The walls had been completed and the roofing of the cathedral commenced, when Fr. Esmonde, S.J., whose long residence in Rome made him a fastidious critic on church architecture,

startled the Bishop by exclaiming, "My Lord, this cathedral will crush your reputation. The walls are too low by five-and-twenty feet, and if you roof now, you will, when too late, regret it." Dr. Doyle surveyed the walls sadly, as the difficulty of raising further funds occurred to him. "Years hence," proceeded the Jesuit, cruelly pushing his advantage, "when you lie entombed in yonder transept, you will perhaps shove spasmodically with your skeleton shoulder in futile effort to raise it." Dr. Doyle afterwards said to Fr. Esmonde, that he never entered the cathedral without feeling a curious pressure on his brain and a depression at his heart. Fr. Esmonde's objection has since been relieved by the decoration of the roof. He urged the Bishop to put up a lightning conductor for the preservation of such valuable property. "I have raised this temple to the Almighty," was the reply, "and Heaven will protect it."]

CHAPTER XVIII.

National education introduced—Hostility of the Protestant and Presbyterian clergy—Dr. Doyle's circular letter—All mixed education not of necessity bad—Threatened condemnation from Propaganda—The safeguards pointed out by Gregory XVI.—The Rescript—Letters to the author from Cardinal Cullen and Bishop Walshe—Dr. Doyle admonishes a boatful of Whitefeet—Striking scene—Reminiscences by Mr. Burrowes Kelly—He addresses the people, and sweeps with his master-hand the chords of their most deep emotions—"Revenge is mine and I will repay"—Letters to his niece—Shipwreck and death—Father Peter Doyle—Anecdotes, grave and gay—Traits of his charity—Controversy with O'Connell on the Poor Laws—Letters to Mr. Stanley and Mr. Musgrave—Interview between Dr. Doyle and Archbishop Murray—His Grace's excessive leniency.

THE year 1831 is also memorable for the National Education Act. As a decided improvement on the Kildare Place system, which had made itself peculiarly obnoxious to the country, Mr. Stanley's measure was regarded as a boon by the great bulk of the Catholic priesthood and people. There were, of course, some Catholics who deprecated the idea, but the ferocity with which certain Evangelicals assailed it made Catholics suspect the existence of some essential virtue in the system which was not at first obvious. They considered that its importance and favourable promise were attested by this formidable hostility; and the youth of Ireland with ardour thronged forward to taste the fruits of the new tree of knowledge. This ardour was considerably fanned by the

storm of wrath with which the Protestant and Presbyterian clergy denounced the system as one specially invented to propagate Popery. An idea of their tone may be gathered from the following remarks expressed by the Rev. Dr. Cooke in 1844 :—

“ 1. It was invented and imposed, not at the wish of *Protestants*, but to please the priests of Rome in their dislike to *Bible-reading* in schools. 2. During *four hours every day* the *Bible* must be *excluded*, and to read it during that time would forfeit all assistance. 3. During *four hours a day* neither schoolmaster nor minister dare *pray* in the school, under the above penalty. 4. No minister dare *ever preach* in the school, under like penalty. 5. The Romish priest is a visitor of the school, whether the committee will or not, and can turn out the Protestant children *one day* every week in the year to teach that Protestants are *heretics*, and cannot as such be saved, being out of the pale of the Church. 6. The Board publishes books that inculcate *Popery*, and authorises their use in schools. 7. The Board has published in one of their schoolbooks a well-known seditious song, called *Erin-go-Bragh*, and gives it among their schools.”¹

Mr. Stanley having in the winter of 1831 announced the terms on which funds would be dispensed for promoting education, Dr. Doyle issued a circular letter to his clergy, in which he observed that these terms had been long sought for by repeated applications to Government and by petitions to Parliament, and had at last, with much difficulty, been obtained. “They are not the very best which could be devised,” he went on to say, “but they are well suited to the [present] circumstances of this distracted country. They provide for the religious instruction of children by their respective pastors, or persons appointed for that purpose by them, as often as those pastors can deem it necessary. This instruction shall be given on one or two days in the week, and may be given, as I hope it will be, every day. The Commissioners claim to have control over the books to be used in schools. This appears an assumption from which evil as well as good might follow ; it is good that useless or immoral books be utterly and by authority excluded. The precaution is idle in our regard, but it may not be so elsewhere ; and ‘law,’ says the Apostle, ‘is placed not for the just man, but for the unjust.’ It gives no trouble to the man

[¹ This attack had, at least, the effect of causing soon after the expurgation from the reading book of the National Board of Scott’s beautiful lines beginning—

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land !”

The idea applied to no particular country ; but an effort to denationalise the mind of Ireland became gradually and painfully traceable.—W. J. F.]

who acts properly ; it gives pain and brings punishment only to him who omits or transgresses his duty."

The dangers of the new system were not unforeseen by Dr. Doyle, but he pointed out easy remedies against them. Some of these will be found at page 10 of our first volume.

Dr. Doyle further observed that the power claimed by the Commissioners to fine, suspend, or remove teachers, seemed somewhat exorbitant, but that if exercised to the detriment of any well-conducted school—which was scarcely possible—the people had the same remedy to resort to as in the case of the introduction of improper books. He thought that the rule which required all teachers henceforth to be provided from some model school with a certificate of competency would aid a work of great difficulty—namely, that of suppressing hedge-schools, which had long been open to grave objections.

With the exception of his letter on the union of the Churches, there is no point in Dr. Doyle's life more constantly misrepresented than his views in favour of united education, under the peculiar circumstances of the time in which he lived. The conclusion has been absurdly and unfairly adopted, that because Dr. Doyle countenanced mixed education at an eventful crisis, he therefore advocated it as the best possible system at all times and in all circumstances. The Rev. George Crolly humorously observes that "it would be just as logical to assert that because the poor children live on potatoes alone (when they can get them), they therefore prefer them to beef and mutton."

It has also been assumed that all mixed education is of necessity bad. The Holy Father, however, has sanctioned the system in France as well as in Ireland, although he far from considers it the best of systems. Indeed so strong was the opposition offered to the plan of National Education by some leading dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Ireland, that in July 1840 Propaganda decided upon yielding to wishes so zealously expressed, and issuing a formal condemnation of it. The Most Rev. Dr. Murray, however, memorialised the Pope that a Legate might be sent to Ireland to examine the constitution of the suspected system, and the result was a withdrawal of the threatened prohibition. It transpired that throughout the greater part of Ireland the children were, without exception, Catholics ; and that the obnoxious phrase, "mixed system," had more sound than substance in it. A Rescript, issued by authority of Gregory XVI., while permitting the Irish Catholics to avail themselves of National Education, pointed out some simple safeguards which it seemed expedient to introduce. Reasons were assigned for allowing this

privilege, including "the opportunity the schools give for the instruction of youth—gratitude to Parliament for granting large sums of money to schools for the Irish people—the fear lest all the money and influence should pass into the hands of heterodox teachers, and especially the happy intelligence that during the ten years in which that system was received the Catholic religion had suffered no injury. The Holy Father further declared that Catholics might be taught by Protestants or sectaries, provided that religion, morality, or sacred history were not included in the instruction. In extending this indulgence the Holy See had before it the high example of St. Jerome, who studied Hebrew under the Rabbis, a sect which denied the divinity of Christ, and branded Him as an impostor.

Having recommended safeguards, it was added, that if these were diligently observed, the Bishops might easily infer that the religion and virtue of the children were sufficiently provided for.

Cardinal Cullen, addressing the present writer, says, "The authority of this great man has been alleged in favour of the modern systems of education, which propose to unite children of all religious denominations in the same school, and, in order to prevent the collision of such discordant elements, banish from the common school-hours all exercises of piety and religion, and prohibit any reference to the special doctrines of the holy Catholic Church, held by the great majority of the people of this country and of the children who frequent the schools.

"But those who refer to the opinions of Dr. Doyle should not forget that things have undergone a great change since his time. When Lord Stanley first proposed the mixed system, Catholics were solemnly assured that under it their children would be free from the remotest danger of proselytism, and it was understood that the action of Government should be restricted to the giving of aid to schools, and to inspection as to the application of the funds and the literary progress of the children."

Bishop Walshe, the kinsman of Dr. Doyle and his successor in the See, addressing the author, writes :—

"The goodness of Dr. Doyle's heart was equal to the vigour of his intellect. His views were truly liberal and enlightened. The generous ardour of his temperament would not suffer anything cold, mean, narrow, or selfish to abide in him. He was truly charitable. His was not the morbid liberality which is the fungus growth of indifference, nor the liberality which, from a lust of power or pelf, shrinks from the assertion of sacred principles and keeps the truth captive in injustice. No; his liberality was the dictate, not of cupidity, not of weakness, but of charity. He hoped, as it were,

against hope. He never offered violence to the conscience of any man. He made for others every allowance which was consistent with the discharge of his duty to God. He loved to have peace, so far as it was in his power, with all men. That desire led him to make every exertion for such holy purpose.

"But the abuse of its confidence is sometimes the painful requital which a generous nature receives from the worldly-minded, the frivolous, and the selfish. Dr. Doyle no doubt trusted that the terms upon which the National system was established would be honourably maintained.

"Had he lived to see the leading men in the political party to which he gave his powerful support reveal a rancorous hostility to Catholicity, and revive the spirit of the Penal Code, the great Bishop would have been the first to proclaim his just and indignant protest against them, and to rebuke the baseness of the men who treated with disregard, and derision, and injustice, the fair claims of the people by whose too generous and too confiding support they mainly ascended to place and power.

"Dr. Doyle, mindful of the artifices formerly employed against the people, would repeat what he on an analogous occasion wrote : 'These salutary lessons have not been read by us in vain, and if we forgot them, or were unmindful of them, the ashes of our fathers would become reanimated, their fibres, their sinews, would again bind the muscle to the bone, and fit them to the flesh—those who now sleep would burst the tombs that enclose them and come to reproach us, if we ceased to defend that religion which sanctified them—that faith for which they died !' "¹

The disturbed state of the colliery district led Dr. Doyle to increase his vigilance and his visitations. Information was communicated to the Bishop that large numbers of persons were likely to pass Robertstown in the canal-boat *en route* to witness or participate in some agrarian disturbance. Determined to grapple with the iniquity, Dr. Doyle, accompanied by three priests, repaired to the water's edge, and there awaited the arrival of the boat. The boat was crammed—its deck was black with heads.

¹ Letter from the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin to the author. His Lordship adds : "I look forward with pleasure to the publication of your 'Life of Dr. Doyle.' The work will, I confidently trust, realise the expectations which your ability, your zeal, and your unwearied labour justly warrant us to entertain. The Catholics of Ireland and of the Empire will receive the work with cordial satisfaction. The Catholics of Kildare and Leighlin, where the memory of the illustrious Prelate is in special benediction, will rejoice at seeing the faithful record of the life of their glorious Bishop, whose wisdom, whose energy, whose zeal, whose eloquence, whose unceasing toil in labouring for the elevation of his country, the redress of her wrongs, the happiness of her people, the advancement of the interests of morality and religion, and the promotion of the glory of God, shall never be forgotten. In this diocese, upon which his genius shed a brilliant lustre, the tradition of his learning, his virtues, and his holiness is a cherished household record. The old love to narrate and the young to hear the edifying history of the life and labours of the great Bishop Doyle.

At the Bishop's word of command the horses drew up, and the people, awe-stricken, listened attentively to his admonitions. "Dr. Doyle's majesty of appearance," observes an eye-witness, "never appeared to greater advantage. His great depth of figure was drawn up grandly; the flashing glance of his dark eye pierced every heart and read every thought; while the severity of his lofty countenance, and the sepulchral intonation of his voice were well qualified to carry impressiveness. He addressed the people for an hour, pausing at every point, as was his wont, to increase the effect." Many persons got out of the boat and turned homewards, but others sullenly persisted in their dark decision regardless of the Bishop's ban.

It was not long after this incident that Dr. Doyle made a visitation to Stradbally, partly to administer confirmation, but chiefly to animadvert on the disturbances which had then recently agitated its once peaceful district. Mr. Burrowes Kelly, Clerk of the Peace for that county, has placed in our hands a minute description of Dr. Doyle's appearance, manner, and mode of delivery on this occasion. Written almost at the time, the scene possesses much picturesque beauty, and we are not disposed to abridge it. The impressions and emotions of the moment we leave in their integrity. Mr. Kelly's allusion to Dr. Doyle's fleshless limbs and wasted expression contrasts painfully with Sheil's description of the Bishop's "smooth, round face and ruddy complexion" eight years before. But care had been doing its work, and Dr. Doyle at this period was the mere wreck of his former self.

"Dr. Doyle, who, somewhat overcome by heat and fatigue, had gone forth into the refreshing air during the period occupied in the process of arrangement, now walked through the central avenue, between the kneeling children, on towards the altar. Every eye was directed towards him. He was dressed in the long flowing black soutane and the cap of the Augustinian Order, which he wore while examining the children, and which was his general costume during the fulfilment of ordinary ecclesiastic duties. As he entered the sanctuary, and for the moment that (having taken off his cap) he stood with his eyes raised towards the altar, before he either bowed or knelt—his tall, gaunt form, but commandingly intellectual and loftily devotional features, might, by those in the galleries and around the altar, be correctly though superficially scanned. His thin limbs, the spare shape of which were the more markedly revealed by his tight-fitting black stockings and low shoes, were to be seen through the open front of the then loose vesture, that when buttoned concealed, by

its flowing length, the lower portion of his person. His long unfleshy arms, his pointedly lean shoulders, the thin depth of his frame's trunk, and the whole emaciate habit of his body, consorted well with the mind's justly severe conceptions of the spiritually austere Christian and rigid, unbending ecclesiastic.

"But if in that fleshless form was personated the self-mortifying ascetic, far more perfectly was portrayed in the expression of his face and the organic development from his chest upwards the man of aspiring genius, of lofty enthusiasm, and high impassioned morality. A low, straight, black stock, half covered from the top by a white cambric band, and tightly fitting to the lower portion of his throat, left fully exposed to view the attenuate muscles of his finely moulded neck; the classic stature of which was equally graceful to look on, whether in the still attitude of his then devotional contemplativeness or bending flexibly obedient to any motion of his will. From thence, and in equal freedom from any grossness of configuration, as if shadowing forth the intimate alliance in his disposition of intellect and grace, arose his finely formed head and strikingly intelligent features. In the whole cast and spirit of his countenance, was not only expressed the fullest and most acute powers of reasoning, but also the highest reach of imaginative thought. His well-marked, high, broad forehead, as also the contour of his temples and skull, and the open space between his brows, at once organically foretold the depth and expansion of his intellect, while a perspicuous speaking of his own mind, and an accurate scanning power of that of others was fully to be recognised in the clear, open wisdom of his fine, full, dark eyes. His cheeks, worn and sunken, as if from the effects of meditation, would have been, indeed, a little too visibly contrasted with their high bones of Celtic character, were it not that the latter were happily relieved by the slight curl of his upper lip, the decided turn of his handsomely curved but somewhat *retroussé* nose, and the clearly defined, rich, full outline of his jaws and chin. He knelt before the altar for some moments absorbed in prayer, with his head stoopedly inclining to one shoulder, and his eyes closed, as if purposely to shut out from his soul any distractions likely to arise from the general gaze upon him. In this centering intent he appeared to have at once perfectly succeeded; and when, having concluded prayer, he again elevated his head, and arose from his kneeling position, there was magnificently expressed in the bland majesty of his countenance an intense and sublime piety that seemed to have wholly forgotten the things of earth, as though it gazed from some purer sphere, without any intercepting veil, on the full glories of

heaven. In a modified state of the same unearthly abstraction he walked with his accustomed gait of apparently careless ease and unpremeditated dignity into the little vestry. He was immediately followed by the curate, some others of the assisting priests, and by his own half-reverential-looking servant-man. The old parish priest, as usual, continued sitting in his double-armed chair at the left-hand side of the platform which surrounded the altar. The chapel remained then, as before, perfectly still and quiet. The kneeling children were formally marshalled in their ranks, file regularly succeeding file, as any ecclesiastic orderly could desire.

"As mild as the calmness of a sky whose various contrasting colours remain equally in repose seemed the little scene. The neat sanctuary, the beloved old priest, and the decorous simplicity of the altar, whereon rested the glittering mitre, and against which leaned the silver-headed crozier, were not in more apposite keeping with the time and scene than were the young surpliced attendants, who, in the habit in which they served the priest at Mass, then stood in a line near the vestry door awaiting the Bishop. Outside the sanctuary's railed-in space the same stillness prevailed. The pretty, nicely-dressed little girls and the ruddy-faced boys looked indeed, while they unmovedly read or repeated their prayers, like so much still life in a picture. Each diversification of group, whether in the galleries, the wings, or the aisle, was similarly at rest. Even the ribbons of the rural belles (so unstimulatingly did their wearers deport themselves) could scarcely be perceived to move; and the deep, dense crowd of rude, fierce-looking peasants, that, like heavy, darkening clouds surrounding a clear, bright spot in the heavens, thronged the spaces around the young folk, appeared then gravely and sombrely unperturbed.

"During this quietude that contagiously calmed the entire congregation, the Bishop, followed by the curate holding up his train, also by other attending priests, and they in succession by the little surpliced boys, walked from the vestry to the central point below the short flight of steps ascending to the altar. The train of attendants arranged themselves in equal numbers on his right and left hand sides. They then all reverently bowed down, and having again elevated themselves with him, he, followed by the curate, ascended the steps of the altar, while the others remained standing below.

"The desire of the multitude to see their great Bishop became now fully evinced. The inanimate-like repose of the scene vanished; and though there was little crush, less noise, and perfect voicelessness, there could not be better expressed than was in the

outstretched necks and inquisitive eyes of the dense crowd, the most eloquent anxiety to behold. Going to the altar, he remained stationary a few moments. His back was turned to the great body of the people; and his form, which, when in sight of the multitude at the former period, looked rather awkward than becoming in its proportions—appeared now, in the rich, full costume he wore, at once graceful and dignified. A soutane of a rich purple colour, closely fitting to the upper portion of his person, and descending in gradual grace until it terminated in a full train sweeping the ground, was his inner episcopal garb; over it a white muslin surplice, which extended to the middle of his figure, and was very deeply embroidered with the finest lace, loosely hung; and above that surplice again, around his shoulders, chest, and the lower part of his neck, was very closely buttoned a short round cape of the same rich, bright hue as the soutane. With his face still turned towards the altar, he placed upon his head his shining, golden-coloured mitre, and, taking in his hand the crozier of his office, turned round in front to the people.

“Rarely at any period (we make bold to think), at least since the more primitive simplicity of those early ages of the Roman See, when the first chosen servants of the Gospel were fresh in the remembrances of men, and the truth of Christ’s doctrines was continuously confirmed and sanctified in the people’s eyes by the blood of martyrs and the pure deeds of saints, stood there forth on the altar to any multitude one whom, both from expression and from mien, the faithful might more justly regard as some signally great apostle. And never during those after-times, when, in more artificial forms of society, it so occurred that the same more extended Church was alone bright in intellectual power amid the general darkness, and though not oblivious of its commission from above, was yet far too emulous in its policy of imperial state, as if imagining that the doctrines of our humble Redeemer would the more prevail with humankind were the crozier of His shepherd elevated above the sceptre of the emperor, and His spiritual monarchy invested throughout Christendom with all the imposing forms of temporal grandeur—still, never in that, any more than from the former purer period, arose there any Christian minister who won from society the meed of its amazement, and impressed upon it the force of its own genius and character more remarkably than Dr. Doyle. During either eras, in truth, of the Roman Church—whether that of its more apostolic or its more state-assuming hierarchy—however holy of temper and heavenly heroic in conduct, like saint and martyr of old, many indubitably were,—or however arrayed in pomp, gifted with genius,

rich in learning, devoted to the practices of piety, and aided to control mankind by all the associations of the past, like many of Rome's pre-eminent ecclesiastics during the political greatness of the Vatican,—any may have been ; still, belonging to no land do we know of one who was at once more generally and more warmly beloved, admired, and revered, than was this distinguished Prelate of our own times and country. And quitting the days of his own Papal Church, whether those of its primeval habit or of its Gothic splendour, never, in any of those seasons of reform, or rather of revolt, when all former prepossessions were confounded and of no avail, and the passions and affections of mankind yearned to be gained by the boldest actors of the time, came there forward any one of equal religious influence over the people. Never did the best and most towering of them all hold similarly spell-bound in love and in esteem, in enthusiasm and in reverence, their audience or their country as he did.

“ His genius or abilities few or none denied ; that in conception he was masculine, in thought subtle and deep, in judgment profound and accurate, in logical deduction strict and acute, in memory well-stored and expertly recollective—and that also he possessed a sustaining self-collectedness and systematised solidity that ever proved the firmer the more deeply tested, were indeed endowments of his well-nigh generally admitted. Wondrously versed, too, not only in Scriptural research, but also with the accumulations of human learning, and rendered still more powerful by a fervid eloquence, nervously commanding for good, scathingly destroying towards evil—his genius, whether as a writer or an orator, illuminated each subject which it touched, even less by the acquisitions of his varied learning than the glowing vigour of his language, and the rich, full light of his tempered and majestic imagination.

“ The natural disposition of his mind, most vigorously simple, and, despite his early scholastic education, still singularly inartificial, was, in truth, alike susceptible of views the most comprehensive and knowledge the most minute. . . .

“ If indeed an intense zeal for the true glory of religion—a sensitive disdain of every sordid consideration connected with its ministry—a wisdom of heart, capacious from Nature's bounty, but more enlightened and enlarged still by long dwelling on the truths and graces of Holy Writ—an universal charity to man—a severe self-abnegation—a generous liberality to others—a fearlessness of the powerful and proud—a pity and attention to the most forsaken poor—as also a disinterested energy in the social service—continuous ardour for his country's political liberty—

equal devotion to its moral improvement and intellectual advance—and with all these greatnesses, and industrious assiduity to realise whatever his faith or intellect comprehended as of serious service; if these, and similar qualities, constitute the Christian, the patriot, and the statesman, history has furnished us with but few portraits in which the virtues of each are more happily blended in the one character, or more likely to stand out to time in durable superiority. And so, without any factitious aid, without worldly rank, or wealth, or civil power, it was purely this manifold assemblage of virtues and gifts which at once, upon his appearance in public life, marked him above his fellows as a great moral and intellectual shepherd, whom a people, faithful to their creed, and long stricken down by oppression, might regard as providentially sent to enlighten them while in their bondage, and religiously direct them when socially enfranchised. As well in the then hostile Senate of Great Britain as throughout whatever wide-extended realms intelligence vivifies, he had become regarded, not only as a most transcending pillar in the common temple of Christianity, but also as a radiant philosophic light, exposing the injustice and degradation inflicted on his country.

“Imperious, but never impetuous, he certainly sometimes seemed; and yet an impartial auditor of his discourses, observer of his conduct, or student of his works, would at once perceive that his was not the imperiousness of ‘little brief authority,’ but rather revere both the semblance and embodiment of that moral pre-eminence which indignation against wrong, lofty enthusiasm for right, and firm conviction of the truth, betimes assume with somewhat of a wrathful complexion in the best regulated of noble minds. It was, in reality, the manifestation of an over-ardent righteousness—a development of the spirit of good, clothed in the countenance of an exalted anger. In addition to the severe dignity of his manner and elevatedness of his character, such seeming of command may also have insensibly increased upon him, not only, or so much, from habits of individual authority, as from historic associations connected with the most striking characters of his own profession. Often, indeed, in the strain of his preaching, the expression of his features, and the attitude of his person, has he appeared to ourselves as if the vigorous originality of his genius had arrayed itself in the drapery of the proudest ages of his Church—a union, as it were, of some sublime apostle with some transcending sovereign pontiff—one that would advance the doctrines committed to the shepherd with all the power of the prince, and in whom the piety of Patrick was fired by the

more daring zeal of a Becket, and invigorated by the genius and energies of a Gregory. . . .

"It was this singularly gifted man, who, at this period, in the full vigour of his intellect, then stood upon that humble altar."

[An immense congregation hung upon his words. In that chapel were gathered men of good-will and men of blood-stained consciences. Bent women and fair girls were there also—some had become widowed during the recent disturbance ; others had been deprived of the love and admiration of the men to whom they had been betrothed.]

"Advancing a few paces forward, he for some time stood silently scanning the dense multitude before him. From his attitude, though unconstrained and unpremeditated—as in truth it was—every the least ensign of authority, from the mitre on his brow down to the latchet of his shoe, was visible upon him. A small golden cross, in token of his Divine Master, was pendant from his neck and reposing on his bosom ; and, as with his raised left hand he leaned (the spiritual shepherd of the flock committed to his care) on the silver crook of his pastoral staff, the large diamond episcopal ring, that, as it were, wedded him to Christ's ministry on earth, was lustrously revealed on his unfleshly, wan, white finger.

"*'Dearly beloved brethren,'* he said, and then momentarily stopped. There was a mingled air of meekness and of greatness in his face ; and as he intently looked again on his poor, humble flock, a benignant considerateness of soul towards their manifold sufferings and weaknesses—with, at the same time, a lofty conviction of that perfection which, as Christians, they should attain, and of that grave responsibility that he himself, as their preceptor under Jesus, bore to the judgment-seat of Heaven—seemed shadowed forth in his features.

"He recommenced. A faint scream, like in its tone to the long-suppressed cry of struggling fear or agony, broke from some one amid the crowd of women. There was some temporary confusion in the group around her, and he ceased. The poor creature had fainted from the crush ; and now, that she had somewhat revived, could not be prevailed on to quit the chapel until she would hear the Bishop. He continued, *'Beloved brethren, before I administer to those dear children that sacrament which, I trust, will confirm them in the graces that, under Divine favour, they received at baptism from our Lord and Saviour, Jesus, I will first make some remarks in reference to those crimes which I heard from public report, and learned with deep grief from your estimable pastor, have, in this heretofore peaceable parish, disgraced the character*

of your country and religion, and which, if not atoned for in the bitterest tears of repentance, must inevitably set the seal of eternal damnation on some souls. I know the miseries of the poor, and accordingly—often deterred by the anticipation of some objections which they urge—even *I* have sometimes forborne to remonstrate with you, as I might justly have done. Show to us, it might be said, by and among some of you, that if we be patient and submissive we will not be banished from our homes; that we will not be reduced till even roots and water fail our children; that in disease and hunger we shall not be left, as heretofore, to perish—in fine, show to us that all our sufferings will not be aggravated—show to us that all those things will not happen, and we will freely and cheerfully acquiesce in your advice. You speak to us of the punishment which awaits us—what punishment can be greater than to die of hunger? You remind us of the afflictions we bring upon our families—what affliction can surpass that of the mother and children driven, in a state of utter destitution, from the fireside and threshold of their homes, to wander friendless, and hopeless, through a world that rejects them, till hunger and disease strike them to the earth, and death comes to absolve them from their sufferings?

“The audience now variously expressed their commoved sympathies; some of the old men and women gave vent to their feelings in deep-drawn sighs and groans; many of the multitude ejaculated prayers, and turned their devotional looks to the altar or towards heaven. He resumed:—

“But first of all, dearly beloved, let me ask you, who generally are they who have illegally combined? Are they the persons who have been inhumanly expelled from their homes? Are they those sons of fathers whose parents or children are perishing of want? Are they those men who can find no employment, or whose wages do not suffice to provide for their families the necessaries of life? No. A few only of those classes are united with them. Who, then, are they who have illegally combined? The most active and prominent among them are old offenders—thieves, liars, drunkards, fornicators, quarrellers, blasphemers—men who have abandoned all the duties of religion, and whom God, I fear, has given over to a reprobate sense and to the passions of shame. There also belong to their combinations a crowd of giddy, thoughtless, dissolute young men, the sons and servants of honest, struggling parents. These classes and descriptions of persons compose their leagues. And this being the case, what right have some among you to avail yourselves of the grievances and sufferings of other men, and employ them as a cloak to cover your own impiety and crimes? The widow and the

orphan may have perished, and the honest cotter, torn from the land to which nature attached him, may have withered and died ; but you, reprobates, are seldom the children of that widow or the sons of that peasant. But even if you be, let me at once remind you that revenge is forbidden. The Lord saith, "Revenge is Mine, and I will repay." God alone, or those who hold power from Him, can ever execute justice. Revenge is totally forbidden to man ; it is reserved exclusively to God. Let this truth sink deep, then, into your souls ; let it never depart from you ; tell it, morn and night, to your children in your poor huts and cabins ; and if turned forth on the world to starve and die, repeat it amid the darkness of night, and when the storm and rain pelt you and your little ones, as you shiver in your hunger and your raggedness, still, ever, ever repeat it—"Revenge is God's alone."

"He advanced and leaned upon his crozier. There was a deep and multitudinous murmur from the groans of many heavily-laden hearts as he concluded the sentence. The awe-impressive orator had with his master-hand swept the chords of their most deep emotions, and awoke the thrilling fear of futurity within. A more shrill and hysteric scream than the former issued from the crowd of women.

"'Yes,' he continued, 'let no man impiously dare the province of the Lord. What wretch, however persecuted, could raise his heart towards Heaven while privy to the plot of murder in his abandoned soul ? Is not his conscience a sufficient condemnation of himself to himself ? Does not such a wretch ever instinctively quit the abodes of men, and for sympathy with his own savage gloom seek refuge in the byeways and the haunts of darkness ? He does, for he truly feels that he is unfit for light, and that he bears about him the horrid mark of Cain.'

"The female who had shrieked, now raising herself by a violent exertion above the figures of those around her, and fixing penetratingly on the Bishop her eyes, wildly starting from their sockets, seemed as though she wished to speak, but could not—then uttered a piercingly doleful cry, and writhing for some moments, like one convulsed in epilepsy, fell sobbingly senseless back. . . .

"His homily had closed, and the gaze of admiration and of reverence was fixed upon him. From many had broken forth ejaculations in the spirit of his concluding prayer. Turning to the altar, he knelt down to entreat again from God the grace of amendment to the wicked. In an instant, and the dense multitude had similarly done. In supplications they implored the goodness of Heaven ; in laments they deplored the vices of themselves. Over some were to be seen the shades of self-abasement, in others the brightness

of raptured zeal ; but, simultaneously, there arose the whispered hum of pious earnestness, and in all, Bishop, priests, and flock, as they then reverently knelt, the eye had rarely seen a house of prayer more devotionally intent.

"Confirmation was subsequently administered to the children, and its divine efficacy impressed by an admirable discourse upon their minds."

Some further strokes of character may be gleaned from a letter to his niece, and which alludes to the Bishop's last surviving brother, Peter, who expired with the old year :—

"CARLOW, 28th December 1831.

"MY DEAR MARY,—I have, since I saw you, repeatedly thought of writing to you ; but illness, occupation, or a want of something to write about—and these causes only—prevented me hitherto. Your letter reminds me how negligent I have been, and I am glad you do not impute that neglect to any indifference as to what concerns you, for you never can have any cause to rejoice or feel grief in which, if known to me, I would not deeply participate. I have heard of the loss of the two ships, but not of all the circumstances you mention ; it is a grievous calamity, especially the loss of so many lives ; but he who spends his life on sea deliberately embarks in a profession liable to those risks and catastrophes. I am sure you will do all in your power to alleviate the afflictions of the widows and orphans thus cast on the mercy of the world. In doing so you will bind a bleeding wound, and earn the comfort enjoyed by the Good Samaritan. But no encouragement in this good work is necessary for you, as your feeling and your religion, which are so strong, combine to urge you.

"Poor Peter never in the course of his life enjoyed full freedom of mind, though he often made efforts to be free. I long since told you that he had nothing to bequeath. What then was the use of mentioning people in his will ? All the advice I ever gave him about it was, ' If you had anything—and you have not—you should remember the poor of your parish. Leave your watch and a suit of vestments to Nicholas Pierse, as he is the only clergyman descended of our father who will live after us.'"¹

Dr. Doyle, in his letter of 30th August 1828, adverts with emotion to the threatened dissolution of Father Peter. He felt as if their lives had been sympathetically joined, and that the survivor would not remain much longer on earth. From this date we find the Bishop's health breaking painfully, but nevertheless he per-

¹ [Poor Fr. Pierse did not long survive his illustrious uncle, Dr. Doyle.]

severed in a searching visitation of his diocese. At Clane an amusing incident occurred, which, as it relieves the gravity of preceding details, we subjoin. Dr. Doyle asked the pastor several queries affecting the state of morality in his parish. He was gratified to receive a most favourable report, and complimented the Rev. Mr. Kearney on his efficiency. Having been invited to attend the annual examinations at Clongowes College adjacent, Dr. Doyle bade the priest good-bye, but promised to return to dinner when the ceremonial had terminated. On his way the Bishop was grieved to observe two ill-looking fellows, half naked, engaged in a hot pugilistic fight; and quick eyes were not slow in seeing that a great lecture was in store for their pastor. Fr. Esmonde, having arrived for dinner in advance of the Bishop, told Fr. Kearney all about it. The latter had thus time for inquiry, and was well prepared for Dr. Doyle when at last he opened his battery upon him. "From the very gratifying assurances you gave me of the general correctness of your flock," said the Bishop, "I was led to believe that Clane constituted quite a model parish: two of them fighting like bulldogs is painfully inconsistent with the character of morality which you vauntingly assume." "Your Lordship has not spoken of these abandoned men more severely than they deserve," replied Fr. Kearney. "For some weeks previous to vacation at Clongowes it is customary for tailors to come from all quarters to make clothes for the boys. The two men whom you observed boxing were tailors from Carlow; and your Lordship will admit that if *you* could effect no reformation in their lives at Carlow, it is unreasonable to expect that I could do so here, where they are merely birds of passage." Dr. Doyle smiled at the *déclarcissement*, adding, "I protest, Mr. Kearney, you are too able for me."

[Fr. Kearney was a smart man and hard to trip. At a Conference Dr. Doyle was pressing a young curate rather closely on a question of theology, when Fr. Kearney, to save him from humiliation, interfered by remarking that some able theologians held the view for which his Lordship would fain rebuke the tyro. One word led to another, and for a considerable time the conflict waged with varying success between prelate and pastor, but the joke lay in the success of Fr. Kearney's ruse. The curate got off behind the smoke of their artillery, safe from the broken bones which otherwise would have maimed him in a future career.]

The late Very Rev. N. O——, parish priest, Maryborough, from some cause or motive not obvious, kept back from his curate, the late Rev. E—— F——, until dinner was on the table, a sick call of which the pastor had cognisance in the forenoon. Mr. F——

declined to leave his dinner, and the matter was reported to Dr. Doyle—not at the next conference, but at the dinner with which it terminated. Dr. Doyle was so shocked that he ordered Fr. F—— to stand up from table and kneel down as a penance, which was done.

In those days it was not unusual to see a priest without soutane or surplice, and graced only with a stole, administering the Blessed Sacrament, but, of course, not during Mass. Dr. Doyle, on arriving to hold a visitation at Clane, found the curate thus employed. He rebuked him in his official sermon for inattention to the rubric. "May I say a few words?" said Fr. Kearney. "Proceed, sir," replied the Bishop; and the former ascended the altar, while Dr. Doyle, leaning on his crozier, listened to what he had to say. "My Lord, I greatly regret that you could find no person more deserving of your censure than this very exemplary young man." Here many of the congregation, who were greatly attached to him, began to sob, including the subject of the discussion. "This young man, my Lord, was obliged to attend a sick call miles away this morning, and on returning, without his breakfast, he found several domestic servants waiting for confession and communion. He hastened through this duty in order that the chapel might be ready for your Lordship's reception. In censuring him for not wearing the soutane and surplice, your Lordship forgets a former order of your own, namely, that on visitation days all vestments should be laid out in the presbytery for episcopal inspection." This was quite true. Fr. Kearney's chasuble seemed so shabby on a former occasion, that Dr. Doyle, in destroying it, made the order described. With much grace he now declared that he had judged the young priest too harshly. But the *amende* failed to satisfy Fr. Kearney, who, in pique, would not allow his nephew, afterwards Canon Farrington, of Dublin, to go upon the mission in the diocese of Kildare.]

[Of merit in a priest, no Bishop ever showed a more prompt or practical appreciation. Witness the handsome tablet in Killeslin church to the memory of the Rev. Michael M'Donald, "who having erected this chapel, and improved by his labours and example the morals and piety of the parish, died lamented by a grateful people in the seventh year of his ministry and thirty-second of his age. This marble was erected by the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle."]

He went on to Kilcock, after the scene at Clane just described, and preached with striking power. At every point the women, who had assembled in crowds to hear him, marked their astonishment or approval by a rapid succession of strokes of the tongue on the palate. Dr. Doyle was much annoyed by this commentary, which

had been introduced often most inopportunately, and at last, no longer able to bear the interruption patiently, he ordered all the women to leave the chapel. They hustled towards the door with reluctant alacrity, but turned round to gape before making their final exit. "Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt for her curiosity!" he exclaimed, darting his dark eye upon the group. This allusion having startled the feminine *tymphana* anew, elicited a repetition of the offence, and it was some minutes before he could resume his discourse.

Bishop O'Connor was one evening walking with Dr. Doyle and his curate near Carlow. Great destitution prevailed. From every cabin miserable ragged children ran out and dropped a courtesy to the Bishop. At length some haggard and ill-fed labourers, returning home after earning their scanty pittance, passed. The children rushed with joyous shouts to meet and welcome them. They fondly clasped the fleshless knees of the men, who, with faces bright with joy, raised them in their arms. "Don't you think, my Lord," said the priest, "that it is very silly in these men, who can barely make out sufficient subsistence for their individual selves, to get married and surround themselves with families?" "Indeed I do not," he replied. "That pleasure of which you would fain deprive them is their only comfort, and why should we grudge them to forget for a moment their wretchedness?"

A powerful letter to Mr. Spring Rice contains some remarks akin: "It is said that if a poor law be introduced, the poor will improvidently contract marriage, hoping to discharge upon society the burden of maintaining their offspring. There is no symptom more striking or better ascertained of our social state in these countries having reached that point where luxury begins to produce corruption and decay, than the horror entertained and the opposition given by the upper classes to the legitimate procreation of children by the poor. This, however, is a subject on which I cannot trust myself to write. It is unspeakably wicked in the rulers of a people to throw obstacles in the way of lawful marriage, or to drive the multitude into habits of concubinage; and the state is not only at war with Heaven, but it is corrupted in its institutions and blind in its policy when it seeks to check the multiplication of the human kind."

Dr. Doyle did not confine himself to pleading for his poor. He practised what he preached. He constantly had ready at Braganza a stock of griddle-bread and ale for the refreshment of the destitute. At every Christmas he had bullocks killed for the poor. He also got blankets specially manufactured for distribution, with a large brand, "charity," affixed to each, lest they should be pledged. Bread,

blankets, and meat were cut up on the large kitchen table of Braganza according to the wants of the poor applicants. On this same table, covered by a black pall, the corpse of the good Bishop, three years later, was waked.

He never came home that a train of paupers did not pursue and plague him. His gateway was often well-nigh blocked with mendicants. Nor did he repulse them. He had read in the Scriptures that the poor begged at the gates of the Temple of Jerusalem, and he submitted to their presence as an ancient and venerable custom. "My God," he would sometimes say, "I haven't a shilling left, or it should be yours." Having been plagued by a sturdy beggar when his pocket was unconscious of a shilling, he ordered the woman to follow him to Braganza. "What was my astonishment," observes the gate-lodge keeper, "to observe her come down the avenue wrapped in a comfortable green baize cloak, which the Bishop's physician had shortly before urged him to wear constantly. 'God forgive you,' I said, 'you might as well take the skin off his back.'" One of the priests threatened to get the beggar arrested for stealing the cloak, whereupon she returned and obtained a letter from Dr. Doyle certifying that he had given it to her. On another occasion, when he had no cloak, the gate-keeper saw him give away his soutane. "Do you see that window exactly over the hall-door?" asked our informant. "Almost every night, until morning dawned, you might observe the Bishop's lamp glimmering through it. He wore himself out writing."

[During the forenoon he walked round Braganza demesne reading his office. At intervals he would pause, and with raised eyes and radiated face seemed lost in an ecstasy of thought. At the name of Jesus he would raise his handsome cap, lined with pink silk, and bow reverently. Behind him, at a fitting distance, his favourite Newfoundland dog, "Traveller," slowly followed.]

We have embodied elsewhere a few other anecdotal waifs and strays, communicated by the same humble source, feeling assured with Dr. Johnson, that often "more knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral."

The reader needs not to be reminded that Dr. Doyle had set his heart on the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor. His energies had been, for many years, strained to the uttermost in endeavouring to promote that generous measure. His pamphlet, addressed to Mr. Spring Rice, in March 1831, besides advancing the object generally, converted O'Connell from

being an opponent of poor laws to a very warm advocate in favour of them (p. 285 *ante*). Obstacle after obstacle had fallen before the strength of Dr. Doyle's pen ; his arms were now almost folded in victory, when an event occurred that gave a blow to the Bishop's feelings from which he never afterwards fully recovered. On the 4th of January 1832, O'Connell, in a speech of great eloquence and force, utterly denounced a legal provision for the Irish poor. The Tribune was at this time in the zenith of his power, and Dr. Doyle saw that the great boon for which he had been for seven years contending, and which seemed at last within his grasp, was, if not irretrievably lost, seriously retarded in its advent. In the published letter to Spring Rice, he had replied to every objection now advanced by O'Connell, and it is hardly surprising that Dr. Doyle should, under the circumstances, have felt disappointment and anger.

"DEAR SIR,—I have at present no hope of effecting another change in your opinions on this important subject, and if I allude to those which have taken place in your mind, it is not by way of taunt or reproach, but to remind you, and the public also, that your judgment on this matter has not only vacillated—and whatever vacillates is weak—but that it has at different times, whilst the subject remained unchanged, determined itself, not in different, but in opposite ways. These changes, moreover, according to your own avowal, have not been the effect of heat or passion, or of feeling of any sort ; neither have they resulted from a want of meditation—they have been the fruit of long watchings and laborious reflection. I infer from this, and I say it with all due respect, that whether upon this subject you be right or wrong, you are not an authority to be followed ; for authority, to be such, should be exempt from change. But if I despair of your reconversion to an earnest and eager approval of poor laws, and if I do not deem you an authority on this subject, why, it may be asked, do I now address you ? I do so for the two following reasons—first, to prevent, as far as I can, that portion of the public with whom your opinions are paramount from being led into error by you ; and, secondly, to set free from deformation that mode of relieving the Irish poor of which I myself, with many honest and able men, have been the consistent and unwearied advocates.

"But before I proceed to the execution of this task—a task of no easy accomplishment on account of the partialities and prepossessions linked to your name—I must settle with you a principle of both logic and morals. It is this—if a truth, essentially connected with the duty of man to God and to his neighbour, be

established by the strongest and clearest proof of which any moral truth is susceptible, is it just in reason or lawful in practice to put that truth in abeyance, to mortify it, to retard or annul its operation in the world, because the ignorance, or passions, or interests of some men may be wounded by it, or raise objections to it ; or because in its operation it may produce not only its own natural good effects, but also become, as Christ Himself and His religion have become, an occasion of loss and scandal to many? Your heart, and conscience, and judgment would all recoil from thus keeping 'truth captive in injustice.' And yet do, I pray you, tell me, or rather tell the public, how you can, consistently with logic or morals, combat the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor by arraying against it the inconveniences, real or imaginary, which you suppose in your speeches would result from it ; whilst you leave untouched and unanswered—because they are unassailable and unanswerable—the arguments every day and everywhere employed by me and others to demonstrate the just, the natural, the indefeasible rights of the poor to the necessities of life in the land which gave them birth? Do, I pray you, answer this question.

"All theory and declamation is vain before right reason and before God, however it may seduce the senate or the multitude, if it be not based on unchangeable justice. When abstract propositions or moral questions are doubtful, we may try the former by an induction to some absurdity, and the latter by showing that, if admitted, it would subvert sound morals ; but when a truth is proved *a priori*—when we can point out a clear and necessary connection between any given proposition and some indubitable principle from which it flows, its truth should be admitted, and all the real, genuine consequences of it freely embraced.

"Thus, if it be proved—and I contend it has been proved—that from the attributes of God, the nature of man, and the admitted principles upon which all society is founded—if it be proved from these that the poor, in every civilised state, should be rescued at the public expense from the pressure of extreme want, it is an error against reason, it is a crime against morality, and an impiety against God, to leave them to perish, or to withhold from them the necessities of life. . . .

"Your favourite objection, that which you have most frequently brought forward or alluded to, is the supposed connection between poor laws and the deprivation of female virtue. Here you touch a string that vibrates in the heart of every Irishman—perhaps in few of them more loudly than in mine. But I have once before invited you to point out to me this necessary connection, which you

suppose to exist between a system of relief for our poor, such as I contemplate, and the impairing of the public virtue of our females. You have never pointed out this connection—I believe you could not do it. I have looked at it in all points of view, and could not discover it. Produce your argument, and I undertake to refute it. . . .

“In like manner you object to what in some parts of England—but only in some parts—is deemed a great abuse; to wit, ‘the partial payment of wages out of the poor rate.’ The member for Shrewsbury will inform you—if he has not done so—that this abuse, if such it be, has arisen in England within the last thirty years; and a clause of fifty words in any Act for the relief of our poor would render the introduction of this abuse into Ireland impossible. It could find no place in a plan such as that suggested by me, unless voluntarily adopted by the ratepayers of a parish. And yet you threaten Ireland with this imaginary scourge! Again, you depict the horrors of a poorhouse and the abandonment of parents by their children. . . .

“Ah! to collect the public hatred and precipitate it on an institution which, if realised, would nurse, and aid, and comfort all the virtues of the poor, and stand as a watchman to detect and punish vice—to act thus, whether willingly or unwillingly, is an office which, would to Heaven! you had never discharged. . . .

“You would, forsooth, relieve the sick by drugs, and provide a surgeon and an asylum for the man whose limb was broken; but you would let the widow perish and the orphan starve, and the aged to look only to Heaven, or live upon the unbroken sympathies of the ‘Irish heart.’ In such a system I can discover neither philosophy, nor religion, nor reason of any sort. By what argument do you pretend to recommend it to the common sense of men? Upon what principle of morals is it based? What maxim of right reason does it rest on? What social or political truth is brought into operation by it? It is a day-dream, or an *improvisato* issuing from the tongue, and having in it but a chance thought. The men who for centuries have abandoned the poor of Ireland to hunger and despair were consistent, for they wished, if it were possible, to extirpate the race, and, setting God and His laws at defiance, they enacted and upheld a system whose root was in hell, and which drew its nourishment from an atmosphere of blood.

“You are unwilling that the question of poor laws should be introduced, whilst that of Reform is undecided. The observation is scarcely just considering the state of our poor, with a plague impending, and the question of Church property, intimately connected with that of poor laws, already before Parliament at the

instance of the king ; but though other persons should recommend us to 'wait a while,' we ought not to hear that hated phrase pronounced by you.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE.

“CARLOW, 6th January 1832.”

The caustic severity of this letter, and frank expression of opinion enunciated at a time of great political excitement, when O'Connell was the idol of the people, evidenced no ordinary amount of intrepidity. His lofty contempt for all personal interest was also very striking. The act all but invited martyrdom at the hands of the multitude. But as the brave man wants no charms to encourage him to his duty, so the good man scorns all warnings that would deter him from fulfilling it. Dr. Doyle performed the difficult and delicate task advisedly. It will be remembered that, in his letter of the 30th December 1830, he says that were he to differ with O'Connell publicly, he should be deserted by the people of his own household. [“O'Connell is infallible with the Irish people,” Lord Duncannon said to Greville at the very time now described.¹]

We decline to discuss the merits of this unpleasant controversy. That office we transfer to the abler pen of Mr. Fagan, M.P., the biographer and kinsman of O'Connell :—

“His controversy with Dr. Doyle was, in our opinion, the most painful affair in O'Connell's political life ; first, because it must have been unpleasant to him to have had a difference of any kind with a Catholic prelate so distinguished ; and next, because he was wrong—decidedly wrong. It was on the subject of the poor laws, and undoubtedly O'Connell was worsted in the argument. We cannot, however, avoid admiring the courteous and respectful way he conducted the controversy ; but, lawyer-like, it was managed with great tact, though not marked with his usual candour. The question in dispute was compulsory provision for the poor, under the cautious regulations proposed by Dr. Doyle, and which did not include the workhouse system. O'Connell was opposed altogether to the principle of a poor law, however modified ; and stated that when he did consent to advocate its introduction into Ireland, he did so to satisfy the popular feeling, and against his own convictions, and that he regretted having lent his aid. . . . The principle of poor law—that no one should be allowed by the state to starve—is the noblest product of civilisation. But for this principle being in operation in Ireland in 1847, even with its cumbrous and defective machinery, how many hundreds of thou-

¹ “Greville's Journals,” vol. ii. p. 115.

sands of the population would have been swept off? A poor law of some kind should never have been absent from Ireland. Private benevolence could never meet the exigencies of destitution in this country. The periodical calamities that for centuries have visited Ireland would have been materially mitigated if the rich were compelled to assist by employment in maintaining the poor. O'Connell on this subject we always considered wrong. It is, we believe, the only subject on which we have ever held opinions different from those he cherished and maintained."¹

On the general merits of Dr. Doyle's letter, the "*Biographie Universelle*" thus speaks: "*La lettre de Doyle à propos de ce changement est d'une vigueur dont rien n'approche. Il faut voir comment il foule et refaile aux pieds cette déplorable mobilité d'esprit, qui de tout temps et en tout pays a fait la ruine des individus comme des associations et des empires.*"

[O'Connell at this period was known only as the fierce demagogue. It was not until long after that the greatness of his character became fully developed.]

Five days after the appearance of Dr. Doyle's letter, O'Connell attempted an able vindication from the charge of inconsistency. His reply occupies several columns. He was received with enthusiasm.

"Sir, those who greet me thus cordially are unreasonable. They really do not seem to read the newspapers, in which are lately to be found such a number of charges against me, or to profit by what they may have read. It is curious enough I never yet was preparing to go to Parliament to struggle for the rights, the property, and the freedom of my country, that my enemies and friends did not contrive to have a bombshell of calumny burst under my feet at the eve of my departure. They who would paralyse my exertions in the cause of my native land—they who would circle round the stranger and give him strength—even those of liberal colour—all join in raising a storm against me whenever the most critical moment for the exercise of my devotion to Ireland is at hand.

"Of Dr. Doyle's attack I speak certainly in sorrow, but not, I hope, in anger. I hope I have more discretion than is necessary in the management of a letter to guide me in the respect I owe that enlightened prelate who has assailed me. I know he is an ornament to the Church of which it is my good fortune to be a member; I know he worthily fills that chair which has descended to him in regular succession from the Apostles, and which will endure, as I conscientiously believe, to the second coming of the

¹ "*Memoirs of O'Connell*," by W. Fagan, M.P., vol. ii. pp. 124, 125.

Divine Redeemer. Nothing, therefore, shall fall from me derogatory to the station and character of Dr. Doyle; and if there be no blame on my side, I hope that, as a man and a Christian, I am justified in removing from myself undeserved censure. But while I shall vindicate myself with good temper and calm feelings, I shall do so with unbending firmness, and, as I expect, to demonstration.

"The charges of Dr. Doyle are founded upon a false assumption—they are based upon a complete *petitio principii*; they are grounded upon exceedingly bad logic—and the logic I will not spare. I say the widow, the aged, the orphan, and the infirm, ought to be supported. It is the bounden duty of every man who has means to save and to feed the indigent and the hungry. It is the moral duty of all to take care of the poor. But I distinctly deny their legal or political right to a legislative provision—that is my solemn opinion. Dr. Doyle thinks otherwise; and as he has a perfect right to hold his opinion, I am sure I am equally entitled to hold mine. But I have my system of poor laws for Ireland—a Repeal of the Union. Let us have our Parliament again and we shall require no poor-rates. Irish people! they want to make you the slaves of the rich—they want to make you degraded mendicants, dependent on alms. I want to make you independent of alms—on the fertility of your soil and the produce of your labour. I come back to the argument of Dr. Doyle about Mr. Cobbett: both have endeavoured to prove the right of the poor to a legislative provision. Dr. Doyle, with all the knowledge of Greece and Rome mellowed in his mighty mind, which so charms by its vigour and dazzles by its illuminations, that even error, glossed by its brilliancy, captivates the fancy and illudes the judgment; while the other, eloquently plain and simply cogent, all nerve and lucidness, makes his subject as transparent as water to every eye. They are both exceedingly powerful—that no man can deny. But neither has as yet convinced. Dr. Doyle charges me with retarding what he calls the truth, while he himself totally annuls that truth. He does not mystify or retard the truth, or put it in abeyance, but he at once flings it overboard. He charges me with putting the truth in abeyance in injustice; and he, on his own showing, commits a deeper injustice by scouting the truth. My religion compels me—even were I unwilling, and no man is less so—to speak in respectful terms of every Bishop of that Church to which I am from conviction attached. I, therefore, in naming the inconsistency of Dr. Doyle himself, do so only in self-defence. I come to defend, not to inculcate; to justify my own conduct, not to arraign that of any other. And now I say triumphantly Dr. Doyle has *not* made out

his case—has *not* substantiated his charge. I deny the legal right of the poor to relief, but not the moral duty of every man to support the needy.”

Mr. O'Connell concluded his eloquent address with these words : “ Thus shall the people conquer—thus shall they deserve success. In proportion to the exercise of tyranny, let there be a display of increased moral energy. I feel my own heart beat as high and light as ever against my side ; I feel the vigour of youth returning, and the young blood still flowing in my veins. I'll show them that they cannot extinguish even one. What insanity, then, to think of putting down all ! I ask for justice and reason—no more.”

O'Connell repeatedly changed his mind on the question of poor laws. In 1824, and again in 1828, he advocated poor laws at the Catholic Association ; and at a meeting of the Society for the Improvement of Ireland he moved a resolution in their favour. Again, addressing the electors of Clare, we find him promising that if sent to Parliament he would use his best efforts to carry a poor law.

In 1836 O'Connell's views on this question once more underwent a change. He pledged the “ Trade's Union ” to support the poor law bill, then reported to be under consideration by the Government ; and on the 20th November following, he proposed and carried “ that a committee be appointed to wait upon Lord Morpeth to ascertain the views of Government on poor laws, and to aid in the arrangement of that question in a manner most likely to avoid all mischief and to do as much good as possible.”

We find among the Bishop's papers a letter from George Ensor which criticises O'Connell's speech with unsparing severity. Mr. Ensor goes further, and offers to Dr. Doyle's acceptance the draft of a reply to O'Connell, written with all the acumen for which Mr. Ensor's writings were distinguished. We shall not transfer to these pages the many stinging retorts of which that document is the record, but as one point conveys a correction of an historical inaccuracy and is free from asperity, we quote it. “ He says, up to the period of the Reformation there was no poor law. There was. And was not the *quarta pars* the fund, in consequence of the common law, to pay the poor ? ”

Dr. Doyle did not avail himself of any of the points which Mr. Ensor placed at his disposal. He briefly replied, thanking O'Connell for the words of praise contained in the speech, “ but as they are not merited or desired by me, you will not, I hope, consider me your debtor for them.”

“ I have collected from your speech but very few things which I think it necessary to explain for my own justification. The letters

you intend to write may afford me an opportunity of arguing with you, an opportunity which I do not desire, for though I fear no man, and shall ever—God willing—be ready to give an account of the opinions I profess, I would rather have to defend those opinions against the whole Political Union, or against the entire House of Commons, than against you.

“You say, that ‘in what I judge another I condemn myself,’ for whilst I censure your opposition to what I deem the rights of the poor, I would, in my letter to Mr. Spring Rice, ‘withhold all recognition of their right to relief.’”

Dr. Doyle also showed that in the letter referred to he proposed to place the inalienable right of the poor to support as a sacred deposit in the hands of a parochial committee, to consist of clergymen, the official guardians of those poor, and of ratepayers, the guardians of the property of the parish. “Was it, then,” he added, “because the right of the widow and the orphan is vested in trustees for their benefit that it is to be considered as taken away from them?”

“But,” he went on to say, “I have charged you with a want of candour. And why? Because when you were earning plaudits by exposing my fancied inconsistency, you held in your hand my letter to Mr. Spring Rice, and from page 65 to page 81 of that letter there is nothing else than a series of arguments proving this right of the poor, which you fancied I had, in that same letter, so unwittingly denied! But why, before you entered on such a line of defence, did you not read the report of my evidence, published 9th July 1830 by order of the House of Commons?” See p. 454, quest. 4799 *et seq.*

[Dr. Doyle transcribed the paragraphs to which he referred.]

“This subject being the most important topic of your speech, I have dwelt upon it at some length; for besides the duty of vindicating my own opinions, I wished to impress upon you the necessity of avoiding, in your expected letters, any assertions or arguments which might tend more to impose labour on your weak opponent than to elucidate the truth.

“You have also exercised your wit at my expense, for which I do not blame you—‘*Videntem dicere verum quid velat!*’ But, then, wit when not well applied falls like a blunted arrow. You would ‘chuck your friends together, William Cobbett and Dr. Doyle, and make a good Protestant and a good Papist of the two; for the former would have had no Protestant Reformation, and therefore no poor laws, and the latter, who would have poor laws, would of consequence pull down the Catholic Church Establishment and set up the Protestant.’ Mr. Cobbett is fully

able to account for his opinions. The following passage from the letter to Mr. Spring Rice, p. 74, will show what mine are relative to this subject, and that whilst I consider the rights of the poor anterior to all Church Establishments, I need not, upon my principles, exchange my religious profession with any man."

The extract it is probably unnecessary to reproduce here. O'Connell had bitterly complained of "the assault" which he had been made to sustain on the eve of his departure to England. "If you number my letter among those assaults," wrote Dr. Doyle, "I will only say you provoked it by your attack on the interests of the poor, and you, not I, selected the time of the contest. No man can be anxious to contend with you, and I the last of all; but whilst I have life and strength, if the cause of the poor be not hopeless, I will not cease to contend for them even against you. You may endeavour to deter me by wishing that some one whom you less regarded had written my letter, that you might visit the temerity as it deserved. But do not spare. It is just that every man bear his own burden, nor do I wish to owe aught to the favour of any man, be he king or subject, powerful or weak, rich or poor. Your poor laws for Ireland are a 'Repeal of the Union.' I hope for poor laws—I am not so sanguine as to Repeal, on account of the vast impediments placed in the way of that consummation, which, if not extorted by violence, but accorded to the united will of the Irish people, is so devoutly to be wished."

Dr. Doyle had another reason for deeming it imprudent to agitate, at that moment, the question of Repeal. Reform was at hand, and the Bishop had reason to fear that the premature agitation of Repeal might throw obstacles in the way of what promised to prove an important boon.

[Dr. Doyle's feelings had been hurt to the extent of shock by the blow which O'Connell muscularly aimed at a legal provision for the poor. To estimate duly the severity of that shock, we must remember the Bishop's tedious toil to promote such a provision. The following private correspondence, dated five years previous, and which has been heretofore reserved, affords a glimpse of the Bishop's silent and persistent labours in the face of much to dishearten—labours quite as great, if all recorded, as his public efforts in the same path.

TO THE EARL OF DARNLEY.

"CARLOW, *February 20, 1827.*

"MY LORD,—The attention with which your Lordship favoured me on a former occasion, when I submitted to you some reflections on the state of our poor in this country, is the reason why I presume

at present also to bring that subject to your Lordship's recollection. I could not by any language convey a just view of the intensity and extent of the sufferings of the Irish poor. No person not a witness to them could possibly estimate them justly. The instances are not rare in which individuals die in the streets or fields of hunger ; but death from inanition, or disease brought on by a want of food, or the use of noxious herbs or roots in place of it, are occurring daily. The number of mendicants is regularly increasing, and the labouring class, as well as the poorer sort of tradesmen, are for the greater part suffering in their wretched homes all the horrors of disease and famine. I do not think that any country at all civilised, whether Christian or pagan, ever experienced, unless in times of general famine, pestilence, or war, so much of extreme want as the Irish poor are subject to at present. The awful political agitation, aggravated by religious discussion, which now prevails here, augments those evils, and concurring with a general apprehension that any legal provision which might be made for the poor would press principally on the already distressed occupants of houses and lands, prevents application to the Legislature on the subject from being generally made ; and as to the proprietors of this country feeling a due sympathy for the poor or exerting themselves to obtain relief for them, this, your Lordship must be well aware, is what it would be utterly useless to expect. I hope it may not appear to your Lordship invidious if I add that the whole influence of the Established clergy seems to be opposed, and for reasons sufficiently obvious, to any plan for the permanent relief or sustenance of the poor.

"One great cause why this pauperism is so increased, and increasing so rapidly, is that the class of very small farmers and cabin-holders are being now expelled from their dwellings, almost everywhere, with a view to check the population and increase the size of farms. This system, which in itself may not be unwise, is acted upon in many places cruelly and inhumanly. The wretched people are expelled without any means either of emigration or existence being provided for them ; they are forced into towns, where several families of them, collected often in some one small filthy apartment, find relief from their sufferings only in the approach of death—the necessary result of their utter destitution. This pauperism is acting most unfavourably upon the middling classes of society, because to them almost alone the miserable find access ; from them they obtain or extort relief.

"This state of things, together with the other anomalies, injustices, depressions, and heart-burnings prevailing in Ireland, begin to cause the most useful and valuable of our people to think of emigrating to some other country—where their capital and industry would be

better protected, and where they themselves might enjoy the fruits of both undivided. If this class of persons should emigrate generally, and I have great reason to think they may if the manifold grievances under which this country labours be not redressed, then we will become like to the inhabitants of the most despotic states—having but large proprietors, absent from us, and a rude military force¹ employed in goading and repressing a race of half-famished, ignorant, besotted slaves. If I did not believe that a special Providence watches over this Empire, and that there is a sort of redeeming spirit in our constitution, I should apprehend that in some time civilisation amongst us would retrograde, art and industry decline, the land itself become barren, our towns and cities decay, the population itself, now thought excessive, gradually vanish, and Ireland, like Egypt, once the granary of the world, be traced only in her deserts or discovered only in her ruins. Confiding, however, in the wisdom and energy of your Lordship, and of those powerful men who think and act as your Lordship does, we are inclined rather to hope that, as our affairs seem to have come to the lowest ebb, they may ‘turn about again and mend.’ For my own poor part I am very confident that should your Lordship succeed in directing the favourable attention of his Majesty’s Government to the subject of the Irish poor, you would not only act agreeably to the dictates of your own benevolent heart, but also confer upon your Lordship’s native country, as well as upon humanity itself, an incalculable benefit, and add to the numberless claims which your zeal for the true interest of Ireland has already given your Lordship to the lasting gratitude of her people. ✠ J. DOYLE.”²

The democratic public eagerly echoed O’Connell’s views in reference to a provision for the poor, but the thinkers far from adopted his conclusion. William Stanley, Esq., author of some

¹ The Orange Yeomanry.

² Lord Darnley at last replied :—

“LONDON, *March 22, 1827.*

“The date of your letter reminds me that it has remained a month unanswered. For this appearance of neglect I have no other excuse to offer than the fact that I knew not what answer to give, for I see no immediate prospect of any remedy being found for the melancholy state of things which it details with, I fear, too much accuracy. The late fabulous vote of the House of Commons has enhanced the difficulty of attempting anything for the amelioration of Ireland, and yet I will not give way to despair so long as I see any possibility of effecting an improvement in a state of society which it is fearful to contemplate. Lord Carberry, who has paid much attention to the subject, has promised me to bring before the House of Lords the state of the poor in Ireland immediately after Easter, and perhaps we may obtain a committee of inquiry. Whether there is much or any chance of good resulting from any attempt to benefit Ireland or its inhabitants in the feverish state in which the dread and obstinate policy of our rulers keep her, is but very doubtful, but still the attempt ought to be made.

“If ever I have anything satisfactory to communicate, you shall hear from me again. In the meantime any hints, suggestions, or information that you may be able to afford will be thankfully received and highly appreciated by yours, &c., DARNLEY.”

The above correspondence, had it been furnished to us sooner by the present Lord Darnley, we should have inserted with more attention to chronological sequence.

well-digested works on Ireland, sent them to Dr. Doyle, who thus replied :—

“CARLOW, 19th January 1832.

“The interest excited by those works carried me through them so quickly that I am as yet unable to fully appreciate all your opinions and proofs ; but this, however, is obvious, that even if the power to retard or prevent the improvement of our country were greater than it unhappily is, yet it would be defeated by that greater power of intelligence which is now operating in favour of Ireland, and of which so large a portion is developed in your works. I lament most deeply those errors of mind and conduct to which you advert, but though the country may for a while be embarrassed by them and by its old enemies, I do not fear for the result. The nations of Europe cannot retrograde unless they be trampled on by the hoofs of the Northern Colossus ; so that if we escape that, our country may have to struggle for a time, but she will extricate herself from all the impediments opposed or to be opposed to her happiness.”

The latter allusion is to the Czar, then actively engaged in the persecution of Catholic Poland by means of a penal code hardly less severe than that which had driven Dr. Doyle's ancestors into exile. The flower of the Polish nobility were exiled to Siberia, lest their influence should at any time be brought to bear against the autocrat.

Notwithstanding O'Connell's formidable opposition to a legal provision for the poor, the friends of the measure laboured with redoubled energy to promote a satisfactory adjustment of it. The writer of the following letter inherited the talents, but not the bigotry, of his uncle, Sir Richard Musgrave, the historian of the rebellion of 1798, who, as Plowden observes, loaded his volume with “offensive calumnies.”¹ “Musgrave's wild volumes,” said Shiel, “contain little else than the vision of an imagination ridden by a bloody incubus.”² A vain attempt to implicate the Catholic Episcopacy in the rebellion may be included in the calumnies.

“TOURIN, CAPPOQUIN, 20th January 1832.

“MY LORD,—Having been disappointed in procuring a copy of the rough draft of the ‘Bill for the Relief of the Poor,’ I took the liberty of forwarding yesterday a few of the clauses which are likely to meet with most opposition, in order to request your Lordship's

¹ Plowden's “History of Ireland,” vol. ii. p. 347.

² Shiel's “Sketches, Legal and Political,” vol. ii. p. 339.

observations upon them. I am not sufficiently aware of the arrangements for the collection of local taxes in many of the cities and towns in Ireland, to say whether it would answer in practice to divide their parishes into districts, consisting of streets or lanes, or any other boundaries that could be easily defined.

"Your Lordship will perceive that, in cases of severe and general distress, I have ventured to propose that a sum should be raised by taxation, and applied, with the equal amount of subscriptions, in such manner as the vestry or committee may deem proper. This would include emigration.

"As I have not had the assistance of any legal friend, I am not at all confident as to the legal accuracy of the clauses.

"I saw a statement in the newspapers that your Lordship had been appointed to give evidence before the Committee on Irish tithes. If this be the case, I shall have the honour of forwarding to you, in London, a copy of the proposed bill, as soon as the clerk shall have prepared it, with two or three additions which are not yet completed."

"With all his great acquirements and his great abilities," writes Sir Richard Musgrave, "Dr. Doyle was in his manner kind and affable; and I shall always consider myself fortunate in having had the honour of the Bishop's friendship."

In January 1832 Archbishop Murray again sought Dr. Doyle's counsel regarding some ecclesiastical arrangements in the archdiocese. Between these great prelates there existed not only a cordial congeniality of disposition, but a unity of sentiment on most questions of public as well as of clerical policy. In the principles of Church government they differed in one point only. "Foremost amongst his most attached friends," writes Monsignore Meagher of Dr. Murray, "was his renowned suffragan, the great Dr. Doyle. But although impressed with the deepest veneration for the sanctity and wisdom of the Archbishop—whom in the fervour of his admiration he used to designate as 'that angel of a man'—even *he* felt provoked occasionally at what seemed to him excess of lenity in his illustrious friend. It happened at this period that Dr. Murray permitted, with his usual gentleness, the indiscreet proceedings of certain persons, in a matter of great public importance to religion, to pass without reprehension." Dr. Meagher does not explain, but we are aware that after Emancipation, Dr. Doyle had caused a canon to be enacted prohibiting a continuance of the practice of holding political meetings in churches. When O'Connell unfurled the banner of Repeal, he regarded as an indispensable adjunct a revival of this powerful engine of pressure. On com-

municating with an influential dignitary, he found, to his surprise, that a canon law stood in the way ; but on consultation with a few priests who had always been ardent patriots, he ascertained that the canon was not without loopholes, and might be evaded. They publicly expressed their views on the matter, which justly surprised and dissatisfied Dr. Doyle. He repaired to Dublin, where, in a lengthened interview, he opened his mind freely to the Archbishop. "Ah ! my Lord," said Dr. Murray, with that expression of seraphic suavity so peculiarly his own, "I have, throughout my episcopate, endeavoured to follow at an humble distance the example of St. Francis de Sales—a prelate who has said that as it is most difficult to know the exact point where clemency should cease and severity begin, 'tis better have to account with a Being of infinite mercy for too much mildness than too much rigour."

Among the clergy of the archdiocese of Dublin it is well known that their late saintly prelate carried his leniency to an extreme ; and some instances might be cited in which a want of vigour on the part of Dr. Murray proved prejudicial to Catholic interests. Often has he been heard to mourn over a misfortune, while hesitating to apply sinew and muscle to its extinction.

CHAPTER XIX.

Tenacity of his memory—Letter to Miss Gurley—Dr. Doyle regardless of the frowns of power and the applause of party—He is assailed in prose and verse—"Figaro" and "The Comet"—Mr. Finn's attack—Conversations with Rev. J. Maher—Calumny refuted—Dominick Ronayne and the pikes—Oppressiveness of the tithe system—Analysis of and extracts from Dr. Doyle's evidence on tithes—How he withstood the cross-examination—Letter from Lord Duncannon—Examination before the House of Lords—Sensation produced—Congratulations—Declines to revise his evidence—Letter to Archbishop Murray—Count Montalembert's description of Dr. Doyle.

"MY memory is singularly tenacious," said Dr. Doyle, in a conversation with Dr. Maher. "I never read a sound argument, from my boyhood to this hour, that is not inscribed distinctly on my mind ; and I protest, I think that, were it necessary, I could take my oath of the precise page, and even the portion of the page, whereon any remarkable theological opinion appears."

But his memory was good in another and a better way. He never forgot old friends. The following is addressed to Miss Gurley, who, previous to his elevation to the episcopal bench, had

received his counsel and consolation. The reader is referred to the letter of condolence dated 8th of August 1817 :—

“CARLOW, 5th January.

“MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—It is a long time since I last had the pleasure of writing to you, but the new year, were there no other cause, would oblige me to wish you the compliments of the season, and an increase of those blessings from above which enable us, feeble and unworthy though we be, to deserve that ‘long and happy life which God,’ as Tobias saith, ‘does not fail to give to those who never change their faith from Him.’ It is to this fidelity that our Saviour, in the Apocalypse, promises to give a crown of glory, and to eat of the Tree of Life which grows in the paradise of our God. It is a great task which is appointed us, but our Helper is almighty, and the reward proposed to us exceeding great—it is God Himself, the ineffable, incomprehensible, just, holy, and true, who, undivided, embraces all and diffuses His own incomprehensible happiness over all. Surely the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived what this happiness is and must be ; nor do our tribulations, however long or acute, bear any proportion to it. One year more then has passed, my dear Hannah, of our sorrowful pilgrimage ; we are brought somewhat nearer our end ; let us be even more faithful to our King and Redeemer, and we shall arrive to where He is seen face to face. May He grant us, through His mercy, to see Him in peace. I am not surprised, but if I were not in a serious mood I would be amused, at the flutter which my late letter caused among you all. Like birds in a cover, when the fowler appears, they all fly, and their momentary alarm only causes them to seek a new and better resting-place. But whence this horror of your old friend, Fr. A—— ? He is in reality a kind and affectionate friend to you all, and I would not for the world he knew the ungenerous reception you were preparing for him. I will not suffer him to approach you until you will have smiled over your false alarm, and be prepared to exercise your charity towards all who may have to seek it at your hands. I am most happy to find dear Angela is so improved, and that Mary Peter will suffer her progress to heaven to be retarded. Ah ! do, my dear friend, rally her occasionally on her devotions, and you, who know so well my notions of the manner in which God should be served by His own children, impart to her, from time to time, such admonitions as you think I would, if present, give to her. Say to her, and to each of the Sisters, everything kind and affectionate from me. Tell Chantal until she builds that cottage for me, which she has been projecting, in the corner of her

garden, 'my' visits to you must be like those of angels—'few and far between ;' but that, whether absent or present, my wishes and prayers for the happiness of all and each of you are unceasing. If there be an extra one for you, it is because you are among the oldest, the most faithful, and most affectionate of the friends of him who remains, my dear Hannah, most truly yours in Christ.

" J. DOYLE."

[A letter written somewhat later seems a fitting sequel here. It refers to a most sanctified priest, familiarly known as "Holy Healy," to distinguish him from "Learned Haly" of a neighbouring parish. "In the change which I contemplate for my esteemed friend, Mr. Healy, I have in view very much to improve and preserve his health, which, from your statement, I regret to know is even worse than I supposed. I am also anxious to combine with his removal, as far as it can be done, your interests, by placing him convenient to you, where his comforts will be attended to ; and from which he can frequently visit your Community, and hear the confessions of such of them as may wish to resort to him for that purpose. His continuance longer in Mountrath is not within my power, whereas Providence has not given to him sufficient strength to do there the laborious duties of a curate, and his life is too precious in my eyes to leave it exposed to the danger of withering away in a solitary and inactive habit.

"I know how much your sensibility and that of your good Sisters will be tried by his removal, but I am also well assured that when we love the servants of the Lord only for the Lord's sake, and not for our own or theirs, these sort of trials are very transitory, and if they be of long continuance, it only shows that the cause from which they proceeded was not exempt from those feelings of flesh and blood which we are bound not only to repress but to labour to eradicate. We should have here no lasting city, but always seek for that which is to come ; and we are often left in exile, in trials and temptations, far from Heaven, only because our desires were not always pure, nor our affections and will undivided. May God bless you and your good Community, whose prayers I humbly beg may be continued for me."

Fr. Andrew Healy received the adjacent parish of Mountmellick, and, thus comfortably situated, survived his Bishop more than thirty years.

"CARLOW, 20th March.

"DEAR SISTER,—I am always glad to hear from you and your family, and feel deeply indebted to you for your kind recollection of me, absent and indigent as I always am ; but the virtuous

observe, without being conscious of it, the precept of St. Paul 'not to forget benevolence or fellowship, as by such sacrifices God is deserved,' that is, His grace here, and the happy sight of Him hereafter is ensured.

"I had no doubt but Rev. A. Healy would fulfil all your hopes, and it was with that view, as well as to afford to him a situation congenial with his habits and inclinations, that I placed him where he is. Thus 'God makes all things co-operate for the good of those who, according to His purpose, are called to be saints.' As far as I am concerned, I have no objection, nay, I should be glad that many of the Sisters as well as you would have recourse to him as to their ordinary Confessor; but the evil you foresee as likely to result from that should be prevented by some sacrifice, and it was with this view that I wished his attendance to be occasional rather than constant or uniform. I know Religious in general are fond of directions, and what they esteem consolations in the confessional, and yet that is not commendable. Pain and sorrow and distress, and difficulty and shame, are better ingredients for the chalice of repentance than hope and consolation, though these are good and often necessary. But when they are not to be had, 'He whose unction teaches in all things' supplies the want of them; and when the penitent is deprived of discretion in the choice of a Confessor (which choice is an indulgence to human infirmity), a chapter of the 'Imitation,' or an hour's meditation, imparts all the instruction God wishes to bestow. It was with great truth told to you that it is better to retain a skilful Director, when once found, than to change. So it is; but you may have a Director who is not your ordinary Confessor, and to him you can make known your faults, your virtues, your propensities, passions, failings, the vicissitudes and changes of your soul, and all things else which retard your progress in the love of God. To your Confessor most of these things need not be explained more than the austerities or self-denials which may be practised; it is only necessary to tell him of the faults or sins committed, of having broken certain resolutions, without saying what they are; and I would almost say that a Confessor not agreeable to flesh and blood would be preferable when joined with a good Director, to one combining both characters. You will then profit by these hints, and make as much of them known to the Sisters who are circumstanced like you as your prudence will suggest. I go to Dublin (God willing) on Saturday next, and may travel in the coach to Mountrath. I don't know how long I may have it in my power to stop with you, for indeed I am torn and distracted with a variety of business, but I hope nothing will prevent me from seeing you, at least for a few days, at the time I mention."

"MY DEAR SISTER,—I felt very much disappointed at not being able to see you when in Mountrath ; but as I had intended to stop for some days there, and not having it in my power then to delay, I thought it better not to taste a pleasure which I could not enjoy.

"After Easter, when distributing the oils, I expect to see you. At that time I shall receive the vows of such of the Sisters as have not yet made them, and the Lent will serve as a time of preparation.

"The general permission to eat meat ought not to be understood as extending to your family ; for if in the Constitutions 'Lent' be omitted, it is only because it was not supposed that the time of general abstinence would be infringed on ; but as some of your Sisters are delicate and require meat, whilst a diversity of food is forbidden, you may all use meat on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays.

"When the Superior is not able to preside at the chapter, it should be held by the next in authority ; and if the family have but one Superior, by the oldest of those who had previously discharged that office.

"Tell your chaplain, if you be so kind, that during the Lent he is not permitted to abstain, except on Wednesdays and Fridays ; and not even on Wednesdays unless his health be apparently quite restored.

"I am very happy to know from you that the Sisters are so well, and do not forget me, as I am always in great need of the prayers of my friends. I was distressed to think you had suffered so much pain, but I hope it is good for you. Why are you at a loss as to the way of going to heaven when you are daily passing through great suffering of mind and body ? The exercise of meekness and patience, which flow from charity, would purify a soul even more criminal than yours (bad as you are in your own opinion), when joined to such suffering.

"I wish you would consult with whatever physician attends you about getting an issue in your neck or arm. I am confident it would relieve your head. I need not add that during your habitual state of infirmity you are not to fast or abstain ; and that you can allow such indulgence as you deem proper to any of the Sisters."

"MY DEAR SISTER,—Your retreat will have ended before this can reach you, and I can only pray God that He may grant you all grace to persevere in the good purposes you have formed in it, as it is only those who persevere to the end will be saved. As to the distribution of books, it is of very little importance who hands them to the children. The priests can select the most deserving,

and refer them to you for the reward ; or should it be deemed proper that you request of them to deliver them, I do not suppose any great inconvenience could follow. These little things are not deserving of notice, and it is better to indulge those who have set their heart on anything, however foolish, if it be not sinful, than to thwart them at the expense of peace. It is but just that those who give these books to our poor children should regulate the mode of distributing them, and if they happen not to adopt the wisest, we should know that even ourselves, who ought to have more judgment, err frequently. Let not these things trouble you, dear Sister, and when the day of disposing of them comes, God will direct what is best to be done. I am about leaving home for a few days, to try what virtue there is in idleness ; I daresay I shall find it very troublesome, and if so, will not remain to contend with it."

"DEAR SISTER,—It is not in my power to admit any person to a convent until I have first examined personally into their dispositions. I hope to be in Maryborough on Low Sunday, and if your young friend meet me there on that day, I can speak with her. You may, from the account you give of her, consider my approbation as secure, and you have only to obtain that of Miss Browne, who, as the young lady's fortune is not adequate to her maintenance, will have to make a provision for her future support."

We have said that in rebuking the idol of the people he all but invited martyrdom at their hands. His firmness of purpose and rigid sense of duty were indeed striking. He was regardless alike of the frowns of power and the applause of party—" *Si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruina*"—and he had too lofty a mind to value a plebeian popularity obtained by catering to the prejudices of the multitude.

O'Connell had reproached Dr. Doyle with holding views which no man, unless his principles were warped by undue intimacy at the Castle, could conscientiously entertain. This tone was speedily caught by the popular scribes and subordinate leaders. "The Comet" opened fire on the Bishop in verse and prose. The following lines, signed "Figaro," were written by Dominick Ronayne, M.P., one of O'Connell's Parliamentary bodyguard. Mr. Conway, editor of the "Evening Post," had praised Lord Anglesey for the good intentions which it is now well known he entertained towards Ireland.

" If purchased praise from hirelings like these
Can, for the moment, his Excellency please,

How must his whiskers curl, his bosom swell,
Dubbed '*Pater Patriæ*' by J. K. L!
Who'd think that Castle contact ere could soil
The white-robed purity of Dr. Doyle?
That he—seduced in evil hour—should lend
His aid in crushing Ireland's truest friend;
Would shoot his shaft at Egin's pride and boast,
Through the vile pages of th' apostate Post,
In paragraphs, where flow, in mingled tide,
Affected meekness with Prelatic pride.

• • • • •
More would I add, but will not—can't forget
His country owes to him a mighty debt
For learned essays, of a powerful pen,
Worked in her cause—ne'er misapplied till then.
Talents like his by Heaven itself assigned
To elevate his country and mankind,
On POWER's mean minions let him turn his back—
Nature ne'er formed him for a Castle hack!
His the proud province—his the potent task,
To scorch corruption—faction to unmask,
The Whiggish cant of 'wait awhile' expose,
And hurl his thunders at his country's foes,
Denounce the system under which she writhes,
And smite her tyrants as he smote her tithes!
That withering system of a despot crew,
Which starves the many while it crams the few.
Let him his country's foes, not friend, assail,
And give the world his pamphlet on Repeat;
Renounce the Court—resume his former plan,
And dignify the MITRE in the MAN!"

The line in italics was inspired by a letter from Mr. Thomas Finn, which had publicly appeared a few days before. Mr. Finn was a connection of O'Connell's, and his letter—occupying four mortal columns—attracted considerable attention. No attempt was made to gainsay any one of the points advanced by Dr. Doyle; logical retorts, in which Mr. Finn had always been an adept, were, however, freely employed. "It is not my intention to interpose between you and Mr. O'Connell on the subject of poor laws," he wrote, "but I candidly assure you that I would not receive a poor law or any other law at your hands, because I have no faith in your political integrity."

The great object of Mr. Finn's letter was to effect a stinging retaliation by convicting Dr. Doyle of having changed his mind in reference to both men and things. Former praise of O'Connell was contrasted with the adverse criticism which the Bishop had recently expressed. Again Dr. Doyle was reminded that in public letters he had warmly condemned religious controversy. "And yet," triumphantly asserted Mr. Finn, "you addressed a letter to Thomas Kavanagh, Esq., of Borris—who had been brought up a Catholic, but had become a Protestant—exhorting him to return to the religion of his ancestors; and this letter, I am told, was filled

with controversial reasoning, and, moreover, written in that strain of self-distrust and humility which pervades all your Lordship's productions. Was this consistency, most learned, liberal, and unpretending Dr. Doyle?" We gladly pass over sundry kindred points, pitiful for their weakness, but deplorable for their irreverence. He charged him with intriguing at the Castle and obtaining place for his friends, and he attributed to corrupt motives the suppression of a pamphlet on Repeal which Dr. Doyle had written. By a rather curious coincidence a letter from Lord Cloncurry, rather hostile to O'Connell, appeared almost simultaneously with Dr. Doyle's. Mr. Finn declared that "this double attack had been concerted, and that the subject of poor laws was but a veil to cover the deformity of what was hid beneath—like the veil which covered the face of Moore's 'Prophet of Korassan.'" Mr. Finn somewhat gratuitously assured Dr. Doyle that the Irish people would never tolerate J. K. L. as their leader. "For my own part," he added, "I would sooner go to Lapland and be dry-nurse to a bear than live under the temporal dominion of any clergyman in existence." This extraordinary letter concluded with some pious advice. Mr. Finn recommended Dr. Doyle to imitate Philip of Macedon, and order one of his servants every morning to call in an audible voice at his uprising—"Remember, Dr. Doyle, that you are only a man!"

"Read that letter," said Dr. Doyle, handing Dr. Maher the paper. "In my mind it has given rise to mingled feelings of pity, pleasure, and pain; but the last emotion is the faintest of the three, and you may read it aloud for me again. Poor fellow!" he mused, "he is deluded by the dangerous pride of a little learning. Did ever you hear such violent invective? How weak are our best resolutions! That man, when he attacked me on a former occasion, and compared me to a Spanish ecclesiastic, with a smile on my lips and poison in my heart, flung himself next day at my feet, and, with protestations of contrition on his tongue, implored my pardon. I feel and pray for him from my heart."¹

Dr. Doyle very properly did not honour Mr. Finn with a reply, but we find in the local newspaper the following paragraph:—"As this distinguished and Christian prelate has thought proper to leave the letter alluded to unanswered, we are in strict justice bound to say that *we have authority for stating* that Dr. Doyle never dined at the Castle of Dublin, although frequently honoured with an invitation; that he did not use his influence in procuring a situation for Mr. Corcoran; nor did he seek at any time to get a

¹ This capricious gentleman excited great disgust by entering the public newsroom at Carlow, on June 16, 1834, exclaiming, "The tyrant of Braganza is dead!"

favourite doctor of his appointed to the Carlow asylum. Mr. Finn was a man of acumen and talent, but eccentric. He had repeatedly attacked Dr. Doyle through the public journals, and his pique dated from a period anterior to the Bishop's consecration. See vol. i. pp. 72, 188.

[The next letter to be quoted is to the Rev. Martin Doyle, P.P. of Graig, Co. Kilkenny, a great power in the political contests of 1832].

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—Some of the Ossory clergy, as I apprehended, have taken umbrage at the interference by you, or rather by your curate, who addressed a multitude at Gowran on behalf of Colonel Butler. Let him not leave his own diocese to do so any more, for his neighbours feel themselves placed in an awkward position when strange clergymen interfere with their flocks, especially at their chapels. Applications with Colonel Butler to individuals, and especially by you, so signal in your public exertions, may be less liable to excite displeasure. I heard you wrote a letter at Finn in the 'Kilkenny Journal;' perhaps you did well, but I would not do it. In return, the editor indulges in language the most insolent and offensive, if offence could be taken at such a person's conduct. Finn here has only ruined his own interests, except with his own *canaille*, by his tirade, and the fit punishment of such fools is to leave them to their own folly and its natural results. They who are influenced by them are not deserving of any notice, and need not provoke your indignation."

In Mr. Dominick Ronayne Mr. Finn found a zealous ally. The latter flung dirt on Dr. Doyle with a lavish hand; the former sought to cut his throat with a feather:

"By pointed epigram and stinging stanza
He daily teased the Bishop of Braganza."

Mr. Ronayne was popular with his constituents. He addressed them periodically on the political topics of the day; and, while urging them to put their own shoulders to the wheel for the redress of grievances, would labour to dissuade them from having recourse to violence. One day a voice cried out, "The pikes! the pikes!" Mr. Ronayne, affecting not to observe the rude and rebellious interruption, resumed his address; but he had not proceeded far when the same remark was again vociferated. "You scoundrel!" he exclaimed, "you have been sent here and paid to disturb a peaceful meeting. But you shall be baulked in your thirst for blood, and if there be no one else to give you to the police, I'll do so myself." Saying which he sprang from the platform and seized

the arch-disturber ; but it soon transpired, to the amusement of the meeting and the discomfiture of Mr. Ronayne, that it was to turn-pikes, and not to pikes of a more pointed character, the voice alluded. About six-and-twenty years ago the turnpike system in some parts of Ireland was as obnoxious as in Wales at a later period.

As soon as Dr. Doyle had been apprised of the approaching Parliamentary inquiry on the Irish tithes, he wrote to the pastors of the three parishes in which opposition to tithes first showed itself, and requested to be furnished with information relative to the causes which had produced that opposition. "Be careful," he added, "that no account shall be transmitted to me except such as can be, if necessary, hereafter confirmed on oath."

The parish priests of Mountrath, Graigue, and Paulstown furnished some very remarkable data, but at this distance of time these details of individual oppression have lost their interest.

Dr. Doyle arrived in London, on rather short notice, to deliver before the Tithe Committee that intrepid evidence which raised him at once to the pinnacle of fame. A letter addressed to his curate from London mentions that a great tribune, who had promised to give him some important points for that protracted and critical examination, forgot to do so, and made no apology for the disappointment. "I am here since Wednesday," he writes. "Stanley no doubt wishes most heartily that either the devil or the cholera would carry me off."¹

Dr. Doyle's able testimony completely re-established whatever popularity he had temporarily lost. Several persons had already spoken on the subject, but the proceedings at once assumed considerably increased importance by the examination of Dr. Doyle, who stated facts so lucidly and energetically, that, even constituted as the Committee was, its illiberal and interested majority at once perceived that tithes, in their then form, would no longer be tolerated in Ireland.

¹ [The late Very Rev. T. O'Connell, P.P., V.F., was his curate with Father Maher. Some of his pleasant gossip we may perhaps venture to give here :—

"The only thing of which I knew him to be in dread was the cholera. During the epidemic a woman came to the Bishop requesting spiritual aid for a bad case. 'Have you applied to the curates?' 'I couldn't find them, my Lord!'

"Dr. Doyle then went to the College. 'I say, you student! do you know aught of those idle curates of mine?' Maher and I knew his voice the moment he entered the hall. He had a most singular intonation, audible from one end of that great building to the other! He read us both a severe lecture, and was evidently in dread lest his curates should not be found,—in which case, he, as Bishop, would be obliged to attend the cholera case. I am bound to add, however, that during the earlier stage of the disease he was the first to follow a cholera corpse to the grave, in order to inspire others with courage.

"All sick calls for the curates were written on a slate; Father Maher would transcribe half in his note-book, and myself the other. By an oversight one name was omitted. In the middle of the night a woman came making a great noise. The Bishop got up—read us a lecture, and ordered me to go. Sometimes, when we were not on the spot, he attended sick calls himself, and wielded the fact against us in subsequent admonitions."

It may be added that O'Connell is described in the "Greville Memoirs" (ii. 309) as manifesting a dread of the cholera much more marked than Dr. Doyle.]

The London correspondent of O'Connell's organ, the "Pilot"—in all probability the great Tribune himself—sketches the Bishop with masterly touches: "The room was crowded by the curiosity of the English and the partisanship of the Irish members. Dr. Doyle took his seat in the midst of the Committee, and exhibited, even before he spoke, a very remarkable object. His episcopal dress—the white crape round his neck—his complexion, which is 'sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought' (that expression which is observable in Murillo's pictures of the Spanish Jesuits)—his high and meditative forehead—his long dark eyelashes—the half-closed eye, and that peculiar smile in which the meekness of his profession is blended with a certain tendency to derision which belongs to his nature—these incidents to his bearing and physiognomy would, if he had been utterly unknown, have been sufficient to fix the regards of the whole assembly upon him. He anticipates his querists and boldly grasps his subject, and enters into the origin and first appropriation of tithes, their misapplication and present grievous operation, with a lucidness, rapidity, and succinctness unparalleled in the annals of Parliamentary investigation. This examination will form an historical epitome of the nefarious tithe system, and adds another laurel to the wreath which encircles the name of this exalted divine. He has done much honour to his country, but, above all, he has done her much service by his able opposition to this evil; and this last exertion of his will prove not the least important of the many he has made in her cause."

Sir Richard Musgrave, a member of the Committee, writes: "His exposure of the tithe system was given with his usual ability, and was heard with the deepest interest, not only by the Committee, but also by many other members who attended. James Grattan, member for Wicklow, caused Dr. Doyle to be summoned, and the answer to Mr. Grattan's first question—'Are you acquainted with the nature of tithes?'—occupied an hour in the delivery."

The Bishop rendered all queries needless by the unreserve and ardour with which he entered into the object of the Committee. He conclusively demonstrated that, from the earliest times of the Catholic Church, indeed almost from the period in which tithes were first mentioned, there existed a fourfold and afterwards a *tripartite* division of the tenths; that the poor were the legal, or at least canonically, the usufructuaries of a part, and that the clergy were only the trustees for their general appropriation. That division he demonstrated by a variety of citations and references to the highest authorities amongst lawyers and divines. He said that tithes and all other Church property were held as a trust, and that trust had been abused. By the laws of England since the

Reformation the Protestant clergy were subject to similar duties, and the tithes, at least by "the books," were liable to a similar division. He then proceeded to show the gradual departure from the spirit of the original institution, when, the poor having been robbed of their rights by the Reformation, it became necessary, lest the frame of civil society should fall to pieces, to pass the famous Act—the 43d of Elizabeth. No such law, it is unfortunately needless to say, was made in Ireland. Protestantism was imposed upon the country, or rather a Protestant clergy, nine-tenths of whom at the time were ignorant of the very language of the people, while even the denizens of the Pale, who spoke in the tongue of the new priesthood, felt as deep a repugnance to their doctrines as the "mere Irish" beyond the Shannon.

The Irish nation had always been opposed to the tithe system, and long before the Reformation the great body of the people had offered to this impost a strong resistance. The history of that resistance he narrated with a clearness, a precision, a force, and an eloquence which produced a strong effect upon the Committee. In giving an account of the Reformation, he took occasion to refer to some of the incidents in the life of one of his predecessors in the See. This episode was executed in the most masterly spirit. He described a Roman Catholic Bishop flung out of the temporalities of his office, but by that very deprivation armed with a new influence over the people—degraded by the law, but exalted by the Gospel—stripped of his pontifical robes, but invested with the raiment of Christianity, and going forth in the garb of a pauper, sustained by a staff, to instruct his flock in the lessons of religious fortitude, and to enforce the holiness of his precepts by the heroism of his example. Dr. Doyle, after drawing this picture, proceeded to state that after the Reformation the detestation to tithes continued to operate; and showed that, from the reign of James I. down to that of Anne, the Protestants of Ireland, and more especially the Scotch settlers (retaining the feelings of their country), exhibited towards the tithe system an uniform and steadfast opposition. He proved by a citation from Swift that the Protestant gentry of Ireland were, in the reign of Anne, combined against the clergy, who had been reduced at that period to extreme indigence. A great confederacy was formed by the whole of the Protestant proprietors against tithes; and he proved its continuance and successful operation down to the reign of George II., noticing the celebrated resolution of the Irish House of Commons, A.D. 1736, against the tithe of agistment; and one of the last acts of that Parliament was to convert them into law. He then proceeded to show that the Whiteboys and others derived their political and

perpetually renovated existence from the tithe system, and quoted Lord Clare's description of the condition of the peasantry, in which he stated that they were "ground to powder." Having gone perspicuously through his narrative, Dr. Doyle noticed the then system of passive resistance to tithes. To him had been ascribed the merit, for so he must call it, of having excited resistance to this impost. To that honour he did not consider himself entitled, although he would not hesitate in declaring that to the last moment of his life he should persevere in employing all the means which, with a due regard to the law, could be used in order to produce the abolition of a tax against which the feelings of the people had revolted, and one incompatible with the interests of the country. He, however, ascribed the manifestation on the part of the people of their hatred to tithes to a variety of circumstances, which had concurred in producing a strong and incurable sentiment throughout the entire country. The Protestant clergy had, in general, rendered themselves conspicuous by their opposition to the Catholic claims. Many had taken an active share in the formation of Brunswick Clubs, and had thus rendered themselves the objects of popular antipathy. The clergy were divided into two great classes—the Calvinistic portion, and those who adhere to the letter, and perhaps the spirit, of the Thirty-nine Articles. The former had associated themselves with certain itinerant preachers, who had perambulated the country for the purpose of effecting the conversion of the Catholics of Ireland. Assemblies had been held in all parts, in which the Calvinistic clergy had denounced the Catholic religion and its ministry—had misrepresented their tenets, vilified their character, and cast calumnious aspersions upon their lives and conduct. The people had their catechisms in their hands, and saw at once the falsehood of the imputations upon their religion and on their priesthood. The result was a fierce resentment on the popular side, which extended itself from the clergy to everything associated with them. In their bargains with the peasantry the Calvinistic Protestant priesthood had exhibited a severe exaction. It constantly happened that a new incumbent had raised his tithes under the Tithe Composition Act; a spirit of severe dealing had been exhibited by the clergy. Thus opposition to the rights of the people—opposition to the creed of the people—vilification of the clergy of the people and the rigorous exaction of their emoluments from the people by this class of State clergy, had excited that feeling of which the Committee saw the outburst in the existing state of the country. Dr. Doyle then proceeded to detail the circumstances which had led to the disturbances in Mountrath and Graigue. He stated that one individual had been

rector of Graigue for forty years ; that he had received £500 a year himself, but that on his death the tithes had been raised from £1100 (that being the sum payable to him and his tithe farmer) to £1500 a year. This individual had been in the parish but once all his life ; another incumbent had remained in it only during the time that arrangements were made for carrying the tithe composition into effect. Before this gentleman's appointment the parish had been under the management of a curate, who had changed the mode of levying tithes and demanded them by the barrel. There was a good church in the parish ; the curate had applied to the Board of First Fruits for £1500 to repair it, but was informed that such a sum could only be granted for building a church ; accordingly the old church was, by an act of vestry, thrown down, and arrangements made for the erection of a new one.

Dr. Doyle improved on the impression his details produced by submitting to the Committee a strong protest, signed by many of the Protestant parishioners, against these proceedings. He then went to show that the applotment under the Tithe Composition Act had been most unjust—that ninepence on one had been charged, where the fair rent was only one shilling an acre in several parts of the parish. Dr. Doyle said that he had no objection to state the names of his informants, provided that any member of the Committee acquainted with the law of libel would guarantee their exemption from risk. Whereupon Mr. afterwards Judge Crampton undertook to give the desired assurance. Several questions were put by Mr. Lefroy, Mr. Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Goulbourn, respecting the applotment of the tithe composition. He was asked whether the ninepence an acre, where the rent was a shilling, was not an exception ; whether the composition was not differently imposed on the rest of the parish, and the fairness of it was not to be tried by the average proportion between rent and tithe in the entire parish. He answered, that oppression operated most effectually in producing resistance by cases of individual hardship ; that a uniform pressure was more readily borne, and that the public feeling was always more alive to particular specific instances of injustice. They were the standards by which the entire system was tried.

A question was propounded by an eminent legal functionary to the effect that, as abuses had crept into grand jury assessments, might not individuals find ground for resisting them upon the principle upon which resistance to tithe had been made ? “It is a maxim in law,” replied Dr. Doyle, “that the accessory follows the principal. Now I think, with regard to the funds levied by grand jurors, that the abuse is an accessory—it is very small compared with the great bulk of money to be expended [in the improvement

of the country]; and people therefore will not complain very much of an accidental abuse. But in the other case, I conceive that all the objects of the trust are defeated."

The same individual expressed a wish to be informed whether there was not great danger that the principle of opposition to tithes might lead ere long to a difficulty on the part of the landlord in procuring his rent. "The landlord," replied Dr. Doyle, "gives the land for the rent, but the parson gives nothing for the tithe; and this saying is in the mouth of every person in Ireland, from the cowboy to the gentleman." At p. 335 we find:—

"*Q.* You have stated that the exertions made some time since to encourage a new reformation were a justificatory circumstance in considering this opposition to tithe?—*A.* What I said was that they tended very much to excite a bad feeling towards the clergy of the Established Church, which probably urged on this opposition to the tithe system.

"*Q.* Do you believe that that was undertaken conscientiously by the parties who undertook it?—*A.* We read in St. Augustine's writings against the Donatists, that there were of that sect a great number called Circumcellians, who put an end to their own lives, precipitated themselves from rocks, and committed suicide in various ways, hoping thereby to gain heaven. Now that those people were sincere I am sure nobody will question; but sincerity in religion is not enough; it is necessary that that sincerity be founded upon truth, and to be so it must be conformable to common sense and to the Gospel; that those people were sincere, and that most fanatics are sincere, I admit with all my heart, but fanaticism is not the less an error on that account.

"*Q.* Was there more violence on their part than on the part of many Roman Catholics with respect to the Established Church?—*A.* I can estimate the feelings of Catholics towards the clergy of the Established Church pretty justly by my own. I have stated at different times, and I state now, that from my infancy I never felt a dislike to a man on account of his religion. I have long had amongst my most early and intimate friends, and I still have, members of the Established Church and other Protestant communities, in whom I confide and whom I love as much as I do any people upon the earth; and if I had to choose a friend to whom I would confide my life or my honour, whether amongst people high in station or low, I should, at least amongst those high in station, prefer some of my Protestant friends to any others in the world. With regard to their religion, I thought I had nothing to do; every man is at liberty to choose what religion he pleases, and to follow it in peace. I preach the doctrines of my own

Church ; if any one comes to listen to me, he is welcome to do so, and if he please to become a Catholic it gives me great pleasure ; in like manner, if a Catholic choose to become a Protestant, he might do so by all means. I mentioned in 1825, and I repeat it now, that till the period of the new reformation I never remember to have preached a single sermon about controversy ; and what is more, since the new reformation commenced I have never done it directly, though I preach every Sunday when I am at home, unless I happen to be unwell, but up to this hour I never deal in polemics ; I seek to teach the people the great principles of the Gospel, and upon speculative matters to let every man think as he pleases. I do believe that these sentiments of mine are the sentiments and feelings of the great majority of Catholics, and that if they had been left to follow their own opinions, they never would have troubled the Protestants about *their* opinions ; but they were attacked, and assailed, and reviled, and calumniated, and abused as if they were demons—idolaters is too light a name, though you may suppose I would consider a man imputing to me idolatry as either very wicked or very foolish ; but, however, all this was done, and the most patient individual and the most patient nation in the world, when goaded to a certain extent, will manifest their feelings and retaliate. Therefore, when it is asked, did not the Catholics assail the Protestants with as much violence as the Protestants assailed the Catholics, I answer by saying that the attack commenced and was carried on by the Protestants before the Catholics even resisted, and if it had not been so commenced you would have heard nothing at all in Ireland upon the subject of new reformation or old reformation."

He was also asked, "Do you consider it a safe doctrine to promulgate among the ignorant that they are authorised to resist what the law prescribes, on the ground that that property may not be strictly applied to the objects for which it was originally intended ?—A. I have delivered my opinion upon that subject so frequently since I have been under examination here, that I think it is almost unnecessary to repeat it. I think it quite right to tell the people what is right to be done according to my notions, whilst at the same time, in doing that, I am careful always to advise them to avoid every breach of the law, and every act that might tend to disturb the peace. But it is manifest that though the people may be led into excesses in those cases, they are not, therefore, the less entitled to proceed in seeking for a remedy for the abuse or the amendment of a bad law ; for if we were to hold the doctrine that, because excesses may occur, therefore we are to desist from seeking the redress of wrong, we should shake the

very foundation of our Constitution, and find fault with what appear to be the best enactments of our legislature. When Sydney opposed the levy of ship-money, the prerogative of the Crown was said by the judges to be legally exercised ; yet Sydney is held up as a martyr to English liberty. The Revolution of 1688 was certainly contrary to law ; yet we glory in it and date our happiness and prosperity from that event. [See also p. 325, *ante*.] I hope all present agree in opinion with me, that the whole of the Penal Code pressed heavily upon Ireland ; and though for the half century during which we were struggling to have it repealed numberless outrages and excesses occurred, great animosity and great ill-will, yet nobody will say on that account that the Roman Catholics were wrong, as well as the Protestants who aided them, in seeking to remove that incubus from the country, and to have justice restored to her natural course. Again, surely the law sanctions the present constitution of the House of Commons, and yet who will impute to the King and his ministers the excesses committed at Bristol and at Nottingham ? Yet those excesses certainly arose from the efforts making to reform the House of Commons. So that it is clear that no man ought to be condemned for exhorting people to pursue justice in a certain line, though he may foresee that in the pursuit of that justice the opposition given to those who are proceeding in a just course may produce collision, and that collision lead to the commission of crime ; but our duty, as I conceive, is to seek for the injustice, and there to impute the crime—*‘ Ex hoc fonte derivata clades, quæ in terram populum, quæ defluxit. ’* It is to that injustice, and not to those who pursue a just course for the attainment of a right end, that the guilt is to be ascribed.

“ Q. Do you mean to put the levy of ship-money and the levy of tithe upon the same footing ?—A. I put it upon the same footing in this respect, that to levy ship-money was declared by the Judges to be the legal prerogative of the Crown, and yet it was opposed, and that opposition was followed by consequences that we deem salutary ; in like manner, the law sanctions the levying of tithe, but we conceive that that law in its application and operation works great injustice ; and therefore I do say, as Sydney adhered to justice and gave opposition to the law, and deserved well of his country for so doing, so they who now oppose the injustice that is wrought by the operation of the tithe law deserve applause, and shall, if they attain their end, as I am confident they must, be deserving hereafter of the approbation of their country.”

Superior to his auditory, and more especially convinced of the superiority and extent of his information over those who had cited

him before them, Dr. Doyle waved the tedious and insipid formula of repeated question and answer, and, after speaking for seven hours, ended by declaring that he would allow his last chair to be seized—nay, sacrifice his life, before he would pay an impost so obnoxious and iniquitous.

On the following Friday Dr. Doyle was cross-examined at great length by Sir Robert Peel and others, relative to his previous testimony. He was asked, if tithes were a charitable grant vested in trustees for particular purposes, and that it had been abused, why no attempt had hitherto been made to restore it to its original purposes. He replied, that in Ireland the people who were injured had hitherto been kept in such a state of degradation by the laws, that until now they could have made no attempt at redress or reclamation. In England, after the first dissolution of the monasteries, the people, deprived of the resources which the tithes afforded, became dissatisfied in different parts of the country, and the gentry, who benefited by the change and felt an interest in it, were glad to compound with the people, and then first introduced poor rates for the support of the poor.

In conversation amongst the Committee, it was at this stage suggested that in any continuation of the tithes system that should take place or in any final adjustment of the question, a provision for the poor ought to be introduced.

Sergeant Lister asked him whether, as the tithes were lessened in 1793 by the abolition of the tithes of episcopium, and as that diminution was reached at the time of the Union, the people ought not to be the more obliged to pay that smaller amount of tithes? He replied that the abolition of the tithes of episcopium took place for the benefit of the gentry, and not the people.

It was asked whether he had not written strongly and ably upon the subject. He replied, "Pretty well, thank you." The memorandum on this answer produced great laughter, but it is not to be found among the newspaper reports.

It being at the question as to whether he had not urged the gentry or clergy to resist the law, he replied that he advised them to resist only in the spirit of the law, in every means in their power consistent with the good name. When he wrote to that effect to the gentry and clergy, he considered what was the law of the land, but he considered the fact as well as his duty and his God. He did not pretend to be a lawyer, as he was in the law of England, but he understood the law of God.

It being asked him if he had not been aware that it was the intention of the law in Ireland that tithes should be paid, he replied that he was aware of the law, and in support of

this he read an extract from a political charge of Baron Smith at the assizes of Maryborough.

We cull Dr. Doyle's reply from the Blue Book. "I have the highest opinion of Baron Smith, both as a private gentleman and as a judge ; and he having honoured me with his friendship, I should be particularly unwilling to say anything that might seem to make light of his opinion ; but I cannot avoid saying that I should regret extremely to form my opinion of law by the charges of judges in Ireland. I find phrases in that passage just read which I think ought not to be used ; to wit, the word ' robbery ' is there repeated twice, and joined with other words which give it peculiar force. Now I find Baron Smith proceeds upon an assumption which I consider false, that the law not only gives the tithe to the parson, but that it also gives to him a right to enjoy it to the exclusion of the poor and others having claims upon it—that is a doctrine which, if it were propounded by the twelve judges and sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, I could not agree to, because it would be contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, as I understand it, and certainly to the whole tenor of Church legislation, from the foundation of the Church up to the present time. Moreover, I find in Ireland the religious denomination of Quakers ; and they, on account of a peculiar tenet of their religion, refuse to pay tithes in money or kind to the parsons within whose jurisdiction they live ; they suffer their cattle or goods to be distrained, and they have never been charged on that account with robbing the parson. Suppose then that a Catholic, viewing this breach of trust by the ecclesiastical incumbents of Ireland, and considering the misapplication of property dedicated by our ancestors for the maintenance of religion, for the support of the poor, for the instruction of the people, and the support of those who administer the ordinances of the Gospel to them—supposing that a Catholic, viewing the matter in that light, should form his conscience after the manner of the Quakers, and consider it not right to give freely and voluntarily his tithe or his money, why should he be condemned as a robber, and the Quaker left to enjoy his good reputation, though the acts of both are the same, and the motives of both may be the same ?

"Q. Have the Quakers ever taken any measures to prevent the sale of a distress for tithe or for public dues?—A. I do not know that they have ; and if the Catholics have at any time interfered beyond the rule I have laid down, I condemn their conduct as sincerely and as much as any one else ; but every person knows that in acting upon a principle which in itself is just and right, consequences may ensue which ought not to be

imputed either to the principle itself or to those who act upon it in a proper way. For instance, there is the right of self-defence possessed by every man, and of which no man can or ought to divest himself; yet, if a man, in defending himself against an unjust aggressor, exceeds the bounds or limits which that self-defence prescribes, he is guilty of a sin and commits crime; but because a man defending himself against an unjust aggressor may be actuated sometimes by a spirit of revenge, and do more than is necessary to defend himself, are we on that account to condemn the right of self-defence, or to take it from men generally? No; therefore, if Catholics, in resisting or opposing the payment of tithes, have in any way abused their power or resorted to means in themselves wrong, I condemn that abuse and I reject those means; but I maintain the right which they have of withholding, in a manner consistent with the law and their duty as subjects, the payment of tithe in kind or in money until it is extorted from them by the operation of the law.

"Q. Do you put the resistance to tithes upon the same ground as the right of self-defence?—A. No; but I have brought that as an illustration, and illustrations or similes are not always so exactly alike as to be identified with the thing which they are used to illustrate."

Some persons were led to imagine that the reverse of a cordial feeling subsisted between Dr. Doyle and the Protestant rector of Carlow. But the former, in reply to a query, declared "that he was known to live on terms of familiarity with the parson, whose amiability of conduct, though he had been sometimes led to do things that were not advisable, had inclined the good-will of the people towards him. I think," he added, "that he is one of the last clergymen in Ireland from whom his ecclesiastical emoluments would be withheld."

The Bishop, in conclusion, recommended that all tithes and Church property should be paid into the hands of trustees appointed by the Legislature, who should be chosen from the House of Commons, and of Catholics and Protestants promiscuously, and that those should apply the tithes to their original purposes.

The London correspondent of the "*Freeman*" writes: "The effect produced by the manner in which he conducted himself, and the gigantic vigour of mind that he exhibited, has furnished a topic for admiration and surprise everywhere. In all quarters it is talked of. Mr. Stanley and a learned sergeant attempted to trip him up; he laid them on their backs with gigantic power, and seemingly quite unconscious of an effort."

Men who get the worst in an argument seldom retain a very favour-

able impression of their opponent's points. This case, however, would seem to be an exceptional one. The London correspondent of "The Morning Register" writes: "Stanley stated to a friend of mine that Dr. Doyle's evidence was a masterpiece of talent." "I remember," observes Judge Crampton, eight-and-twenty years after, "that the general impression produced by the learned Doctor's examination was one highly creditable to his ability and candour."

Dr. Doyle's powerful reasoning converted not a few Protestant clergymen to his views. In 1832 the Rev. John Albany Fetherston, of Griffinstown, presented a petition, drawn up by himself, praying for the total abolition of tithes, and Dr. Hincks, rector of Killileagh and Ex. F.T.C.D., wrote a pamphlet advocating similar views.

Considerable importance was attached to the intricate web of queries which had been prepared for Dr. Doyle's discomfiture, and hopes were entertained that it might prove successful. The chief merit of this very clever line of cross-examination is due to the late Lord Chief-Justice Lefroy, one of the ablest judges since Lord Mansfield. "The Morning Register" of the 2d of March 1832, referring to the ingenious questions propounded by Messrs. Lefroy and Goulbourn, says: "Never was any pair of unfortunate wights so completely prostrated as were these learned and self-sufficient personages. This is admitted on all hands, even by the Tories. Sir Robert Peel put several ingenious questions to his Lordship. The opinion he entertained of Dr. Doyle may be illustrated by this simple fact—when the examinations were over Sir Robert walked up to his Lordship, shook him by the hand, and they were for a considerable time engaged in deep conversation."

This evidence, as it appears in the Blue Book, is most voluminous; yet some portions of it may have been emasculated. On the 1st of March 1832, the Chief Secretary and subsequent Premier, Mr. Stanley, observed: "For the last four days it was well known that a gentleman had been under examination whose opinions and views, no less from his great ability than his high station in the Catholic Church—he meant Dr. Doyle—had excited great interest. The Committee-room had consequently been crowded, not merely by Members of the House, who had a right to be present, but a considerable number of strangers were also admitted. The Committee did not wish their proceedings to be kept private, nor that whatever passed should not be a matter of public knowledge: at the same time, the House would agree with him that it was often necessary, when the Committee printed the evidence, to accompany it with notes; and, therefore, that it was

highly objectionable to allow that evidence to go before the public before the whole of the proceedings were in possession of the House. There were also many cases in which the Committee might be required to exercise a discretion as to the parts of evidence it was necessary to suppress."

The examination before the Lords rapidly followed.

"*Q.* Have you any power of displacing the priests?—*A.* Not a parish priest, without a canonical fault; but in a case where he may have engaged in trade, which is incompatible with the discharge of his duty, I have power to cite him and to admonish him a first and a second time; and I can then send an additional curate and subtract from him the means of living for the curate. If I find the duties neglected I can suspend him.

"*Q.* But you cannot arbitrarily suspend a parish priest?—*A.* No.

"*Q.* Can you do it without formal proceedings, supposing he acts criminally?—*A.* Not without a regular proceeding, except in time of visitation, when I am vested by law with extraordinary powers during that visitation.

"*Q.* Do you give collation to the priests within your diocese?—*A.* Sometimes; otherwise I give induction, and three years' peaceable possession with that confers a title.

"*Q.* If they have not collation, are they not subject to removal at your sole discretion?—*A.* No; after induction on my authority they cannot be removed at my discretion, though a written collation be not given.

"*Q.* During the three years before induction are they not liable to be removed at your discretion?—*A.* It cannot be arbitrary, even during these three years."

Dr. Doyle in a conversation with Dr. Maher alluded to one reply which he had very carefully prepared. "The question that I undertook to answer," he said, "had already been put to me in the Commons, and I guessed it would be repeated by the Lords. I observed a sensation produced by the reply. I was delighted that Lord Redesdale, and not Lord Lansdowne, had put the question; for no one could ever suppose it possible—which they might in the other case—that Lord Redesdale and I were acting in concert."

Mr. Lavelle, writing from the spot and at the time, says: "I hear in the House [of Lords] they were delighted with the talent displayed; and *he* was much pleased also, finding he had men of superior intellect to cope with—he says, far more so than the Commons' Committee."

It is a privilege enjoyed by all who give evidence before Par-

liamentary Committees that they may revise the proof-sheets to any extent, providing that the sense be not altered. They are at liberty to change phrases *ad libitum*, and adduce additional remarks to strengthen but not to qualify the substance. This privilege was offered to Dr. Doyle; but as he attached no importance to the graces of style, and desired solely to convey the sense, he declined to avail himself of an opportunity which others eagerly sought.

Congratulations, personal and epistolary, poured in from all quarters on Dr. Doyle. William Cobbett having sought an introduction to him, "I am rejoiced," said Dr. Doyle, "to be made personally acquainted with the ablest man in England." "And I, my Lord," replied Cobbett, bowing profoundly low, "am proud to be introduced to the most distinguished individual in Europe." [It may be added that Mr. Donellan of the Irish Bar asked Cobbett to name the best writer of the English language. He answered, "Dr. Doyle."] The sincerity of the Bishop's admiration of Cobbett was proved by a generous subscription which he soon after sent to aid his return for Oldham. Sir Francis Burdett collected a party of distinguished politicians to meet Dr. Doyle at dinner on "Friday"—an odd day, it must be confessed, to ask a Catholic ecclesiastic to partake of the delicacies of the season.

But perhaps the highest compliment which could have been paid to our prelate's abilities was an invitation he received soon after from some distinguished peers to join them on another Committee of Inquiry, and give them the aid of his counsel. Dr. Doyle, however, declined on the plea of failing health and the necessity of attending to other duties. This fact has been communicated by Mr. James O'Grady, LL.D., a gentleman who possessed in a particular degree the friendship of Dr. Doyle.

As the Bishop wound his way slowly homeward, it was observed that his recent exertions before the Committees of both Houses had made a considerable inroad on his scanty stock of strength. From the residence of Bishop Baines we find Dr. Doyle addressing the Most Rev. Dr. Murray :—

"PRIOR PARK, BATH, 10th March 1832.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am here enjoying the hospitality of the good Dr. Baines, who thus repays the unkindness expressed of him by me. I left London on Monday evening and travelled to Taunton, where I rested Ash-Wednesday, in the midst of snow. I returned to Bath on Thursday, but found myself on the following day so ill as to be utterly unable to proceed to Ireland. I

then came here, where I found Lady Bellew¹ (the Bishop being absent), who told me that he had been expecting me for some days, and that my room was prepared. I agreed to come and remain till Wednesday next, when the packet will sail to Waterford. On my return from Bath I saw the Bishop, who received me most kindly, and I hope to grow strong under his care by the time I will have to move homewards.

"I feel much uneasiness about Ireland, and fear the disorders of the people will increase. I wish anxiously to be at home, especially on account of a meeting which, report says, was or is to be holden at the Curragh by all the labouring classes of the adjoining counties. I wrote from London to some persons to endeavour to prevent it. Were I at home I think it might not take place.

"I have nothing more to say ; this sort of illness depresses me somewhat, even in this little paradise, for such it is."

" 12th March.

"I have no additional news. The division in the Commons [on the Reform Bill] was not so good as was expected—the English members and many of the Irish relying, or pretending to rely, on some vague promises by Mr. Stanley and Lord Althorpe, given to them on the morning of the debate. We will beat them, however, in the long run. I go on as usual."

A few days previously the Earl of Roden had presented to King William a petition against the Reform Bill, signed by 230,000 Irish Protestants.

When the reader is reminded that fifty-six boroughs in Schedule A alone were extinguished from that hour, it will not excite surprise that despair should have marked the oligarchy for its own. The Duke of Cumberland recorded his conviction that "the revolutionary bill" would, if carried, "annihilate all our institutions both in Church and State, and lead to the repeal of the Union." The Duke of Wellington, writing to the Duke of Buckingham, says, "I certainly never will enter the House of Lords from the time that it passes."

Some of the preliminary debates were in the highest degree excited. "It is impossible," records Hansard, "to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity which prevailed from one end of the House to the other. The peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the peers were almost scuffling, and as if shaking their hands at each other in anger."

¹ It has often been remarked of Dr. Doyle that even in the shortest interview his observations never failed to leave an indelible impression on the bearer's mind. Lord Bellew, in a letter before us, dilates on the great happiness which Lady Bellew experienced in meeting Dr. Doyle at Prior Park, and adds, that were her Ladyship now living, she could furnish us with some very remarkable observations of Dr. Doyle, which had made a strong impression on her.

The Count de Montalembert paid a visit to Ireland in 1832. The great Dr. Doyle and the gentle Dr. Murray were with other lions explored. "They have inspired me with the greatest veneration," writes Montalembert, "not only for their piety and other apostolic virtues, but for their eloquence and elegance of manners. Dr. Doyle is well known to the Catholic world as one of the most solid pillars of the true faith, and the three kingdoms will long remember his appearance at the bar of the House of Lords, where, by his eloquent exposition of Catholic doctrine, he confounded the peers of England—the descendants of those men who signed the great charter, but whose faith they have denied."

CHAPTER XX.

Letter to Mr. Stanley—The Report of the Tithe Committee deficient in candour—Retort and refutation—Votes of thanks to Dr. Doyle—Letters from O'Connell—"My tithes or blood"—Archbishop Whately's testimony to the influence of J. K. L.—Contest at Carlow between the Church and the people, and triumph of the latter—Parsons in poverty—Tithe arrests in England—Mr. Finn again—Care sears the Bishop's heart—Anecdotal traits—Reminiscences of Dr. Doyle by a parish priest—Illegal combinations—Dr. Doyle fulminates the terrors of the Church—Legislation for an extreme case—Baron Henrion on J. K. L.—The cholera—The Irish Reform Bill—Justices of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenants dismissed for expressing anti-tithe views—The prosecutions—Parliamentary inquiry into the causes of disturbance—Correspondence on the state of Ireland—The report—The doctrine of "No King" shouted by the mob who had previously screamed "No Popery"—Violence offered to the sovereign's person—Parnell's political gossip—Arrest of Andrew Fitzgerald.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fatal disease which, as Dr. Doyle assures the Archbishop of Dublin, "depressed" his energies, we find him a few days later addressing a powerfully argumentative letter to Mr. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, in reference to a passage which occurred in the second report of the Select Committee on Irish Tithes. That passage expressed a doubt as to the extent to which the law of England had sanctioned the ancient fourfold division of the ecclesiastical revenues, including tithes, whereby one portion of the whole is alleged to have been devoted to the repair of religious edifices, and another to the support of the poor. Dr. Doyle replied that the extent to which the fourfold division of these revenues was sanctioned by the law of England might appear matter of extreme uncertainty to the Select Committee, although to Blackstone and Sir James Ware, as well as to

J. K. L., it seemed a fact of such public, historical, and legal notoriety as not to admit of any doubt whatever ; but supposing that doubts on the subject really disturbed the Committee, it did not follow that such doubts as to the mode of dividing the ecclesiastical revenues should extend to the nature and appropriation of the revenues themselves.

The report, in reviewing Dr. Doyle's evidence, would seem to have been wanting in candour. But the reviewal was executed with such ingenuity that it cost Dr. Doyle a considerable expenditure of words to expose and refute some false deductions which he declared had been drawn. "A Parliamentary report," he continued, "ought not to be liable to this charge, or to the suspicion of having suppressed, to serve a purpose, a most important truth."

Dr. Doyle, who had contended most earnestly for the quartite division, was erroneously pronounced by the report to have "admitted that the appropriation of tithe in its present form has been sanctioned by the prescription of three centuries, and by repeated Acts of the Legislature." "Against this assertion I protest," he replied ; "I declare it to be utterly unfounded, and I appeal to the evidence referred to. I do not charge the Select Committee with wilful misrepresentation. A man not conversant with the study of jurisprudence may mistake the meaning and import of legal terms, and a mind naturally acute and candid may be hurried by some predilection to a false conclusion. That this has been the case with the compiler of the report I am most anxious to believe, for who is so unwise as to hope he could deceive, unless momentarily, either Parliament or the country ?"

Taking the word "prescription" as his text, Dr. Doyle elaborately analysed its meaning. He contended that the Protestant prelacy and clergy had no title, whether from prescription or statute law, to the exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their benefices. They were the violators of the trust reposed in them, and the spoilers of the poor. He displayed a profound acquaintance with canon and statutable law, and continued : "Has good faith or a reasonable conviction always possessed the mind of this clergy, that they alone, to the exclusion of the Churches and the poor, were to enjoy with their families the immense revenues consigned by our pious ancestors to the maintenance of religion and the support of the poor ? No ; this would have been impossible. The very stones from the streets or the beams from our roofs would remind them of the contrary. But if these were silent, the Gospel—the awful Gospel of God—the records of the Churches, the instinct of nature, the voice of

religion, and the cries of the distressed, would awake in any minister of Christ the warnings of conscience, if that conscience were not seared as if with a hot iron. No continued good faith could therefore attend this exclusive enjoyment of the patrimony of the poor. But if all other requisites for prescription were found, who can pretend that in Ireland, for three hundred years, 'the appropriation of tithe in its present form' has been unquestioned and undisputed? The dried bones which Ezekiah saw reanimated into a mighty host of men, clothed with flesh, convey but a faint idea of the number of those whom we might summon from their graves to depose as to the deadly but unavailing conflict they maintained from age to age in Ireland against the appropriation of tithe in its present form; but this is a subject not to be dwelt upon at a moment when the anathema of *Isaiah* is being fulfilled in Ireland: 'Woe to the spoiler—will not he that spoileth be also spoiled?'"

In 1865, candidates for Parliamentary honours who predicted the downfall of the Church Establishment were generally laughed at. Thirty-three years previously the eye of J. K. L. foresaw the event as inevitable. Nearly every civilised nation had decided that governments should be conducted by the will and for the interests of the people, and not by the will or for the interests of individuals or privileged classes; and he indignantly repudiated the supposition that the Irish people would permit the Established Church to be reconstructed—aggravating under a new form all its ancient pressure, and legalising, as it were, anew the plunder of the patrimony of the poor. To suppose that this could now happen in Ireland, was not only to be blind to the signs of the times, but it portended something like that fatuity which falls beforehand on the foredoomed! The Bishop thus concluded: "I know how difficult it is for a man of ancient lineage and high descent, born, as it were, to command the multitude and be served by them, to admit into his mind notions of humane quality and of popular right; how heroic must be the moral courage of the aristocrat who cannot only bend to the popular voice, but obey it in trenching on the privileges of his own class; how singularly enlightened must be the mind of him who can stay his own religious predilections, and deal impartially with a religion which he disavows! I know how difficult and nearly impossible this is; but it is required of him who attempts to succeed in the government of Ireland. You, sir, have not been so fortunate; you have shut out from confidence and power those who possessed the strength and resources of Ireland; you have upheld, under the plea of mediation, or of

'not giving a victory to either party,' all the spirit and almost all the power of the ascendancy; you have deprecated in words, but upheld in works, the old distinction between Catholics and Protestants, and by your efforts to serve the Church have secured the ruin of her establishment, and kindled the bitterest enmity of the Irish people against yourself; as in the Reform Bill, by narrowing the suffrage and leaving embarrassed the registry of freeholds, the way is prepared for mob election and vote, not by ballot, but by clamour; so, by endeavouring to perpetuate the abuse of the Church Establishment, the Protestant clergy are exposed to evils greater than they have yet experienced, and the whole country to the loss of a fund which, if prudently managed, might greatly contribute to her ease and contentment."

Mr. Stanley now became more unpopular in Ireland. Opprobrious *sobriquets* clung to him. He was groaned at in public, and nicknamed "Scorpion Stanley."

The object of this vituperation was the only person unmoved. He surveyed the clamour with scorn, and intimated that a day of retribution was at hand. Those who remember his first encounter with O'Connell in the Commons will appreciate the accuracy of the prediction.

Votes of congratulatory thanks to Dr. Doyle for his caustic criticism were passed at public meetings. One in Limerick said, "It proves that the path of justice and of truth is the safest in public as in private, and that the darkest mists of falsehood suddenly vanish before the chaste light of profound genius and of moral worth."

"The advocacy of truth," replied Dr. Doyle, "will always excite hostility, and he who enforces justice will ever have to combat against the powers of this world. I have, through life, regardless of danger or injury, sought to maintain the cause of truth and justice against those 'who seek after a lie' and 'oppress the weak.' We, who are now embarked in this cause, have to renew our determination, and in proportion as power is exerted against us to oppose ourselves to it as a wall of brass. Let us receive but not return its shocks; for if we abide by the law and pursue truth and justice we may suffer loss for a moment, but as certainly as Providence presides over human affairs every arm lifted against us shall not prosper, and against every tongue that contendeth with us we will obtain our cause.

"Peace, unanimity, and perseverance are, therefore, alone requisite, under the Divine protection, to annihilate the iniquitous tithe system, to lift up the poor from their state of extreme indigence, and consequent immorality, and to prepare the way for the future happiness of our beloved country."

The principle to which Dr. Doyle gave eloquent and intrepid expression before both Lords and Commons was eagerly carried out, not only by the people of his own diocese, but elsewhere throughout Ireland. The Earl of Wicklow, in a speech strongly hostile to Dr. Doyle, asked, "How stood matters now in the diocese of that Right Rev. Doctor? Nothing was paid to the Protestant clergy; and in other parts of the country the clergy did not receive a tithe of their tithe."

"Ireland still had need of Dr. Doyle," observes Charles Hamilton Teeling; "he saw the misery of her people resulting from the blood-polluted exactions of that 'Juggernaut Establishment,' to which he first applied the expressive epithet, and from the heartless neglect and tyranny of a rack-renting oligarchy. He would not rest while wretchedness was around him; while injustice was still rampant and supreme—while humanity was spurned, and mocked at, and spit upon, without redress or punishment. He sounded the knell of the tithe system: he called forth the millions to resist, constitutionally and legally, when hope long deferred made longer sufferance folly. The mighty confederacy was formed. Through the length and breadth of the land the whole force of Britain could not extort the hated impost from a population marshalled, not in opposition to its mere pecuniary oppressiveness, but in defence of a well-understood and most sacred principle!"

Mr. Teeling did not apply the epithet "blood-polluted" to the Establishment without some reason. In the autumn of 1832 another terrible tithe massacre occurred. O'Connell, in a letter now first published, writes: "You will see a *strong* letter signed by me on the subject of the Wallstown massacre. I take it that the slaughter *there* was a palpable murder. There is no such right as that claimed by the parsons—of going into any man's farm to value his growing crop. It was in the exercise of this claim—which I take to be illegal—that the people were shot. Thus the case is one of murder, because, in my view of the law, the parson and his party were trespassers, and it was lawful to resist them."

As the greater number of the parsons were magistrates also, they not unfrequently abused the double commission which they held. Mr. Morrit, of Skibbereen, many of whose flock were living on boiled nettles and seaweed, made a descent for tithes. They informed him that every tenth perch of every potato ridge was at his disposal; but he refused to dig and carry them away, and insisted on taking his tithe out of some potatoes which had been stored in a barn. The people resisted; the parson ordered the police to fire, and thirty persons are stated to have been sent to a better world.

Remarks made by this reverend person received publicity in verses beginning—

“ Brave Peelers, march on, with the musket and sword,
And fight for my *tithes*, in the name of the *Lord* ! ”

Dr. Doyle told the people not to infringe the law, but gave it to be understood that they might exercise their wit in devising expedients of passive resistance to tithes. The hint fell upon fertile soil. An organised system of confederacy, whereby signals were, for miles around, recognised and answered, started into latent vitality. True Irish “winks” were exchanged; and when the rector, at the head of a detachment of police, military, bailiffs, clerks, and auctioneers, would make his descent on the lands of the peasantry, he found the cattle removed, and one or two grinning countenances occupying their place. A search was, of course, instituted, and often days were consumed in prosecuting it. When successful, the parson’s first step was to put the cattle up to auction in the presence of a regiment of English soldiery; but it almost invariably happened that either the assembled spectators were afraid to bid, lest they should incur the vengeance of the peasantry, or else they stammered out such a low offer, that, when knocked down, the expenses of the sale would be found to exceed it. The same observation applies to the crops. Not one man in a hundred had the hardihood to declare himself the purchaser. Sometimes the parson, disgusted at the backwardness of bidders, and trying to remove it, would order the cattle twelve or twenty miles away in order to their being a second time put up for auction. But the locomotive progress of the beasts was always closely tracked, and means were taken to prevent either driver or beast receiving shelter or sustenance throughout the march. This harassing system of anti-tithe tactics, of which an idea is merely given, soon accomplished important results.

Archbishop Whately mentioned some interesting facts. “I have received information which leads me to feel certain, in some instance, and very strongly to suspect in many others, that the resistance to tithe payment in numerous parishes may be traced to the reading of Dr. Doyle’s letter. All composition has been refused. Every possible legal evasion has been resorted to to prevent the incumbent from obtaining his due. A parish purse has been raised to meet law expenses for this purpose, and the result has been that in most instances nothing whatever, in others a very small proportion of the arrears, has been recovered. I know that in one parish some extensive farmers had reduced

into writing a form of proposal for a composition, and that the proposal was signed by the parishioners at a fair in the neighbourhood. The fair was held on Saturday; and in consequence, as is supposed, of Dr. Doyle's letter having been read and commented on next day, instead of his receiving the proposal for composition, notices were served on the clergymen, by those very persons, to take the tithe in kind. He was forced to procure labourers to the amount of sixty, from distant counties, and at high wages, who yet were incapable of obtaining more than a small portion of tithes, being interrupted by a rabble—chiefly women—though men were lurking in the background to support them. He instituted a tithe-suit which was decided in his favour; but, instead of receiving the amount, he was met by an appeal to the High Court of Delegates, and is informed that a continued resistance to the utmost extremity of the law is to be supported by a parish purse."

The Carlow journals of the day furnish graphic details of a tithe seizure in that town, and of the surrender of the cattle to their owners. The following is culled from "The Sentinel," a Conservative organ, and cannot, therefore, be suspected of exaggeration:—"Yesterday being the day on which the sheriff announced that, if no bidders could be obtained for the cattle, he would have the property returned to Mr. Germain, immense crowds were collected from the neighbouring counties—upwards of 20,000 men. The County Kildare men, amounting to about 7000, entered, led by Jonas Duckett, Esq., in the most regular and orderly manner. This body was preceded by a band of music, and had several banners on which were 'Kilkea and Moone, Independence for ever,' 'No Church Tax,' 'No Tithe,' 'Liberty,' &c. The whole body followed six carts, which were prepared in the English style—each drawn by two horses. The rear was brought up by several respectable landholders of Kildare. The barrack-gates were thrown open, and different detachments of infantry took their stations right and left, while the cavalry, after performing sundry evolutions, occupied the passes leading to the place of sale. The cattle were ordered out, when the sheriff, as on the former day, put them up for sale; but no one could be found to bid for the cattle, upon which he announced his intention of returning them to Mr. Germain. The news was instantly conveyed, like electricity, throughout the entire meeting, when the huzzas of the people surpassed anything we ever witnessed. The cattle were instantly liberated and given up to Mr. Germain. At this period a company of grenadiers arrived, in double-quick time, after travelling from Castlecomer, both officers

and men fatigued and covered with dust. Thus terminated this extraordinary contest between the Church and the people, the latter having obtained, by their steadiness, a complete victory. The cattle will be given to the poor of the sundry districts."

This sort of contest continued for some time, until at last Mr. Stanley, in Parliament, avowed that notwithstanding a vigorous effort made by the Crown to collect arrears of tithe, with the aid of the military, police, and yeomanry, they were able to recover from an arrear of £60,000 little more than one-sixth of that sum, and at an outlay of £27,000. £1,000,000 was voted by the Legislature for the relief of the Protestant clergy. There was also a subscription opened. The Duke of Cumberland, the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Kenyon, Bexley, and even Dr. Doyle's correspondent, Lord Clifden,¹ contributed £100 each.

During the struggle numerous votes of thanks were conveyed to Dr. Doyle. Writing to Sir Thomas Wyse, he says, "I prize exceedingly the sentiments of the citizens of Waterford, expressed in the resolution you enclosed; and their value to me is greatly enhanced by your own great kindness. The reformation of the Establishment in this country must ensue; and I hope the principle of giving satisfaction to the reasonable portion of the public, which prevailed in reforming the representation of the people in Parliament, will govern also the reformation to be effected in the temporalities of the Church."

There were critics found, however, to condemn Dr. Doyle for having, in his opposition to the tithe law, acted in a manner unbecoming his duty as a loyal subject. But if the reader refers back to p. 386 he will see that in giving opposition to the impost he had the high authority of an Act of Parliament.

The influence wrought by his evidence and writings on the tithe question was neither ephemeral nor local. The London correspondent of a leading journal writes: "Dr. Doyle's evidence on tithes has been published here in numbers at 3d. each; and wishing to ascertain the extent of the circulation, I inquired of one of the publishers, who informed me that the demand for it is so great that it can with difficulty be met." With a view to oppose tithes, the people assembled in thousands at Hayfield, Glossop, and other parts of England; arrests were made, but the magistrates dismissed the complaints.

¹ [Dr. Yore, P.P., St. Paul's, Dublin, informed us that having appealed to Lord Clifden to grant a site for his new church, he received a point-blank refusal, accompanied by an expression of determination to reserve his bounty henceforth for the persecuted Protestant clergy of Ireland. Dr. Yore, nothing daunted, addressed a second appeal, together with a confidential fee of £50, to ———, a gentleman in Lord Clifden's confidence, who at once procured the desired concession !]

Dr. Doyle's sister, Mrs. Pierse, states that his labour and anxiety in toiling to uproot the Whitefeet confederacy sapped the Bishop's constitution, and finally broke his heart. This calamity was also said to have been accelerated by a public letter from his old foe, Mr. Finn, in which he taunted Dr. Doyle with having allowed the vile League to grow and prosper in the very heart of his diocese and under his very eye; and in the next breath Mr. Finn inconsistently sneered at the Bishop's decline of power, because his exhortations and threats to an obstinate portion of his flock had passed unheeded. Private reasons may have led to unworthy hostility. A near relative of Mr. Finn's had been a candidate for Carlow, but Dr. Doyle rejected him in favour of Mr. Blackney.

Anxieties gnawed into his very life, and but too expressively told. He made another visitation to the disturbed district, and for hours harangued the misguided people. "Men of the Queen's County," he began, "my blood is upon you!" "His addresses," remarks Canon Pope, "were most powerful and touching; his attitudes sometimes statuesque and always dignified; his voice deep-toned and distinct, like the roll of muttered thunder."

Resolved to inflict some indelible mark of reprobation on certain Blackfeet whom he had hopelessly tried to convert, Dr. Doyle, during a visitation at Mountmellick, commanded them to leave the house of God. While the men were moving towards the door, Dr. Doyle repeated the word "Depart" three times; exclaiming, "And if I might venture to anticipate the judgment of the Almighty, I would add—into eternal fire."

His burning words seared their way into these guilty hearts. The men fell on their knees and sought and obtained pardon.

To assume these terrors cost him a struggle. As a contrast to the above anecdote another scene claims attention, in which the man's real nature shows itself prominently. It took place at Stradbally, nine months later: he addressed the erring people from the altar, and his language and general demeanour are described by an eyewitness as of a deeply impressive character. A wasting anxiety had eaten its way into his very soul; bodily weakness oppressed him, and the manner in which he endeavoured to rest his weight upon the pastoral staff was in itself an affecting spectacle. The jointed crozier was composed of mahogany, surmounted by a silver crook. He grasped it sometimes spasmodically, and endeavoured by its aid to sustain his tottering frame, while he slowly moved along the edges of the altar platform, in that dignified oratorical way which cannot be exercised in a pulpit. In those days no such appendage was to be found in country chapels. "I was then only a little boy serving at the

function with surplice and soutane, while I received confirmation at Dr. Doyle's hands," observes the Rev. J. O'Hanlon. "One passage I can never forget, for it wrung every heart. 'Ah! my people,' he said, with great feeling and emphasis, 'you have broken your Bishop's heart.'

["My recollection is, his voice was pitched in a clear high key, and in a solemn, slow, sepulchral tone, making every word and sentence tell with impressive effect. The crowded chapel naves and transepts were, on that day, packed by an enormous mass of the stalwart grey frieze-coated peasantry on one side; the women were densely ranged on the other; while the heat was most oppressive, and although the window-sashes were all thrown up, not a breath of air could enter, for some adventurous outsiders had posted themselves on the sills, straining inwards to see and hear their renowned prelate. His fame had attracted to the enclosed pews, on the ground floor and in the galleries, a great number of local Protestants; the courtesy of the Catholic owners was liberally extended at a time when dogmatic and party feeling ran high. It required extraordinary exertion on the part of several strong men backing against the crowd to prevent the front panels of the gallery from being forced out of their sockets, and until the parish priest and his curate could partially remove the numbers piled upon the rereward seats. In one crisis the lives or limbs of those above and of those below were threatened, but happily a dreadful catastrophe, consequent on a general panic, was avoided."]

We asked a favourite pupil of Dr. Doyle to detail some of the occurrences which led to the sad result recorded by Fr. O'Hanlon. The Rev. James Delany, who had been twice recommended for the See of Kildare, acceded to our request, and described some of the successes and reverses which alternately marked Dr. Doyle's to convert those who had become illegally leagued.

"You wish me to sketch some outlines of the interviews which took place between the Whitefeet and the Bishop. At many of those I was present by special invitation, and some of them were so strange, grotesque, and wild, owing to the adjuncts of time, place, costume, grouping, gesture, and expression, as to partake highly of the romantic—but it was the romance of real life, and would furnish most interesting matter for the pencil of Hogarth or Vernet. Were you to illustrate some of the most striking passages in your memoir by etchings, I make no doubt that, even after the lapse of so many years, I could supply hints that in the way of light and shade, background, foreground, and grouping, would be serviceable.

"One of those meetings took place in a colliery district, the focus of faction and illegal associations. It was a beautiful Sunday in September. On the previous Sunday it was announced that the Bishop would attend, for the purpose of addressing the leaders and partisans of the factions then known under the appellations of Black and White Feet. The chapel being small, it was at the same time signified to be the wish of the Bishop that the women and children should absent themselves. The little chapel was situate in the bosom of a lovely valley; near it was the police-station, a tavern, and some detached houses. On every side arose abrupt hills—some planted to their summits, others covered with corn in stack and stook, the produce of an abundant harvest. On the hill-side, at a distance, were stationed a large body of police, drawn up in military array. On every ditch and eminence that could command a view were to be seen groups of women and children casting around looks of anxiety and alarm. Below in the churchyard, surrounded by at least 9000 men, on a tombstone and dressed in episcopal costume—cap, rochet, and with crozier grasped—stood J. K. L.; at his feet, in surplice and soutane, were seated some half-dozen priests.

"For two hours, and under a strong sun, did the successor of Conleth and Laserian address this vast multitude on the crime and evils flowing from secret societies—perjury, drunkenness, robbery, murder, transportation, and death—the wailings, desolation, and ruin of broken-hearted widows and helpless orphans—the burdens and miseries of the country increased tenfold—the blighted hopes and frustrated labours of her best and truest sons—these were dwelt on with a force of expression, a pathos, a sublimity of thought, and command of language that was at once irresistible and at times astounding. Like a stream of burning lava issuing from some fresh crater, it carried away or consumed everything it touched; the hearts and eyes of all were softened. You might behold the big tears chasing each other down the rugged and blackened cheeks of the colliers (those subterranean Bazooks), many of whom came to mock, but remained to pray. The effects of those appeals were instantaneous and incredible. Cart-loads of arms, guns, pistols, and rusty swords, were surrendered at the time and places appointed, whilst many of those misguided men, whose consciences were charred and battered as their faces, returned to habits of order, sobriety, and the observance of their religious duties. But the evil was too deep-seated to be eradicated in a day; like the potato disease that succeeded, its outbreaks and influence were mysterious and inexplicable. Even on those occasions when the triumphs of this great and

good man seemed most complete, there would occur episodes (if I may so use the expression) that marred his success, and contributed not a little to embitter his noble and lofty spirit, and to break up a constitution upon which the wonted effects of overwork and anxiety were already visible.

"On quitting the scene I've just glanced at, on the outskirts of the meeting we encountered a bandit party in their shirts, maddened with liquor, interchanging deadly blows and horrible imprecations, and literally covered with blood. It was remarkable in Dr. Doyle, though otherwise a man of great determination and indomitable energy, that on witnessing such scenes he would fall into a state of collapse, moodiness, and taciturnity, that hung about him for hours and days. On this occasion he returned from the meeting to my house, and as we drove along the mountain-side I endeavoured to recall him from the abstraction and soliloquy into which he had fallen by pointing out the picturesque scenery that opened upon us at every turn of the road. In the valley below ran a winding river, lit up and glistening at intervals with the brilliant rays of a setting sun. The mists, usual at this season, were slowly emerging from the valley, climbing the mountain brow, and assuming the most fantastic shapes. In the distance, and at the other side of a wooded demesne, clothed in brown and yellow foliage, appeared the ruined tower and graceful spire of the village church, to which we were approaching. All fell upon his listless eye as if he had never admired or felt their influence. After incessant boring on my part, he at length muttered, 'Well, James, these people are unfit for liberty! Yes, I adopt the sentiment and language of Wellington. I am not surprised that he has disowned this country and people—they are savages unworthy of the blessings of liberty!'¹

"It was at such moments he felt, and reluctantly admitted, that notwithstanding his great name and vast influence he could not heal the wounds of his country, nor exorcise that fell spirit of

¹ [The Rev. James Maher, the executor of Dr. Doyle, was of opinion that the above should be regarded as "an impulsive exclamation occasioned by the passing circumstance of the moment, and ought not to be regarded as the Bishop's serious and deliberately entertained opinion. An hour previously he had toiled most energetically in endeavouring to reform the people—thus affording practical proof of an opposite conviction." Alcohol was, no doubt, at the root of these orgies, as indeed Fr. Delany himself would seem to admit. That extravagant pranks were played, anecdotes could abundantly show.

Some colliers finding a notorious miser of local fame lying dead drunk on the roadside, carried him down the shaft for fun, and lighting a great fire near his head with the local coal, whose vapour is so suffocating, told him that he was in hell. Some pulled his hair; others goaded him with blunt forks; all hustled and tormented him. It required small persuasion to induce the bewildered sufferer to believe in their demoniac representations. Their faces, bronzed by the red glare, grinned from ear to ear with diabolical glee. The miser begged for mercy, but received the assurance that out of that region there was no redemption. "But," said one, with bowels of compassion more comprehensive than his fellows, "if you give us the price of a gallon of whisky there is yet a chance for you." The ransom was paid, and Hunks breathed heaven's air once more.—W. J. F.]

jealousy, distrust, and disunion that stalks over the land even to this day. He was not the first great man that failed in the attempt—nor likely the last. Such characters are rare as the comet in our horizon—they are men of a century. When J. K. L.

‘Died, he left his lofty name—
A light, a landmark on the cliffs of fame.’”

Some remarkable conversions took place ; but owing to the revolutionary spirit of the time the Bishop had a more than ordinarily formidable confederacy to deal with ; and he at last reluctantly determined that the demeanour of the lion should be substituted for the lamb. Dr. Doyle announced his intention of fulminating the awful powers with which the Church had provided him, unless the most marked symptoms of a general reformation should arrest his eye.

The Very Rev. John Dunne, an old and trusted vicar, who died within the next few months, received this intelligence with alarm. We quote his letter in full :—

“PORTARLINGTON, 4th May 1832.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I cannot express how much I regretted not to have been able to meet you and my brother clergy at Mountmellick. I was, my Lord, more than ordinarily anxious to see you that we might confer on the unfortunate state of this neighbourhood ; and having heard your Lordship’s intentions respecting the refractory, I avail myself of the first moment to convey my reflections on the matter, and hope you will not consider it offensive to assume the liberty of doing so.

“I never yet had to be reproached as being too lenient to public sinners, but had often conscientiously to accuse myself in being almost inexorable in their regard. From a sympathetic feeling, I participate with you on the sad state of our people, and from my own vexations of mind, while my charge is so comparatively limited, am not surprised that you, my Lord, should be tormented, even to desperation, when you see so many portions of your extensive diocese infected by the increasing malady, after all your exertions—for justly may you say with the Apostle, ‘*Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?*’ Notwithstanding these feelings my mind strongly leads me to think that extremes at this moment would not produce good, but in all probability effect the contrary. I am told by some persons worthy of credit that the spirit of wickedness is abating ; and if so, hopes arise that the example will be followed. Add to this that the people at this instant seem panic-struck from their

apprehensions of the cholera. Nor are these alarms mere phantoms—three persons have died in our town within the week ; they were taken off with a few hours' sickness.

" The confessionals already are more crowded, and every parish will have to feel for itself. This with other considerations, my dear Dr. Doyle, induce me to beseech that you withhold for some time longer the application of your so justly excited indignation, and give to wretched miscreants one more opportunity of entering on a penitential course, which may rescue them from impending ruin both for time and eternity. Let us, in the name of Heaven, one and all, again raise the standard of the Cross before them, and invite them to seek security under that banner. Let us call on them, as Christians and as members of society, to come and ratify their allegiance at the foot of that sacred emblem of salvation. Let us once more open widely to them the gates of the sheepfold, and the voice of their pastor may still be attended to. In order to facilitate this their expected return, I would wish to see (*pro tempore*) every missionary priest have direct power, granted by the Ordinary or his representative, to absolve in all cases even of reservation—these only excepted the enormity of which would call for a reference to the Bishop or his vicar-general. Should these considerations meet your Lordship's approbation even partially, I entertain the strongest hope they would produce much good. Permit me once more to solicit your Lordship's merciful indulgence before you deliver my portion of your people to reprobation notwithstanding their unworthiness of either pity or indulgence ; and let us, your fellow-labourers, who have in conjunction with you to bear our portion of the weighty responsibility, unite with you in humble supplication to the throne of mercy, adopting the language of the prophet—'*inter vestibulum et altare*,' let us cry out, '*parce Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium.*' Should any class be found amongst our people to persevere in obstinacy after such indulgence, oh ! then not only would I consent that the rigorous chastisement of the ecclesiastic law be fulminated against them, but I would exert myself beyond my strength in order to assist in branding them with ignominy and shame—nay, I would even consent that in such parishes mass should be suppressed for some weeks, until the father would subdue the bad disposition of the son ; the brother persuade the brother ; and the neighbour convince his neighbour that their evil ways should be abandoned ; and, in fine, that every punishment (short of formal excommunication) be put in force until the same portion of the people aid and assist us to bring back the strayed ones to the fold, and enter once more the lists of God's children."

"I now begin to ask myself what induced me to go so far on this subject, and particularly when I consider that the reason or judgment of the writer is not the weight of a feather compared to the person whom he has the honour of addressing ; but my mind has propelled my hand ; and now I find I have only space left to assure your Lordship of the sincere respect and esteem with which I remain, &c.,

JOHN DUNNE."

The vicar's letter arrived a few hours too late. The Bishop had already taken a decisive step. A letter, of which the following are the salient points, was forwarded to the leading parish priests, with a request that the admonition be read on two successive Sundays to each congregation. He recommended that the priesthood should exhort and assist the owners of property and the well-disposed to arm in their own defence, and, co-operating with the constituted authorities, form themselves into an association for the protection of life and property ; to patrol the country by day and night ; to detect and apprehend evil-doers, and to overawe them into better habits.

Dr. Doyle's admonition commenced by saying that for months he had witnessed, with deepest affliction of spirit, the progress of illegal combinations under the barbarous designation of Blackfeet and Whitefeet. He had laboured by letter and by word, by private admonition and by public reproof, to suppress this iniquity. "But the tares, which the enemy of man has in the night-time sown in the field of the Church, have grown up in despite of our watchfulness. Murders, blasphemies, perjuries, rash swearing, robberies, assaults on persons and property, the usurpation of the powers of the State and of the rights of the peaceable and well-disposed, are multiplied and every day perpetrated, at the instigation of the devil, by the wicked and deluded men engaged in those confederacies. We as yet have borne with them ; and, anxious to imitate the patience and long-suffering of God, who spares sinners with a view to their repentance, we bear them as yet, and hesitate to cut them off by excommunication from the Church and give them over to Satan. But whilst we thus forbear to exercise the power which is given to us, and to inflict the punishment which these men by their obstinacy have deserved, we are anxious to make known to them and to all the faithful the detestation in which their crimes are held by Almighty God, the avenger of iniquity, and by His holy Church. Desirous, moreover, of protecting the sacred mysteries of religion from abuse or profanation by those workers of iniquity—without, however, closing against

them the doors of repentance—we prescribe and enjoin to all concerned the following regulations.”

These ordained that every priest commissioned to hear confessions should, under pain of privation of his faculties, inquire of each person approaching the tribunal of penance whether he was then, or had been at any time within that year, connected with any illegal confederacy; and, in the event of an affirmative reply, inform him that by belonging to that confederacy he had rendered himself an accomplice in all its crimes; that his confession could not be received until he should have renounced, in the presence of his companions in crime, all connection with them, and compensated to his last farthing all and every loss or injury done to the rights, property, or life of his neighbour. These obligations he was bound to fulfil at the expense of all his worldly goods, of his feelings and character, and at the risk, if necessary, even of his life. Should the sinner accept these conditions, he was further to be informed that it was necessary for him, on each Sunday during an entire year, to perform within some chapel the “stations of the holy cross,” in commemoration of the passion and death of Christ, whom, by his apostasy, he had again crucified and mocked. Having faithfully complied with these obligations, he might be admitted, at the expiration of a year, to the tribunal of penance. Dr. Doyle, in conclusion, informed his flock that whosoever assisted, encouraged, or abetted the Whitefeet—by command, advice, consent, praise, or flattery, by affording to them refuge or hiding-places, or by receiving plundered arms or goods, by giving to them information, or by withholding information when required by the lawful authorities to give the same—became an accomplice in their guilt.

Some theologians imagine that they can discover in these and other regulations from the same pen traces of a tendency to what is technically styled “rigorism.” In point of fact, however, they are not “rigorism,” but legislation for an extreme case and by a fearless man.

[Although no previous theologian ever held, as required by morals, the things which Dr. Doyle demanded under penalties, his legislation would seem to have been since approved by high authority. The Bishop of Ossory, in his memoir of Fr. James Maher, goes out of his way to quote, from beginning to end, those wonderful regulations. Dr. Doyle had no prototype among theologians, just as the times had, probably, no prototype in history.

All this while twinges of internal suffering tore and tortured him. It is now clear that a more subtle disease was burrowing

his system than the malady of ease and luxury for which he at first mistook it.¹

On 28th May 1832 he writes to his confidant, Fr. Martin Doyle :—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I have just returned from riding, and have been teased while abroad, and generally since I saw you, with this pain in my foot, and then in my head or stomach. They are well when the foot is ill, and *vice versa*. I am sure it is gout, and if it be, a dose of sea-bathing would kill me ; and though I would prefer that to death by the cholera, I don't like either. Poor Dr. Nolan is very ill in fever, so I can't consult him. What are we to do ? I think I should stay at home and drink port wine to bring on a fit of gout. I could hardly in this state venture to the sea. Come up about Ascension and we will talk over it.”]

The spirit of zeal and labour which dilated his heart, notwithstanding the daily tightening grasp of disease, continued still indomitable. “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it not by constraint, but willingly according to God ; not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily ; neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart” (1 Peter v.) Such was the maxim—such the fundamental principle upon which he acted. “While I had the happiness to live as a priest under his jurisdiction and fostering care for ten years,” says Bishop Kinsella, “never did he ask a priest to discharge a duty of which he had not first given the example—never did he impose a burden on another which he had not borne himself.”

The Reform Bill for Ireland disappointed Dr. Doyle. It diminished the elective franchise instead of extending it ; the qualification for a voter both in counties and boroughs was too high ; while the glaring inadequacy in the number of representatives struck him but too forcibly. Cumberland, with a population of 169,681, got four members ; Cork, with a population of 807,366, had only two. Leicestershire contained 197,276 inhabitants, and had just received an increase to four members, while Tipperary, with nearly 500,000 inhabitants, had to content itself with two. We might go on to exhibit the same sort of inconsistency, but the above sample must suffice.

The irritation which this injustice awakened was not diminished by a reiterated effort on the part of Mr. Stanley to crush the

¹ [The Bishop soon after was literally forced by Fr. Martin to submit to a medical examination at the hands of Abraham Colles, M.D. The present Dr. Colles has searched his father's diaries for a note of the case, but none seems to have been made.]

tithe agitation by a series of prosecutions. But this proceeding, however harassing, had only the effect of making "tithe-martyrs" of the victims; and men, of whom the public would otherwise have known nothing, were at once cheered and chaired as benefactors of their country, creed, and kind.

But it was not obscure persons only who were made to feel the force of Mr. Stanley's lash. Several magistrates, including Sir R. Nagle, a deputy-lieutenant, were dismissed for participating in anti-tithe demonstrations.

Mr. Stanley's prosecutions not seeming to answer the purpose for which they were instituted, the Insurrection Act was threatened; in reference to which O'Connell declared that if the peace of Ireland could not be preserved without it, the connection between the two countries was not worth maintaining for a single hour. "Oh," he added, "how often have I watched and traced its progress in oppression, in bloodshed, and immorality, and tyranny! Oh, how many an act of immorality has it not produced! Many a blooming, chaste, and innocent sister has been seduced to the commission of sin, to bribe some village despot or magistrate that a brother or a father may be kept at home. Oh, how many a farm has been given up, and how many a home left desolate, to bribe some heartless landlord, that a brother or a father may not be transported under the operation of this law!"

On the 31st of May 1832 it was ordered that a select committee be "appointed to examine into the state of the disturbed counties of Ireland, into the causes which have produced the same, and into the efficiency of the laws for the suppression of outrage; and to report their observations thereupon to the House." Amongst the committee were Mr. Stanley, Lords Ebrington, Oxmantown, Duncannon, Ossory, and Killeen, Sergeant Lefroy, and Mr. Spring Rice. The chairman was Sir Henry Parnell, who, having written to Dr. Doyle for his opinion and advice, received the following:—

"CARLOW, 5th June 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,— I entirely agree with you in the opinion that this country could not be worse governed, unless by the Tories—for their system now would kindle at once a civil war. I confess I do not see the object of your present committee—for what is there in the disturbances now prevalent that is not known, or that differs from all those that preceded them?

"The Rev. Mr. O'Connor of Maryborough is very nervous; you must treat him with indulgence or he will be unable to state what he knows. If you call on a second of the Catholic clergy, I would recommend Mr. Delany of Ballinakill."

On the 14th June he writes :—" The combination of the Whitefeet within this diocese seems broken up.¹ They have surrendered generally the arms robbed by them, but they themselves are so demoralised that no reliance can be placed on their present professions. The country requires for the labouring class more employment, better wages, an efficient civil force to curb the licentiousness of the turbulent, depraved, and half-employed youth, with an immense reduction in the number of licences to sell whisky, and more zeal in the excise officers to prevent illicit ale-houses. Your report would go thus far, I suppose, without interfering more directly with the administration of justice, the ejection of tenants, or other tender and difficult subjects. But this Government, pursuing its present system, can give no effect to any recommendation of yours."

Two days after Sir H. Parnell writes to say that "as the Committee on the State of Ireland will soon have to consider their report, I should be glad to hear from you anything you could suggest to produce a useful report. We cannot properly, consistent with our power, go much into tithes or poor laws." The Bishop suggested that some recommendation should be inserted respecting vagrancy and mendicancy, and the necessity of checking them by some such means as the Committee would approve of. "I am sure you could safely assert that vagrancy and mendicancy are among the chief causes of the demoralisation of the poor, and that a remedy for that evil, as well as a strong check to the sale of whisky—whether in retail by grocers or in hovels licensed or unlicensed—are as necessary to the prevention of combination and crime as even education or increased employment. I am indifferent as to the mode of relieving the really distressed poor, and of expelling from society the idle impostors and vicious vagrants who infest and infect it ; but something of the outline given in my evidence before Mr. Rice's Committee appears to me the most easy and effectual means that could be adopted for that purpose. Mr. O'Connell continues, in my opinion, to do an immense injury to this country by deceiving the public on the subject of poor laws ; but he is insane if he be sincere in

¹ The roots of the league sprang from Graigue, and Dr. Doyle appointed Father Maher, its parish priest, to try and extirpate them. High-flown appeals would have been lost upon this benighted flock. Father Maher would try and reach their intelligence in other ways. In preaching on the temptation of Christ by Satan, "when he showed Him the entire earth, adding, All these will I give you, if, falling down, you will adore me," Father Maher told them that he verily believed Satan had reserved Graigue to himself. One of his last sermons ended by declaring that if they had had St. Peter for a parish priest and St. Paul for a curate, he feared it would be hopeless to reform them. Preaching on the difficulty of reaching heaven, he described various arrivals at its gates, and the joy with which St. Peter specially received one man. He was the first who had presented himself for a hundred years from Graigue.]

his late project of curing the immoralities and providing for the wants of the poor by furnishing the Catholic clergy with glebes and glebe-houses. I wish he would cease to encumber us with his protection; our Church does not require his care or that of Parliament. *Laissez nous faire* is all we want; but the poor and the interests of peace and order demand the most speedy and serious attention.

"Mr. Stanley's project of perpetuating the Church Establishment in this country will prolong the social warfare till that project is overthrown. He cares more for the Church than for the country; he may ruin both, but will himself escape from the evils he shall have brought on us. No Englishman should be Secretary for Ireland, for he can neither comprehend the country nor feel for its interest."

We find all the points suggested by Dr. Doyle embodied in the report of the Select Committee. The Blue Book forms an enormous tome, and is furnished with maps and a valuable appendix.

Dr. Doyle thought that the report "ought to give satisfaction generally, though it be not as decided with respect to the magistracy, police, or a provision for the poor, as many persons could wish." He adds:—

"Lord Duncannon [Home Secretary] has just called on me. We had much conversation, both on the state of this country and on the position and prospects of the Ministry. I expressed my opinions freely enough to him, but I fear neither mine nor those of his Lordship are likely to be attended to."

The Bishop was never more ready in receiving distinguished visitors like Lord Duncannon than in giving audience to the lowly penitent or suppliant pauper. A woman in a humble sphere, who had been under Dr. Doyle's spiritual direction, informs us that in the midst of his most onerous avocations—when influential men were often sent away from his door, as "the Bishop could not be seen that day"—he would come out to cheer and console her. "Now, my child, tell me all the little crosses, joys, troubles, and doubts you have had since I last saw you." On one of these occasions he was handed a letter containing the present of a gold crucifix from a former pupil, who had just been raised to a bishopric. "Ah! poor boy," he mused, "you have not yet felt the thorns which press beneath the weighty mitre."

The King's speech on the 16th August was more than ordinarily vague. It allowed that nothing was settled either in Portugal, Belgium, or Ireland, but it breathed ardent hopes for the future—"a coin," caustically observes Raikes in his Journal—"a coin

in which this Government pays largely." His Majesty fell into deep popular odium. On his way to Parliament he was hooted. "The doctrine of 'No King' is reviving here," writes Lord Eldon to his brother; thus verifying the remark of Mr. Spring Rice in 1825, that the mob who were so loud in shouting "No Popery" would be the first to cry "No King." On the 19th June, while his Majesty was seated on the grand stand at Ascot races, a stone, steadily propelled, struck the royal forehead!

The fermentation of the popular masses was not diminished by Mr. Stanley's slowness in conceding the reforms for which they contended.

"I dined with Mr. Stanley," writes Sir Henry Parnell (20th September 1832), "and had a great deal of conversation about the tithe question. He seemed to me not yet to comprehend the true circumstances of the case, either with respect to the urgency of a great change, or to the means of accomplishing it.

"A note I received from Lord Brougham, asking me to give him my opinions and send him all the information I could collect, gives me hopes that he is now fully occupied with the subject, and that we shall have the advantage of his more powerful mind in directing the measures of the Cabinet. It having been represented to me, the advantages which would be derived from Government making some early declaration on the subject of the settlement of the tithe question, I mentioned this to Mr. Stanley, and begged Sir William Gosset to press it on Lord Anglesey's attention."

Dr. Doyle's correspondence on the tithe question is voluminous during this and the following months. A quaint letter addressed to him by a venerable Quaker of Warwick runs:—

"2nd Day of Ninth Month, 1832.

"BISHOP,—Seeing the abuse which has been lavished upon thee on account of thy writings upon the tithes, I have taken the liberty of wishing thee God speed in what I firmly believe to be God's most holy work. I see that many of the newspapers are bitterly against thee, call thee seditious, and urge thy prosecution. Nevertheless be of good cheer. So did the men in power—those, too, who made a profession of religion whereby to hold temporal power and the wealth of the temple—the high priests and Pharisees of the Jews, persecute, punish, and declare seditious Jeremiah and Isaiah, the mournful of the royal prophet. The principles which I hold, and in which I have been educated, are in perfect accordance with thine upon the anti-Christianity of tithes. The promulgators of my religious views, Fox, Penn, and Barclay, were deemed rebellious by the powers that in their time ruled. For

their preaching Christianity without price, and testifying against the injustice of taking by force and violence one-tenth of the gross produce of the soil, in the name of and under the pretence of serving the God of peace, these men and their followers were persecuted, fined, and imprisoned—many hundreds of them unto death. From the evidence of deep research which I perceive in thy various writings, I presume that thou art aware of the writings and exertions of William Penn in the cause of religion, humanity, and for promoting the happiness and liberty of the whole family of mankind. Yet the dungeon was his reward. . . .

"The 'Courier,' in commenting on the late murders at Wallstown and on thy letter, quotes the passive resistance of the Quakers, and pronounces their passive resistance to be quite different from that of the Papists in Ireland. It states that the Quakers place no impediment in the way of collectors, but even place money from which the tithe collector may help himself. Oh, the ignorance of these writers ! On the contrary, the Quakers, at their monthly meetings, have questions investigating into the manner in which their members have discharged their testimony against tithes ; and if any Friend has connived, he is discovered—nay, a committee is appointed to call upon every Friend, and bring in a copy of the warrant of distrain, the value of the goods distrained, the names of the justices who signed the warrants and of the persons who distrain—all these particulars are recorded, and exist from the beginning of the Society, and ought to be published ; but modern Quakerism has become allied with the funding, or what I call the blood-money system—to the ruin, I think, of pure Christianity."

Carlow was thrown into great excitement this month by the arrest and imprisonment of Father Andrew Fitzgerald, the venerable President of its College. The offence which provoked this chastisement was his reiterated refusal to pay tithes. Mr. Thomas Haughton, a Quaker gentleman of Carlow, was with others placed in detention at the same time. An appeal to the common sense and justice of the country, signed by Dr. Fitzgerald and his fellow-prisoners and dated from the gaol, was issued. This document was written by Dr. Doyle. A paragraph in the first draft declared "in the face of heaven ;" but Mr. Haughton, who dissented from Catholic dogmas, sent Dr. Doyle word that he would not sign any paper with "hell," "heaven," or "soul" in it. "Well, strike them out," replied Dr. Doyle ; "and it would be well for Tom Haughton if he could get rid of them in reality as easily."

CHAPTER XXI.

Lord Anglesey in a passion—The four gun-brigs—Touchingly proclaims himself a martyr—Caustic letter from Dr. Doyle—Alexander and the Dervise—Tithe cruelties—More massacres—The Viceroy's despatch intercepted and published—Private letters surreptitiously opened by governmental authority—Remarkable circumstances attending the composition of Dr. Doyle's letter—Its extraordinary effect on Lord Anglesey—He seeks an interview with Dr. Doyle—To evade bad laws is a duty—Correspondence with Mr. Stanley and Smith O'Brien, M.P.—The Rev. Dr. Boynton—Repeal makes great head—Enthusiasm of the people—Attempted coalition between the Repealers and Conservatives—The old Parliament dissolved—Honesty of Lord Anglesey's intentions—Imbecility of Lord Grey.

THE tithe prosecutions continued, and Lord Anglesey rapidly lost ground in the affections of the Liberal party. With the Conservatives he had long been deeply unpopular; and on the occasion of a dialogue between his Excellency and a Liberal deputation at Cork, he lost temper, talked of sealing up the Irish ports with four gun-brigs; and, alluding to the two parties, said, "I will put you both down!" Later on the Marquis assumed rather a plaintive tone, adding, "For myself, I am suffering martyrdom between the parties." It was impossible not to admire the frankness of Lord Anglesey, however much his hearers were obliged to dissent from some views advanced. "I am not doing things according to form," he said. "Here I am talking to you in a manner which etiquette and ceremonial would not admit; but I wish to speak with you in a friendly way, and to impress on your minds that the courses pursued at public meetings and those angry collisions with the Government militate against the very objects which are sought to be accomplished."

Some days later we find sixteen members of the grand jury of the Queen's County and half-a-dozen magistrates coming to the support of Lord Anglesey's popularity. A congratulatory address having been presented, the Viceroy, whose foible was a susceptibility to flattery, eagerly took the bait, and forthwith launched into fluent commentary on men and things. Here the weakness of Lord Anglesey's character was exhibited. He would seem to have quite forgotten that the policy of a Viceroy is to act and not to talk, and that whenever a reply is unavoidable, it should be in the highest degree vague. "All this froth," observes "The Comet" of that day, "might have passed off without exciting more than the silent contempt of plain reasoners or the smile of lordling wittols, had not the two silly productions, unfortunately

for the inditers, fallen under the penetrating scrutiny of J. K. L." Dr. Doyle's letter is dated the 26th of August. Alluding to the congratulations which had been offered to Lord Anglesey on the result of the special commission, he writes :—

"No one, not even your Excellency, rejoices so much at that result as I do ; not because there is no one—not even your Excellency, nor the judges who presided at the commission, nor the magistrates and juries who co-operated with them—who have contributed so much to produce that result as the clergymen with whom I labour ; but I rejoice at it because crime has been arrested in its course, good order in some degree re-established, and many profligate and abandoned sinners induced to return to repentance.

"Satisfied with the pacification of the hitherto disturbed districts, I would not feel myself called upon to notice any congratulations on the subject, were there not certain passages in your Excellency's reply intended to justify the strong, if not extreme, measures lately employed to embarrass or prevent meetings on the subject of tithes, as also to censure or condemn the opinions of those who hold, as I do, the perfect legality and strict propriety of leaving the Church to its legal remedy for the recovery of tithe.

"Whilst the expositions of law on the subject of public meetings, or on the duties of tithe-payers, were confined to reports in newspapers of judges' charges or speeches of advocates, I thought them undeserving of notice, being well assured of the low estimate in which such harangues are held by the discerning portion of the public ; but when your Excellency deigns from your high eminence to instruct the public, my anxiety to prevent misconception or error on their part is excited to a proportion with the honour I owe you, and the exceeding respect and affectionate esteem I entertain for you personally. Your Excellency's eloquent and energetic reply sets forth 'that obedience to the existing laws, in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition, is the duty of every subject of the King.' The clause 'in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition' would have been better omitted by your Excellency, for it might be understood to imply the doctrines of 'passive obedience and non-resistance,' which the British and Irish nations condemn ; it might also be understood to mean that laws, strictly penal, bind men's consciences, which doctrine is opposed to the law of nature, and rejected from our jurisprudence, as Blackstone testifies.

"Having thus commenced with doubtful language, your Excellency proceeds : 'True and indisputable as this is, I have felt

myself called on to make the observation, because I am persuaded that many persons have been deluded by the pernicious doctrine of late so frequently inculcated—that it is compatible with law by any contrivance to evade the performance of the obligations it imposes, and frustrate the means which it provides for their enforcement.’

“What your Excellency has said is true only in a limited sense, and it is, therefore, by no means indisputable; indeed, many volumes have been written to prove or to disprove what you assume to be beyond dispute; and the doctrine ‘that it is not compatible with law to evade the performance of the obligations it imposes, and frustrate the means it provides for their enforcement,’ is true and indisputable only as to just laws, but not with regard to every law; for some laws may be so unjust and so injurious to the public good that ‘to evade them’ is a duty, and ‘to frustrate the means provided to enforce them’ is an exercise of a social or moral virtue. Witness the law which made the disobedience and apostasy of the child the means whereby to disinherit the father—the law of discovery, whereby the man who betrayed the confidence of his friend possessed himself thereby of that friend’s estate—the law which disabled a father to be the guardian of or to educate his own child, or which robbed him of his horse upon the highway if when interrogated he confessed his faith. Would it not, my Lord, be a duty to evade such laws, and an act of virtue ‘to frustrate the means provided for their enforcement’? But then your Excellency rejects and condemns such laws. Such laws, however, did exist; and I have in my possession the proclamation of one of your predecessors in office, who urges the enforcement of them because he thought ‘that obedience to the existing laws, in the most comprehensive sense, was the duty of every subject of the King.’ How liable, my Lord, are men in power to be deceived by an appearance of good, and how cautiously should men tread on ashes which only cover flame! But you had in view the law of tithe; it is of this you predicate that it should be obeyed in its most comprehensive sense.

“Will not, however, your Excellency allow each of the king’s subjects to abound in his own sense? Will you not pardon me, and the millions who think with me, if we consider the law extorting tithe from us, to uphold a Church which has been and still is the source or instrument of all our sufferings, as not less penal, less odious, less unjust, less opposed to the public good, than the most cruel and unnatural of the laws to which I have just alluded?

"Is it to justify laws which we thus estimate that your Excellency vouchsafes to instruct us? Is it to confound them with just and useful laws that advocates have harangued and judges stained their ermine? Nay, was it not for this the navy of Great Britain was unmoored and her trident lifted up—is it not for this the victors in a hundred battles are harassed and disgusted? Or is it for this we are made a byword to surrounding nations, and our discord trumpeted through every clime? Is it for this our councils are distracted, our Senate changed into a house of strife, our improvement in commerce, agriculture, and civilisation retarded, and we ourselves left exposed to sedition, and perhaps eventually to civil war? But, above all, is it to compel obedience 'in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition,' to a law which we thus detest, that your Excellency, so rich in kindness, so attached to Ireland, so fond of justice, would display the terrors of your power, and almost threaten to bathe your sword with blood?"

But Dr. Doyle expressed his conviction that such an act was far from the Viceroy's thoughts. If some of his predecessors had left the shores of Ireland laden with the curses of an afflicted country, the tears of her affectionate sorrow should fall upon the Paget's grave.

Regarding the tithe law, Dr. Doyle asserted that it received obedience, and which, if the people were to withhold, it would be Lord Anglesey's duty to enforce. They permitted the agents of that impost to execute its penalties, but they appealed to Heaven and their friends to witness the injustice and to manifest indignation at wrongs so cruel. "We bless those who sympathise with us, we shun those who co-operate in the enforcement of an odious law against us; but if any one resort to violence or intimidation whilst our goods are taken from us, him do we disown. Unless your Excellency can change our nature, you will not alter our purpose—it is fixed and immovable. When the Dervise was asked by Alexander what he thought of the conquest by that warrior of India, he took the dried sheepskin from his shoulders, spread it on the floor of Alexander's tent, and having walked upon it—the skin yielding to the pressure of the foot and rising when the foot was removed—he said, 'Such will be your conquest of India.' The allegory may be instructive also to your Excellency. With horse, foot, and artillery, you may collect the tithe, because we have not the power or the will to resist you; but remove the pressure, and our *passive resistance* will immediately arise."

He prayed Lord Anglesey to consider the nature of the duty which was imposed upon him, and the effects of that law to which

he would wish J. K. L. and his disciples to yield obedience "in the most comprehensive sense." During the recent Parliamentary inquiry into the causes of disturbance in the Queen's County, a highly respectable witness was asked if he had known any instances of great severity under the tithe system that might have led the people into those outrages. To this question—numbered 3338 in the Blue Book—he replied : "I have known of potatoes being sold out of the houses of poor people ; of the pot to be sold, and a man, left two years and a-half without one, being obliged to borrow a pot to boil his potatoes. I have known the blankets to be taken off the beds of the children ; I have known the widow's pig taken away ; I have known an aged woman taken out of a sick-bed and laid on the ground, and the clothes, and the bed, and her daughter's clothes sold for tithes. I have known that in the town of Maryborough."

Lord Anglesey had, no doubt, read that answer ; and having condemned as pernicious the doctrine that a law which works such cruelties ought to be evaded, proceeded to say: "Such an opinion I cannot too strongly reprobate, nor shall any exertions be spared to bring to justice those who act upon it, by entering into illegal confederacies themselves, or (which is equally criminal) inciting others to do so."

During the earlier portion of the year 1832, Mr. Stanley introduced a measure which, from its coercive and delusive character, filled the country with excitement. It empowered the King to levy, under the authority of an Act specially passed, the amount of tithe arrears. The bill continued: "That it is the opinion of this House, with a view to secure both the interests of the Church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of the system will be required ; and that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a COMPLETE EXTINCTION OF TITHES, including those belonging to lay impropiators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or in exchange for an investment in land."

To palliate the despotism of employing the British army in the work of tithe collection, the above somewhat deceitful phrase was inserted. The people, exasperated by the delusiveness of the promised "complete extinction of tithes," became a prey to the utmost excitement, and there can be little doubt that to those words may be traced the bloodshed which has imparted a melancholy fame to Castlepollard, Wallstown, Gurtroe, and Dunmanway.

But to resume Dr. Doyle's letter to Lord Anglesey.

"Is it then prudent, is it wise, is it politic for a Government to announce in Parliament the extinction of this system, then

retract their own promise and arm in its defence? Is it wise or prudent to uphold laws which cannot be justified by any argument save an appeal to the bullet or the sword? Ah! if the dignity of the law is to be upheld, it should be done, not by confounding the good and the bad, but by expunging the latter from the code, as the husbandman separates the chaff from the wheat. This name of law has lost a portion of its power, and the reverence due to the majesty from which it emanated may be utterly lost in the torrent of indignation now sweeping the whole surface of this country."

The Bishop vindicated at considerable length the doctrine of passive resistance. Viewed by a mind less tutored in the technicalities of statute law than in the law of nature engraven on the heart, it might appear a righteous union of an aggrieved people, struggling by efforts, which virtue alone could prescribe, to reclaim the plundered pittance of the poor, to expose to shame, to hatred, and contempt the prolonged violation of a sacred trust; and to bend, by long and loud expostulation, the ear of the Legislature to the worst remnant of the Penal Code, and the immeasurable sufferings of an oppressed nation. He reminded the Viceroy that the Government whose decrees he executed had commenced with large confederated bodies, and admitted almost to their council table the very men who had marshalled in military array thousands of people for the purpose of compelling Parliament to change the constitution of the House of Commons.

Dr. Doyle admired the conduct of that man who sternly refused to pay tithe, but peaceably allowed his goods to be carried away and sold, as the law provided. He could not discover anything immoral or illegal in men who, being influenced by the injustice of the tithe law, declined to purchase goods held to sale under the provisions of that law. "I have written thus far, my Lord, in order to vindicate those principles and opinions which I share with nearly the whole Irish nation. I thought they were glanced at and censured, however obliquely, in the reply of your Excellency, and therefore I hastened to reassert them. If in doing so I have been wanting in that profound respect which I owe you, I have erred through ignorance, and I pray your indulgence."

This, the last flash of J. K. L.'s lightning, was fulminated under very remarkable circumstances. The idea originated with Frederick William Conway, an influential journalist. He posted down to Carlow, but found that the Bishop had gone to Tullamore. Mr. Conway overtook him at an advanced hour, and urged him to answer Lord Anglesey. "It is very late now," said Dr. Doyle, "and on to-morrow I preach at Mullingar; but, although fatigued

after travelling all day, I will do my best." Dr. Doyle called for a cup of strong coffee and set to work. The letter was completed in good time, but at the sacrifice of his night's rest. The condition of his bed next morning showed that Dr. Doyle had not lain down the whole night. He preached next day at Mullingar with his wonted vigour and effect. The excitement necessarily awakened by the outcome of this letter banished the fatigue which had previously oppressed him, and he rose from his task buoyant from the effects of a false invigoration. This is proved by the following anecdote. Fr. Brennan, parish priest, Kildare, had occasion to call at Braganza. He found Dr. Doyle bending over the grate vainly endeavouring to rekindle the embers he had forgotten to stir, and which, in the absence of this stimulus, had died out. "What have you been doing to let your fire go out, my Lord?" "I have been writing for some hours to a leading statesman," he replied. "Your Lordship throws such fire into everything you write," proceeded his visitor, "that, like the burning rays of the sun, no other fire can flourish in your presence." And then, alluding to Dr. Doyle's recent letter to Lord Anglesey, he asked if he had been greatly fatigued after writing it. "No more than you should be after drinking a bottle of sherry," was the reply. "How did Lord Anglesey take it?" "I hear," replied Dr. Doyle, "that those about him never at any period saw him so much excited or annoyed. The ball which carried off his leg at Waterloo did not surprise or pain him more. '*Et tu Brute!*' he exclaimed. 'This from Doyle—impossible!'" The Right Hon. A. R. Blake was probably Dr. Doyle's informant.

[The "Times," previously the eulogist of Dr. Doyle, now alliteratively styled him "the Braggart of Braganza!"]

The incident at Tullamore cannot be regarded as altogether a novelty. The Bishop's servant assured the parish priest of Ballinakill that it often happened he never lay down the entire night. He was frequently remonstrated with on the subject, and he as frequently promised to spare himself; but whenever there was an arrear of work to master, both promise and resolution generally failed.

It is not surprising that Dr. Doyle's health should have failed as well as the resolve. His physician strongly urged him to suspend all labour and retire for a short interval to Salthill, near Dublin, for the benefit of sea air. Lord Anglesey expressed a strong desire to have an interview with Dr. Doyle, but the Bishop declined to approach the viceregal court. The mountain therefore decided on going to Mahomet, and his Excellency repaired to Salthill for that purpose. But before Lord Anglesey had reached the

house, he espied the slight figure of Dr. Doyle pacing the path of its pleasure-ground and engaged in reading his breviary. The Marquis being too polite to interrupt him at his devotions, passed and repassed him three different times before the Bishop raised his head. When he did, the Viceroy expressed his desire to speak with him on the all-absorbing question of tithes. Dr. Doyle readily complied, and entered into a lengthened detail of the grievances and oppression of the tithe system, and of the most effectual means of abolishing it for ever. The Viceroy pledged himself to forward in every way the Prelate's wishes, and to add all the weight of his office in a remonstrance to the English Cabinet on the subject. It is a curious fact that this remonstrance was not publicly known until the 26th of April 1834, when Mr. Hume, in the discussion on Repeal, mysteriously procured a copy of it, and read it to the House, to the astonishment of Whigs and Tories. It was under the conviction that the Viceroy had done what he promised that Dr. Doyle differed from Mr. O'Connell in speaking favourably of his Excellency's intentions.

The despatch was in the main an excellent one. Lord Anglesey impressed on Earl Grey the necessity of a complete reform of the Church Establishment, a satisfactory arrangement of juries, a sound system of poor laws and of labour rates, and a suppression of party processions. How a secret despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Prime Minister should have become public property, without the consent of either, is a mystery which seems as little likely of solution now as it was forty years ago. "Had my general opinions upon public matters been merely quoted," said Lord Anglesey, "I would not have been surprised; as you know, it has ever been my principle to elicit opinions from able men by stating my own; but that a *verbatim* copy of a whole letter should have appeared is inexplicable."

Some persons might be disposed to say that the intercepting of Lord Anglesey's private letter to the Premier was a just retribution. It having transpired in 1844 that the correspondence of Mazzini had been opened under the auspices of Sir James Graham, the public waxed angry, and a committee of investigation was appointed by the House of Commons. It then came to light that in 1832 Lord Anglesey had applied for and obtained a warrant for the examination of private correspondence as it passed through the General Post-Office at Dublin. From that date the prying practice continued. In 1834, similar warrants were obtained by the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Secretary Littleton; in 1836, by the Marquis of Normanby and Mr. T. Drummond; in 1837, by Lord Plunket and Archbishop Whately, then Lords Justices; in

1838, by Lord Morpeth ; in 1839, by Lord Ebrington and Sir Edward Blakeney ; in 1841, by Chief Justice Bushe and Earl de Grey ; and in 1842, by Sir Edward Sugden, Lord St. Leonards. The mode of opening the letters was by softening the seals through the agency of steam.

A letter to Mr. W. Stanley records Dr. Doyle's accession to the opinion that a law for relief of the helpless poor of Ireland should be accompanied by a measure to enforce the providing of employment for the able-bodied class, although he apprehended that urging the adoption of the latter might retard the relief of the helpless, which he considered to be pre-eminently necessary.

"I was one of those," writes Mr. Stanley to the author, "who held that the employment of those able to labour was more necessary than a provision for the support of the helpless. I considered that the poverty of the labouring class was continually increasing the helpless class ; and that if those able to work *could get it*, their helpless kindred would find succour through the influences of that hearty good-nature which prevails in the Irish cabin. At the time, the abused and clumsily contrived means of providing employment in England occasioned much opposition to the relief of the poor Irish labourer ; and I endeavoured to show that he could be protected without any violation of the principles of good social economy, and without enabling the indolent to reap the reward of industry, or without localising labour where not required to profitable work."

"I thought hitherto it would be vain," wrote the Bishop on 29th October 1832, "to attempt in Ireland such a measure as you contemplate, and therefore contented myself with urging a provision for the helpless poor, and a power to relieve by assessment the able-bodied in times of extraordinary distress. I had no serious doubt at any time, and I have no doubt at all at present, but that the able-bodied poor will in a little time extort a provision for themselves ; but I would be exceedingly glad that the Legislature anticipated the coming necessity by the adoption of your plan, which I believe is just and feasible. However, as the urging of it at present might interfere with that provision for the helpless poor which is a primary object of my solicitude—and for the adoption of which the Government, the country, and the Legislature are nearly if not fully prepared—I should think it unwise for me to encumber or embarrass it by proposing or advocating a measure of compulsory relief for the able-bodied, such as yours would be.

"From a sentence put in your paper I apprehend you have been led into a mistake by some careless phrase in my last letter to you.

"The draft of a bill which I mentioned in that letter as having been submitted to the Irish Government was not a draft of a bill to impose a tax on absentees, but a draft of a bill to provide for those classes of our poor who, through age or infirmity, are unable to provide for themselves, as also to enable parishes to assist all classes of their poor in times of extraordinary distress."

There is also before us a correspondence maintained at the same time, and on the same subject, between Dr. Doyle and Mr. Smith O'Brien. The Bishop was inclined to think that a committee which Mr. O'Brien had projected might, if formed in Dublin, be attended with useful results; and that the country would possibly show a disposition to co-operate through the medium of local committees. But, as the scheme should have to contend against the two great leaders of party, Dr. Doyle hesitated to give a decided opinion on its practicability. If they foresaw failure, the attempt ought to be abandoned; while, on the other hand, should success seem probable, it would be well to comprise the committee of moderate men, aided by a zealous and efficient secretary. The Bishop remarked that his own health was far from good, but that whatever co-operation it might be in his power to offer should be cheerfully undertaken. But doubts of success damped his ardour; he feared that the state of agitation and strife in which the whole country was involved would prevent the committee from collecting the public opinion, or cause the plan to be misunderstood.

The two great leaders of party to whom he alluded were O'Connell and Dr. Boyton. The latter headed the Conservative Nationalists, and acted as their mouthpiece. He daily stung Lord Anglesey on his most vulnerable points. The worst society in Dublin, he declared, was to be found at the Lord Lieutenant's table; and with cruel severity the Rev. Doctor perpetually harped on the mistakes into which his Excellency had fallen. Boyton was a sort of Tory O'Connell; even outwardly he had much of O'Connell's muscular development and girth of person; he had all his vigour, and not a little of his eloquence. When Lord Anglesey threatened in a passion to blockade the Irish ports, and effect a total suspension of intercourse between England and Ireland, Dr. Boyton caustically asked which of the parties would be the worse for it? "England, whose exports are articles which derive their value from the great manufacturing ingenuity exerted on materials of small intrinsic worth; or Ireland, whose exports chiefly consist of articles of food—the staff of human life? If the gallant Viceroy could suspend the intercourse between the countries, and prevent our exporting Irish beef, butter, and corn

to England, why I really think that in so awful an extremity we could manage to eat those commodities ourselves! Whereas it would task the powers of even John Bull to masticate and digest a Sheffield whittle, a Worcester teacup, or a Kidderminster carpet!"

In December 1832, the old Parliament dissolved with the old year, and a new one, under the Reform franchises, was summoned. The Repeal agitation had made immense head in Ireland. "It is difficult to convey to those who were not then participators in the struggle," observes Mr. Fagan, the biographer of O'Connell, "any but a very imperfect notion of the enthusiasm which pervaded. The people's hearts were in the cause and contest. Their pride, their traditions, their own reminiscences, and their present condition, combined to inspire them." And again, "The people did not care a straw for persons. Whoever would vote for Repeal—he was their man, and they cared for nothing more. The women were as enthusiastic as the men, and would listen to no compromise, no promptings of self-interest on the part of their sons or husbands." But this enthusiasm was too strong to last. "In moments of familiar intercourse Mr. O'Connell often said to the writer, when he was deploring in years subsequent to 1833 the prevailing coldness, 'Don't mind; the fire but smoulders.'"

Although Dr. Boyton rather co-operated with O'Connell, there was no cordiality in the act, and it was doubtless owing rather to accident than design. The Repealers having proposed a coalition with Dr. Boyton's party, he replied in substance, "Sir, they hate you; their enmity is bitter, and it cannot be mitigated. I do not participate in it, but I know that any overtures to unite them with the O'Connellites would be fruitless."

The fatally perverse manner in which Lord Grey was governing Ireland imparted increased excitement and daring to the people. It was not the fault of Lord Anglesey that the interests of Ireland had not been consulted in the Premier's policy. Writing during this year, his Excellency says: "Thank God, I have nothing upon my conscience. I have exerted every means in my power to effect measures of conciliation, redress, and amelioration, if possible before, but at all events simultaneous with, any new law or measure of coercion." And again: "While I have life and hope, no disgust at my treatment, either on this side of the Channel or on yours, shall divert me from using my best energies for Ireland; and O'Connell's 'deplorable Lord-Lieutenant,' and Marcus Costello's 'weak and silly Lord Anglesey,' shall still work on at his uphill and almost hopeless game and drudgery."

These letters go far in vindicating Lord Anglesey's policy, which had been misunderstood and often misrepresented. "I

wish to God," the Viceroy says, "you could see all I write about Ireland, and publish it too. However, that cannot be; and I must stand a thousand calumnies and suffer a thousand censures for the faults of others."

The acts of the Ministry, the formidable progress of the Repeal agitation, and the general election are reviewed in a letter to Sir H. Parnell.

"CARLOW, 18th October 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is well, if even now, at the eleventh hour, the Ministry become wise, or at least desist from proceedings which bespeak on their part something worse than fatuity. But, whilst they speak with you of ceasing to provoke hatred and spill blood, their deputies here are busied in issuing decrees, and our roads are covered with horse, foot, and artillery, as if about to commence a regular campaign. The public hatred against them is at its height; and to bespeak confidence in their intentions would be to expose one's self to utter derision. I really do not know one individual in Ireland who could be brought to confide in them. You know how I hoped in them against hope; but I have ceased to think of them, except with bitter sorrow. Their conduct has rendered law vile, and the administration of it more than ordinarily hated; but what is worse, it has called forth in the democracy a spirit which no law can appease nor force subdue, and which tends every hour to the breaking-up of all the old relations of society, and precipitating the reform of abuses, to the great risk of the public safety. See it in your county, where Pat Lalor will be your colleague, if not your successor, in the representation; in Kildare, where probably More O'Ferrall will be replaced by an adventurer from the North; in this county, where they would go to Calcutta, if necessary, to find an opponent to both Whigs and Tories. All this have the Ministers done in despite of your advice, and of the opinions of every man who knows the workings of this country.

"I will look with anxiety for the change you expect; but until I witness it, the prospect of its coming shall have no effect upon my mind or conduct."

The "Times," which had been a powerful eulogist of Lord Grey's Government, changed its views as Dr. Doyle had changed his, and now denounced the Ministry. Other influential journals are not less severe. "A change must take place," remarks one; "for the country cannot—now that the Reform Bill is passed—brook much longer the utter incapacity of those who are so highly paid for the management of affairs that, to ordinary men of business, are neither intricate nor difficult of comprehension."

[It was not the fault of Sir H. Parnell or of Lord Brougham that a more vigorous policy had not been adopted. The latter had now become Lord Chancellor of England ; and the following letter, showing the importance attached to the opinions of Dr. Doyle, is to be found in his autobiography :—

“ *Private.*—MY DEAR LORD BROUGHAM,—Dr. Doyle is in London, at 23 Bury Street, and I hope you will take an opportunity of seeing him. You will be able to judge, from what he tells you, how far my communications about Ireland were accurate. . . . It has become essentially necessary that such a change should be made in the Cabinet, on the earliest opportunity, as will secure a fit system of government for Ireland. . . . I must again press on you the urgency of your taking an active and decided part in its affairs. You are the only member of the Cabinet who at all comprehends the case. Most of your colleagues are not only ignorant of it, but, as it seems, incapable of understanding it. I assure you that open war will have to be carried on in Ireland to maintain the dominion of England, unless the management of its affairs be placed in other hands.”]

CHAPTER XXII.

Very characteristic correspondence between Dr. Doyle and the Rev. Gerald Doyle, parish priest of Naas, published for the first time in this edition.

[It was at this time that the public life of a priest of great patriotism and worth reached a crisis in the crown prosecution instituted against him, for his intrepid resistance to that impost which J. K. L. declared should be hated so long as the Irish people loved justice. In the Rev. Gerald Doyle, parish priest of Naas—ordained in 1804, and appointed ten years later—Dr. Doyle, on succeeding to the mitre, found a priest moulded very much after his own heart.¹ But as one reads the extensive correspondence which has survived both, it is easy to see that while Dr. Doyle appreciates the worth and energy of his namesake, he is filled with anxiety lest the advanced political views of the patriot pastor should hurry him into some overt act of indiscretion, of which the enemies

¹ One day Dr. Doyle drove into Mountmellick, and observing a pole in the middle of the street round which some party orgies had been performed, he asked what that pole meant ; and when told it was an Orange pole, he said, “ I protest I must have that pole down, or my head on it ! ” He remembered to have often seen in Wexford the heads of Harvey, Keogh, and Colelough bleaching on spikes where the Orange yeomanry had impaled them. The emblem of defiance in Mountmellick to which Dr. Doyle objected, was removed. This town had long been a hotbed of Orangeism.

of Ireland would eagerly take tiger-like advantage. Not one of the many pastors of the diocese seem to have had more influence with the great prelate who so austere ruled them. Whether for relaxations, dispensations, or extra faculties, Father Gerald Doyle had generally but to ask to have. These are invariably conceded with a genial heartiness which greatly enhanced the value of the gift. The Bishop's first letter is dated May 10th, 1820, in which he asks Gerald Doyle to buy him a horse, together with a bridle and saddle. Five years later he requests the good pastor to select a set of harness for him, adding, "What an advantage to me to have a friend so skilled in these affairs, and so kind as you have been to your obliged and faithful servant in Christ."

Some of their friendly correspondence, previous to the year 1832, though not chronologically in place,¹ may here be given as introductory to an episode full of interest and instruction, and in order that it may be thoroughly seen how the prelate and the people's priest stood in relation to each other.

On February 12th, 1820, the Bishop considerably writes :

"Let me hear from you on my return whether you would have any objection to your former curate, now employed by Dr. Troy. If you should, there is another very good young man, well qualified in my opinion for your town of Naas, but who has not as yet been employed on the mission. Say which you prefer." Two years later another appointment to the same post was suggested by the parish priest.

"I received your letter," writes the Bishop, "and will send you on Saturday a young man to assist you until autumn. In the meantime I will have to visit a great part of this diocese, and may be enabled to make some arrangement advantageous to you and to Mr. Cummins.² When a curate is fortunate to render himself agreeable to his principal, and useful to a people, his

¹ That the correspondence should appear in compact sequence was part of the conditions on which its custodian gave it to this book.

² Father Cummins having been ordained on the same day as his subsequent bishop, Dr. Haly, went on the mission in Dublin, and was appointed chaplain to the "hulk." In 1822 he returned to Dr. Doyle's diocese, and became, for the second time, curate at Naas. The stories told of him would fill a volume. "Irish Folk Lore," lately compiled by a Dublin priest, exhibits on its cover a showy sketch of one of the scenes in which Father Cummins figures within. His table-talk was pointed and peculiar. He often joined clerical dinner parties at Athy, after he had retired from the mission, and one evening mentioned that he had, for a pet, a *white* blackbird. Immediately a laugh was raised at the "Bull." "I used that phrase," he said, "to accommodate myself to your ignorance; if I said a *white merle*, you would not understand me." No matter what great name happened to be mentioned, Father Cummins would supply from personal recollection some wonderful story with which the magnate and he were mixed up. In reference to a peer holding the rank of commander-in-chief, he said, "I once gave that fellow a right good horse-whipping." Consternation was expressed, and Father Cummins continued, "When I was curate at Naas, a young officer returning to the barracks, tipsy, and heading a row, provoked my interference and chastisement." When the whip of correction was not convenient, he lashed with hyperbolic sarcasm. At Athy,

removal is a great loss ; but yet the health of such a one should not be sacrificed, nor business left undone."

Autumn found him mindful of his promise.

"Perceiving your anxiety to have the curate live from you, and wishing to gratify you as much as in my power, I have selected a person to be your assistant whose life has been most blameless, and in whose virtue and integrity I have an entire confidence. For these reasons I have no objection to his lodging out of your house.

"As to Mr. Cummins' claim, I regret that you and I should differ so widely as we do, and I should be glad my judgment could be always as favourable to you as my feelings are partial. You may, of course, select a convenient time and mode of settling with Mr. Cummins, but it should be so made as not to prevent his suffering inconvenience by the delay. I disapprove highly of any collection being made apart for a curate, and if, in this instance, it were likely to operate as a precedent, or diminished any established dues, I should cause the curate to put whatever he received into the common fund." Other views having been expressed, the Ordinary adds :—

"If the Bishop be not attended to in these matters, and allowed to enforce the laws and usages which regulate the rights of the clergy relative to each other and to the flock, I know not why bishops are appointed to rule the Church."

The 16th of May 1823 brought a pithy letter from the vigilant Bishop.

"I can have no doubt but that it was notified to your people on the days prescribed that the Paschal time was about to expire. I can therefore see no reason but one for their not attending—at least to offer to confess, and such as did so may still be heard—and that one is an indifference about religion. They are all told, and know perfectly well that they are obliged, under pain of mortal sin, to go to communion in their own parish, and that this obligation cannot be complied with elsewhere. They should be further informed that when they go out of the diocese to avoid complying with the discipline of it they cannot be validly absolved, and knowing all this and yet offending renders them to me quite unfit to receive any indulgence. Better they should receive no sacraments than receive them unworthily ! Better that you and

an Orangeman noted for his savage demeanour to Catholics, was specially offensive to Father Cummins. The latter, after receiving one of his sallies, called out to a crowd which had collected to make way for this local magnate, and then addressing him in a tone of mock respect, exclaimed,—“Sir, I was chaplain for seven years to the convict hulk. Every phase of villany came within my closest cognisance ; but in all my experience of depravity, I never met a specimen of humanity so utterly demoralised as you !”

I and our regulations should be despised at Naas than that the pearls of religion should be cast to swine, or discipline fall into disuse or contempt. You may tell your people of your application and of my refusal."

In a more acquiescent spirit, Dr. Doyle, during the same year, addresses the good pastor of Naas. "You may absolve the persons mentioned in your letter, imposing on each of them, as a penance, the recital of certain prayers on the Sundays for one year. The facility with which such people communicate *in sacris* with heretics, is a great evil—tending to lessen the abhorrence with which a true believer should always look on the profanation of the sacraments. I have, thanks to God, escaped in a good measure the generally prevailing colds. I hope you have been equally fortunate. There is no person in your neighbourhood at present who can delegate jurisdiction to absolve in the reserved cases ; but at our next retreat at farthest, I shall, God willing, appoint some person to that office. In general, when it can be done, the sending such persons to the nearest vicar or to me is a very salutary penance."

In 1824 the Commissioners of Education Inquiry sent circulars to the clergy of Ireland, which led the Rev. Gerald Doyle to think that he was called upon to make a return on oath of all the schools within his spiritual jurisdiction. A regimental school existed at Naas in connection with the military barracks. The regiments recruited in Ireland were composed mostly of Catholics, and the greater number of the children were, of course, Catholics also. The parish priest complained that these Catholics were obliged to go, or remain uneducated, to hear a Protestant master, to read tracts and prayers not of their own persuasion, and that they were marched on Sundays to the Protestant church and detained there during service. In answer to this statement, including a complaint that Major Arbuthnot would not allow Mr. Doyle to visit the regimental school, the Commissioners declared that schools of that character were not connected with the inquiry on which they were engaged.

The Bishop, in reply to the parish priest, writes on November 13th, 1824 :—"I have been thinking of the regimental school, and I wish, if the abuse you mention as prevailing in it still exists, and that if called on you could furnish proof of the same, that you should write most respectfully to the commander-in-chief praying his interference to correct it ; and should you not succeed, the entire of your correspondence both with the Commissioners and with him might be either given to the public, or when I peruse it we might see whether it could be brought before Parliament.

"If the inspector should hereafter molest you in the discharge of your duty, or continue to tempt prisoners to renounce their religion, or pursue a system of proselytism in the gaol, obtain affidavits of such conduct, and I shall not fail, with God's help, to procure redress for you."

Permission to attend the races at Naas is pleasantly proffered on

"June 2d, 1825.

"I wish you with all my heart peace and good running during this week, and am happy you will be present on the turf to preserve the one as I am confident you will enjoy the other. Nor do I see why on that occasion you should be deprived of the aid of your coadjutor, who has no slight acquaintance with men and horses. I hope to see you at Robertstown on Thursday sennight, and at Naas on the day following, when I will be happy to give you any assistance in my power relative to the chapel."

"The coadjutor" was Father Dan Lalor, afterwards parish priest of Baltinglass, and returned as *Dignus* to succeed Dr. Doyle (*vide* pp. 498-522, *infra*). An excess of zeal displayed by him in 1828 led to the following letter :—

"REV. DEAR SIR,—You state to me some particulars relating to a discourse delivered in the chapel of Naas, on the 18th ult., by Rev. Mr. Lalor, the report made of it by the commanding officer of the 36th Regiment, and you request that I should institute an inquiry into Mr. Lalor's conduct on the occasion referred to.

"The substance of the report made by the officer, who attended chapel with the soldiers of the 36th Regiment on the day you mention, as well as the order subsequently issued by Major-General Grant, directing that the 36th Regiment do not attend at the chapel where Mr. Lalor officiates, until further orders, had been previously communicated to me. The issuing of this order, on the report of an officer, inflicts at once a severe censure on Mr. Lalor, and precludes me from inquiring into his conduct. Had Mr. Lalor been cited, and an opportunity afforded him of defending himself, or had the report made of his discourse been transmitted to me, previous to the removal of the soldiers to Naas chapel, he might have been acquitted or condemned in a satisfactory manner, but the matter has been otherwise disposed of, and an inquiry into his conduct by me, now that he has been judged, and in truth condemned before the public, would but ill accord with my notions of justice. Do you then be patient. The soldiers are still enabled to worship God after the manner of their Fathers. Burke's zeal and eloquence procured for them that liberty. It has been somewhat infringed upon, especially as it

regards their children, but we live in times when their situation might be rendered worse than what it is, and we on their account forced into collision with a mighty power. Let not Mr. Lalor at any time address soldiers as distinct from the other faithful, nor comment to them on the conduct of their officers. To do so is exceedingly wrong ; it is to sow in the army the seeds of insubordination. If you or he discover any encroachment on the rights of conscience, by the officers at any time commanding at Naas, represent the matter to the commander of the forces, but never advise soldiers to assemble and deliberate as Mr. Lalor is reported, I hope untruly, to have done."

On January 7th, 1828, Dr. Doyle writes to the Rev. Gerald Doyle :—

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—I send you herewith the copy of return for the Commissioners of Education Inquiry, and beg that you will be careful to send it back to me, when you have extracted whatever you require from it. The late return of the population of your parish sent to me is 3964 Catholics, and 347 Protestants. I am quite delighted to know that your chapel has been opened ; as to the supply of people, I believe not even the emigration scheme will prevent it from overflowing ; but as you have so much space, I am satisfied that you marry the young man you mention to his partner, that they may proceed to increase and multiply, which they too often do without our sanction or that of Almighty God."

When the following passage was penned, the cathedral of Carlow had not been even projected.

"We are here thinking of enlarging our chapel, and I would not venture, I believe, to proceed, but for the success which has attended your efforts under less favourable circumstances."

On November 29th in the following year, Dr. Doyle writes to Father Gerald Doyle in reference to the subsequent member for Carlow, noticed at page 295 *ante*.

"I was highly gratified to see Sir John M. Doyle, whom you were so good as to introduce to me. He is one of the best of our name, which is common to a great variety of men.

"You may join in marriage the persons who, having attempted to be married clandestinely, were reconciled during the jubilee, but not until the time when marriages are prohibited to be solemnised will have elapsed, and that you will have published three times the banns. You have already effected such wonders in the building line, that I am not surprised at your contemplating the erection of a convent ; but, my dear friend, is it not better to wait until the present debt is paid off, and the interior of the chapel fitted up in some decent manner ? The payment of a

schoolmistress is a burden certainly, but it is one infinitely lighter than the erection and establishment of a nunnery. Look out for some large bequest wherewith to begin, for I doubt very much whether we should attempt such a work on speculation. The public would not feel towards it as they do towards the chapel ; but even this latter is far from being in the state you and I desire to see it."

It will be remembered how thoroughly Dr. Doyle had set his heart upon seeing accomplished a legal provision for the famishing poor. A meeting having been convened at Naas, and carefully organised with the object of opposing that measure, Dr. Doyle wrote privately and at great length to the parish priest to counteract it as far as possible, and went to the length of briefing him and his curate, Mr. Lalor, with a number of telling points to use in the interests of humanity. Father Doyle reported progress, and the Bishop replies :—

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—You may absolve in the cases referred to in your letter. Did you require of me to make you into a duke, I would, if it were possible, do so. I have seldom in my lifetime been more delighted than with the proceedings and the result of them on Tuesday. Say everything kind for me to Mr. Lalor. I expected a great deal from you and him, but I believe you surpassed all my expectations."

On January 11th, 1831, when collecting funds for his cathedral, the Bishop writes :—

"In sending you a copy of the circular, address, and letter, I was not, you may be fully assured, unmindful of the circumstances of your parish with relation to the debt due on your chapel. But I had more than once heard or read of the generosity of the people of Naas, evinced by them ever since their own chapel debt was contracted, on occasions perhaps more exciting, but certainly not so deserving of their bounty as that on which I, for the first and last time, wished through you to address them. I did not, on that account, think that I ought to make an exception in their regard. At the same time I would be as unwilling as 'tis possible to be that you should enforce in any manner at all the prayers of my application.

"What I think is best to be done is for you to do what is prescribed, adding that I am fully aware of the peculiar circumstances of that parish, and whilst I was unwilling to make an exception in their regard, would not expect of them what, if other claims did not press, I am confident they would freely give. Were they to refuse all aid I would not resent their doing so, but feel grateful for any contribution, however small, which wou'

mark their Christian feeling and correspondence with the views of him who presides over their spiritual concerns. The notion which you mention, of the Bishops' disposition to join the Government against the people, is very absurd. God forbid that the Government and people should be ranged against each other. I think we have a Government really and in good faith friendly to the people, but greatly impeded in its efforts for the public good. Whether this Government can or cannot surmount the difficulties opposed to them is a problem which time only can solve. It will be to me, even to the end of my life, a subject of regret if the people do not give to such a Government a fair trial; but, as for my part, whilst the people preserve their allegiance I must be always with them, whether to correct their errors or to promote their just views." ¹

A fine letter dated Carlow, March 11th, 1831, foresees the precipice to which Father Gerald Doyle's political career threatened to hurry him :—

"Would not the proper mode of proceeding, in the case of the soldier, be to memorial the commander-in-chief; and to appeal to Parliament only in case of his refusal to attend to the complaint? It is certainly very proper to vindicate the rights of the soldiers, and also your own, but I believe the Article of War is such as has been represented. These Articles do not recognise us in any way, save only in the permission they accord to the soldiers to frequent the places of worship which they respectively profess. Nor will the persons to whom you have entrusted your petition for presentation or support be likely to obtain such an expression of the sense of Parliament as will correct the defect in the Articles of War. However, these things will afford you exercise in your profession of agitator, to which I fear you are irrevocably devoted. I am always made uneasy when I find you in motion, fearing you will be carried away, as you often have been, too far, and that you may one day or other give an advantage to those who hate you, and which if obtained would be turned against yourself, and all of us with whom you are professionally connected. Do, therefore, I beg of you, be cautious in your language and proceedings, and do not be prominent at meetings or in making speeches. We may not, as some are charged and I believe falsely, become the agents or dupes of others, but when we avoid one extreme, we are not to run into another, and, above all, our clergy should not take any step out of the beaten track without consulting me, for besides that I am always better ac-

¹ At the time that this letter is dated, Dr. Doyle had good hopes of Lord Grey's Government: its incapacity subsequently disappointed and disgusted him.

quainted with the state of public affairs than they are, I believe they cannot suspect me of any lack of patriotism, or of any disposition to be subservient to men in power.

"What you have heard and what is generally reported of Dr. Kinsella and the behaviour of the Kilkenny mob, is greatly exaggerated, but enough has occurred to teach us all that the principles of the French Revolution are not confined to France, and that consummate prudence is required to determine the precise line of conduct to be pursued by us in times of popular excitement. For he who goes too far, as well as he who will not advance at all, may be found either to sacrifice himself or be devoured by that hydra—a ferocious mob."

The great plague, known as Asiatic cholera, had now visited Ireland for the first time, and swept through the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Father Gerald Doyle, full of alarm, addressed his bishop, who responded in words of strength and consolation.

"Sunday Morning, April 22d, 1832.

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—I share in your affliction and alarm, but I hope in God, whose chastisements are just and merciful, that the present visitation of His wrath will be short and light, but above all that He will spare the ministers of His mercy for the sake of His people.

"Should the disease spread to a more alarming degree, I will send you an assistant, but, for the present, though I am fully sensible of your labours and anxiety, I hesitate to expose another clergyman to the danger in which Providence has placed yourself and Mr. Hume. I think our good God will preserve you both; if not, surely you are thrice happy to lay down your life for your brethren; so in no case should you be affrighted or despond. Let me have a line from you each day, and if the labour increases beyond your strength you shall have an assistant.

"The nuns and all here will pray incessantly for you. I am myself suffering considerably since I saw you, but hope to have strength enough to combat with the cholera should my services be required. As in this disease the pain is violent, and unceasing attention of persons to the patient is required, you are aware that a general confession made for the sufferer, or by him with the confession by him, or her, of one or more sins, and an act of contrition extending to all the sins of his or her past life (all which might be done in the presence of others), would enable you to impart absolution and minister the extreme unction; should the state of the stomach not permit the administration of the Holy Eucharist also,

"Have courage, my dear friend. Say everything kind from me to your coadjutor, and believe me truly and affectionately yours in Christ.

✠ J. DOYLE."

Those were the days of expensive postage. Dr. Doyle considerably adds :—"Do not post-pay your letters."

During the electioneering excitement which helped to heat 1832—that year already big with great events—it was thought desirable by some popular leaders, including Father Gerald Doyle, to extract pledges as to future line of action from candidates for the honour of representing Kildare in Parliament. Of this course Dr. Doyle had always disapproved ; and now writes severely to ask whether certain whispers, in regard to Father Doyle's policy, were founded on fact ; a complaint which it is assumed had come from one of the local candidates.¹

Throughout his episcopate, Dr. Doyle claimed, as Bishop, though never publicly, the respect and attention which a dutiful son is bound to manifest to the wishes of a father ; and it grieved him much whenever he perceived or suspected any departure from this course. Now, as previously, he held it to be an important duty on the part of a bishop to hold in check, during periods of public excitement, the more advanced political tendencies of his priests.

To the Rev. Gerald Doyle, P.P.

"CARLOW, November 29th, 1832.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Is it true that you have disregarded my injunction to the clergy lately assembled at Robertstown, 'not to participate in any proceedings which would tend, at the approach-

¹ A prolonged negotiation—during which the printing of this work remained interrupted for several months—preceded the actual attainment of the present correspondence. The Very Rev. J. Doyle, P. P. V. F. during part of the time, declined to allow any portion of it to appear. At length, we having expressed numerous arguments as a reason for its publication, Mr. Doyle, in a letter he is good enough to allow us to quote, thus replied on August 15th, 1839 :—

"I have finally made up my mind on the matter, and shall place in your hands, for publication, those portions of the correspondence between Dr. Doyle and my uncle, the late Father Gerald Doyle, parish priest of Naas, which are not of a strictly private character.

"It occurs to me that, at a time like the present, when the tendency of the age seems to be to question the right of bishops or priests to express themselves authoritatively, not only on the wisdom or prudence of public men, but even on the moral rectitude of political action, that it may be interesting and instructive to know what were the opinions which, fifty years ago, the greatest bishop the Irish Church has had for centuries, held and advanced regarding these rights. Nor will it, perhaps, be less interesting to know how far a priest, who was himself one of the most advanced politicians of his time, and whose uprightness and independence of character no one ever questioned, considered himself bound to respect and obey the opinions and commands of his bishop in matters political.

"The world has, no doubt, undergone great changes since the days of Dr. Doyle, and his letters to my uncle will be considered by many as arrogant and dictatorial. Father Doyle, too, may, and probably will, be censured for having paid an undue deference to the opinions and commands of his bishop. But *magna est veritas, et prævalebit.*"

ing election, to disturb the amicable relations existing between the landlords and their tenantry in the County Kildare ; but if this evil, so much to be deprecated, should happen, to let it proceed from the electors themselves without any participation of ours' ?

"I am slow to believe anything to your prejudice, and therefore I require of you to let me know the truth on the above subject, and that no place may be left for misconception, whether you have publicly or officially shared in the proceedings of those persons at Naas, who have agreed to exact a pledge of the Kildare candidates to vote in Parliament for a repeal of the union, as the landlords in the County Kildare do not require such pledges ?

"I write to avoid all expression of opinion on the question of 'Repeal' or 'Pledges,' but I am resolved to know whether you, or any other clergyman subject to me, will depart from my injunction in a matter wherein the character of the clergy, the interests of religion, and the peace of the diocese are involved. When oppression and injustice, whether public or private, were to be opposed, I have never hesitated to promote such opposition by word and example ; but the same motive which has ever urged me in that course must impel me to prevent, as far as in me lies, the clergy over whom I am placed from breaking up the relations which subsist, not between the oppressor and the oppressed, but between the virtuous of different classes and stations in society.

"You are a witness with how much patience and affection I have often warned you against those extreme opinions and proceedings to which you are too much prone. I cannot believe you have violated your duty and disregarded my advice. I will await your own assurance on this subject, and remain, &c.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

To the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle.

"MY LORD,—The Attorney-General, fearing that he could not procure a jury in the County Kildare to find me guilty, had the indictments found at the Assizes of Athy removed into the King's Bench, and I was served with notice to appear there, forthwith, and give the usual securities for my appearance in that Court. I had to go to town on the 29th, and did not return until yesterday evening, and that is the reason why I had not the honour of answering your Lordship's letter by post.

"My Lord, a written paper was handed about to the electors here, individually, to affix their signatures to it if they approved of it. I signed that written paper. By doing so I was not bound to vote for any particular candidate, nor was I bound to vote at

all, nor to demand a pledge. But if I would vote I was pledged to support no candidate who would not promise to advocate the abolition of tithes and Repeal. That cannot be a violation of your Lordship's injunction to your clergy.

"There is a political union at Naas. It has been formed more than a year since, and meets in the schoolroom almost weekly. I attend the meetings whenever it is convenient for me to do so. The union met on Sunday last, and among other things it was agreed to send a respectful address to More O'Ferrall, and that he be requested to make known to the union how he felt on the subject of pledging himself to support certain measures, but particularly the Repeal. I was present, but I neither composed nor seconded nor suggested the address. I was neither chairman nor secretary. No pledge was demanded, but a wish of the union to know Mr. O'Ferrall's opinion; *that* cannot be disobedience to your Lordship's injunction.

"Did your correspondent mention the name of any tenant, the amicable relations between whom and his landlord I have ever, in the smallest degree, disturbed? If not, I hope a general undefined charge will not bring down on me your Lordship's displeasure.

"The landed proprietors here have expressed no opinion against the principle of pledges. Some never interfere, others, for instance, General Cockburn, is for the pledge.

"I am, my Lord, a willing and also a grateful witness of the great patience and affection with which you advised against those opinions which were considered too strong, and to which your Lordship thought I was too much prone.

"And now, my Lord, I hope I have satisfied you that I have not, at least knowingly, violated my duty or disregarded your advice. I am, my Lord, &c.

"GERALD DOYLE, Parish Priest."

To the Rev. Gerald Doyle, P.P.

"CARLOW, December 4th, 1832.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—I received your letter this morning, and am gratified with the candour apparent in your explanation of what was the subject of my inquiry.

"But I cannot disguise from myself that you have persevered in a line of conduct from which I have endeavoured to turn you away, and I cannot but apprehend your deviating from the course I pointed out to you has led to the late proceedings of the Attorney-General, and to those results which are but too likely to arise from it. All your proceedings are closely observed, and if

they were doubtful your enemies can but too easily interpret them against you.

"You cannot be ignorant that all the proprietors of the County Kildare, with such exceptions as scarcely deserve notice, are averse to the exactions of pledges, and the affixing your signature to a paper to be carried through the County, committing those who sign it to a contrary course, is plainly enough a concurrence in opening that breach which, if it were to be made, ought not to be made by us.

"Your countenance and personal attendance at the club or union in Naas, at which this and the other proceeding you mention originated, was doing in the most efficient way that which I desired you might not do. When Stephen was martyred, Saul was not judge, or counsel, or secretary; he did not throw the stones which murdered the victim, he only held the clothes of those who threw them, but St. Luke writes he was consenting to his death. Your duty and your interest required of you not to participate in any manner in the above proceedings, and you will, I very much apprehend, regret, when too late, that you did not attend to my advice. Harassed as you are with the cares of your office, with the cares you have created for yourself, and with a prosecution pending over you, I find it impossible to add to your trouble; nay, I believe there is no one living who shares in the trouble you feel, or ought to feel, so much as I do; but though I abstain from reproof, let me once more beg of you to separate yourself even now, totally and entirely, from the men and the proceedings connected with the coming elections. As a child who despises a father is not blessed in his labours, so depend on it, a priest disregarding the advice of his Bishop loses his best claim to the favour of our common Lord.—I remain, &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

As this correspondence ends somewhat unpleasantly, we are bound to add that during the quarter of a century that Father Gerald Doyle survived J. K. L., he possessed the favourable regard of Bishops Nolan, Haly, and Walshe, who succeeded to the see. His flock loved him, and raised, at a cost of £300, a fine monument to his memory. The obedience which Dr. Doyle had taught him continued to mark his mien to the end.¹

¹ Previous to adding an illustration of the latter quality, a few introductory words, not without interest, are due. When the Repeal agitation had reached its highest pitch of intensity, we find Father Gerald Doyle, in an unpublished letter, thus addressing the commander of the garrison at Naas.

"Armed soldiers have been marched into my church at the time of divine service without my consent, and against my will. That extraordinary display of armed men distracted and disturbed my congregation in the performance of the most sacred duty. The females felt alarm, and the men indignation. The display was not meant to honour the sacrifice

It is a tradition in Dr. Doyle's diocese, that in matters of dispute, whoever brought to him the first story usually secured his adhesion. One example, which as it happens to have been communicated to us by the chief actor, may here be given. A local magnate, the agent of a great landed proprietor, performed some acts of extermination which led our informant, the Rev. Thomas Nolan, parish priest, then administrator of Tullow, to address him in words of warm remonstrance. The agent retorted; the priest lost temper and declared that, but for the cloth he wore, he would make him answer for his words. When the excitement of the moment passed, Fr. Nolan began to fear that if Captain — should report him to the Bishop a suspension might be the result; and early next morning he proceeded to Braganza, declaring that he had a complaint to make against Captain —, and soliciting the protection of J. K. L. Fr. Nolan had no sooner stated his case than the carriage of the local magnate drove up to the door. A footman lowered a flight of folding steps, down which the Captain pompously descended, and with some swagger demanded to see Dr. Doyle. He was shown into an ante-room, and the priest heard what passed. "Sir," said Dr. Doyle, "did you ask Mr. Nolan to attend you in a private room before chastising him; or did you, at this time of great agrarian excitement, weaken his authority over his flock by addressing to him, in their presence, language calculated to lower him, and which he as my representative seems to have resented?" The astonished Captain stammered out a few disjointed words of apology, and quite crestfallen left the house. Fr. Nolan had been, with Messrs. Kinsella, Maher, Clowry, and Delany, a pupil of Dr. Doyle's.]

and respect the priest, to protect the people, nor to accommodate the soldiers. Any ruffian sent into the church by the enemies of the people might, by grappling with a soldier, create a riot, the sorrowful result of which no living being could foresee. A general order to march the military, fully accoutred, to church on Sundays, was imprudent, if not foolish, because it affords the easiest and most efficient means to arm, simultaneously, the great portion of the Irish people. To prevent impressions, feelings, and dangers of such a nature, I beg very respectfully to state that an armed soldiery will not be admitted in future into the Catholic church at Naas, during the time of divine service.

"The Catholic soldiers can have mass in the barracks every Sunday during the present excited state of the country, if the commanding officer give an appropriate room for the purpose; by such arrangement the military will not be annoyed, their arms and ammunition will be secure, and the alarm and indignation created by the marching of armed soldiers into the church will die away."

Bishop Haly disapproved of this attitude on the part of Father Doyle. The latter writes a letter of submission. "Your Lordship is my superior, and obedience is a duty."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Anecdotes—Mr. Pat Lalor, M.P.—The visitation—"Bruen at the head of the poll"—General election—Letters to his nieces and to Miss Gurley—The Bishop's conversations—Agrarian terrorism—196 murders in one year—The Coercion Bill—Correspondence with Mr. Lambert—Agitation—Describes his trip to Harrogate—At Leamington—"Doctors differ."

[Dr. Doyle in different letters complains of a fatal procrastination which he detected in the policy of Earl Grey. How accurately he diagnosed his weakness, we now know on the authority of Lord Grey himself. Writing to Lord Brougham, his ablest colleague, as appears from the autobiography of the latter (vol. iii. 21), he confesses, "In truth I am too apt, in all things, to act upon the converse of the old adage, and never to do to-day what I can put off till to-morrow."

Dr. Doyle continued to watch with anxiety the shadows cast before of coming events in connection with the election. He had been greatly attached to Sir H. Parnell, and much regretted to find that the Queen's County would no longer return him. "I apprehended for several weeks past that which has occurred, and which I laboured unremittingly, but in vain, to avert." Thus he wrote to Sir Henry on the 20th of December 1832.]

Lord Grey at last saw the errors of his Irish policy, but it was now too late to retrieve. Dr. Doyle writes in reply to Sir H. Parnell :—

"20th December 1832.

"The chagrin of the Minister at seeing all his own views as to this country proved fallacious is but a poor compensation to men whose fortunes are bound up with Ireland for the loss and annoyance to which the errors of Government have subjected them, and for the indefinite postponement of the right settlement of Irish affairs—if such settlement be now attainable.

"I will endeavour, as you suggest, to undeceive the willing dupes of those who so perseveringly misrepresent your acts and opinions; but from the many efforts I have already made in that way with but little success, I fear some new disease must expel that which now affects the public mind ere my opinions shall be attended to, when expressed in favour of one who should never need an apologist with the people of Ireland, but especially with the Catholics.

"In Kildare the clubs were on the point of succeeding in their search for a second Repeal candidate. Had such a person appeared, he would, I am confident, be returned with Ruthven."

In predicting, months previously, that Mr. Pat Lalor, a strong Repealer, would be Sir Henry's successor in the representation of Queen's County, Dr. Doyle displayed foresight. Later on the Bishop writes:—"Mr. Lalor gave me to understand he concurred in my wish, that no second Repeal candidate should be started; in which state of things I hoped his party would have been friendly to you, especially as the Catholic clergy, with very few, if any, exceptions, in this diocese would assist your return; but the more violent party, as I apprehended, prevailed; and though the present delusion may cease, the presumption and obstinacy of that party will increase." Mr. Lalor is remembered equally for his puns as for his patriotism. On one occasion, when Mr. Pease, M.P., and Mr. Baines entered the House together, Mr. Lalor exclaimed, "We are well off now, for here we have *pays* and *bains* at the same time!"

Dr. Doyle meanwhile did not neglect the visitation of his diocese. "During his progress from parish to parish," observes one of his clergy, "nothing could surpass the rigours of mind and body which he imposed upon himself; the minuteness with which he inquired into the performance of every pastoral function; the series of questions he proposed to us, and for each of which he demanded a distinct answer; the determination with which he insisted upon the removal of every abuse, of whatever description and wherever found; the efforts he made to dispel the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and to substitute the lights of pious and useful information in their stead; the schools which he exhorted and aided to establish; the parochial libraries he founded; the confraternities he instituted; the tenderness with which he regarded the flourishing religious communities subject to his care; the vigilance with which he upheld the fervour of their regular observance, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to extend them in number and utility. How well I remember the devotion with which the perusal of his beautiful pastorals inspired us—compositions dictated by the bowels of paternal solicitude, and as replete with all the graces of superior writing as they were affecting by the unction of tenderest piety and soundest doctrine, and memorable for their always useful and sometimes stupendous results."¹

Mr. Nicholas Aylward Vigors was a candidate for Carlow at this period. A Carlow man by birth, he had filled the office of secretary to the Zoological Society of London. Having written to apprise Dr. Doyle that the day appointed was at hand for registering his right to vote, the following reply came:

¹ [During this visitation the clergy received not a few fine admonitions. One priest, a great wag, for the purpose, as he said, "of drawing out Dr. Doyle," went to the window when a heavy shower was falling, and muttered with apparent distress, "O wirasthrue! what will become of my ten acres of hay?" In point of fact he had none.]

"CLONGOWES WOOD COLLEGE, 13th October 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I could not overcome the difficulty, amounting to repugnance, which I feel in going forward to a hustings ; and, if entitled to vote, I might not be able to resist the inclination to employ my suffrage in aid of a friend contending to support the public interests against those who mistake them.

"I have often declared my intention of not registering my title to vote for the town or county of Carlow, or for any other place ; and notice of registry has been served for me without my knowledge. I hope no inference prejudicial to you, or to the good cause you espouse, will be deduced from that notice, as the same freedom has been used with many other persons. . . .

"This desire which I cherish, of seeing you our representative, arises from the capacity with which I know you are gifted to take a useful part in the proceedings of any deliberative assembly ; and this is a talent rare and valuable, but especially necessary in the present and approaching times. Your political opinions are, moreover, the same as those which I myself entertain ; and these motives, together with your personal and hereditary virtues and connection with our town, as they have determined my judgment and most earnest wishes in your favour, so I hope they will influence in a like manner the constituency of Carlow."

Colonel Bruen was returned. It was a joke at Brookes's that Vigors need not have left the Zoological Gardens to see Bruen at the head of the poll.

[Mr. Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle, held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Grey's administration, and naturally felt most anxious as to the result of the elections—Dr. Doyle refers to Mr. Ruthven, and to Fr. Kearney, parish priest of Clane, while the allusions to Fr. Gerald Doyle have special interest after the correspondence that has preceded.

"CARLOW, 29th November 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I was honoured with your letter. Sir W. Hort's opponent in Kildare is a young man of extreme opinions, by the profession of which, and exceeding great activity in opposing the tithe system, he has secured the full confidence of the farming class in Kildare, so that none of the Catholic clergy, if so inclined, would feel it prudent to oppose him. Having ascertained the true state of opinion in Kildare, I lately, at a meeting of the clergy of that diocese, charged them not to interfere with the elections, or contribute in any manner or degree to the breaking up of those friendly relations which hitherto in that county had subsisted between the landlords and tenantry.

"I have not the least doubt but that my recommendation is attended to, except perhaps by two clergymen, one of whom has been since the New Reformation scheme at open enmity with Sir G. Aylmer, a near relation to Sir W. Hort. This priest is an obstinate and powerful man, a fierce opponent of those who differ from him, and who, being very distant from me, may act unknown to me and against my advice. The other is the most popular clergyman in the County Kildare, a Mr. Doyle at Naas, who is being prosecuted by Government for some supposed offence alleged against him by two policemen. The hatred, the execrations incurred by Government by this prosecution and their other priest-catching proceedings is inexplicable ; and I have no doubt this Mr. Doyle could, and perhaps would, be inclined to exclude from the representation of this county any man not avowedly an opponent of the Government. But even this man I have endeavoured to restrain, and though he will, I doubt not, aid efficiently the opponent of Sir William Hort, I think he will not take the field against the latter.

"I have entered into this detail to satisfy you as to my own conduct and wishes, and that you may clearly understand the position of the Catholic clergy in Kildare. Need I add that no man here can open his mouth in defence of the Irish Government, or of any one adhering to it?"

The result of the various elections in Dr. Doyle's diocese is gleaned from a letter addressed to his niece :—

"CARLOW, 17th December 1832.

"MY DEAR MARY,—I must begin by requesting that you will never omit writing to me through an apprehension of encroaching on my time, or through the strange notion you are sometimes haunted with, that I could be displeased at anything you would write.

"You and all our friends in Wexford and Ross were constantly in my thoughts whilst the cholera raged among you. I seldom wished more that my prayers were worthy of being heard than when I ventured to beg of God to turn away from us so awful a visitation of His mercy and justice. We have been more favoured than we had any reason to hope. I wish we may not be of those who fear God and serve Him whilst His scourge is felt, but become tepid or wicked when the scourge is removed.

"I am exceedingly grieved at the course your Bishop and so many of his clergy lately entered upon. It is a misfortune to mistake the right mode of acting ; and this misfortune in his case is aggravated by the change in his conduct being produced,

not by his own good sense, but by external pressure of the kind you mention. His authority, thus weakened, must become less efficient for good purposes.¹

"I suppose the election of your county members will be made ere this reaches you. I wish and hope earnestly that the former representatives may be again elected. The opposition raised against them appears to me silly and factious. I should regret it from whatever quarter proceeding; but I deplore that it should have originated and been carried on by persons of my own profession. But these evils must occur in our present state, and I trust, dear Mary, you will learn with me to bear them patiently, and not be led to judge others severely, whose intentions may be as pure as our own, though misdirected by error or passion, from which none of us are exempt. I am, however, delighted that all our friends have thought and acted so well. Tell John, and also R. Devereux, how much their conduct has gratified me. In this town our popular member has just had a most splendid chairing, after a severe contest with a Conservative. Another contest—but for the county—will commence to-morrow. I have taken no share in it, except to preserve united the Liberal interest; which requires no great exertion, as our people, attached to O'Connell and all his whims, prefer the councils of those who hitherto were accustomed to advise them. The adverse party is, however, very strong, and though Mr. Blackney's return is secure, that of Mr. Wallace is doubtful. My two friends, Sir H. Parnell and More O'Ferrall, in the adjoining counties, are in great danger of losing their election, for though Mr. O'Connell abstained from denouncing them, the Repealers object to them. I believe I could have secured the return of both, but to do so I should engage in a war of words, which I dislike exceedingly."

During the general election of this year, thirty-five members pledged to support "Repeal" were returned.

A more than ordinarily severe assault of the disease against which the Bishop had been battling prostrated him now for some weeks. Yet on Sunday, 27th of January, we find him advocating, in Francis

[¹ This strange allusion to the Bishop of Ferns led us to ask Canon Roche, P. P., Wexford, for an explanation. "In 1832," he writes, "I was curate to Dr. Keating, and thus had an opportunity of knowing his sentiments and acts. A warm disciple of O'Connell's, he was very active in his endeavours to procure Repeal candidates to stand for the County Wexford. In this his Lordship did not succeed at that time—1832. However, in 1834, about the period of Dr. Doyle's death, the Bishop, clergy and people returned Cadwallador Waddy as a Repealer as against Mr. Harvey, who then came forward as opposed to Repeal. In the following January 1835, the same power, by exertion, returned two Repealers, Maher and Power, for the County Wexford by a majority of 850. "In 1832 Dr. Doyle was not fond of Daniel O'Connell nor of the Repeal agitation. He expressed his anxiety for the return of two anti-Repeal candidates, particularly that of Mr. Henry Lambert for his native County of Wexford." Letter dated December 9, 1879.]

Street Chapel, Dublin, the claims of ninety female orphans. On the 21st of February he again addresses Mary :—

“Your faithful messenger delivered here yesterday your store of good things, by which it would appear you intend that my spirits shall not fail me. Were you not so abundant in the things of this world, I should rebuke you for your generosity to me, who have so little need of it. I suppose you have been alarmed at my illness. It is passing away, and I am gradually recovering my strength. If I be not subdued by the Lent (though I intend not to fast, and the abstinence now is of small account), no doubt I shall revive again.”

The pains which had recently tormented Dr. Doyle sharpened his sympathy for the sufferings of others. He writes to another niece :—

“CARLOW, 22d February 1833.

“MY DEAR KATE,—I was very glad to hear from you, and to know that the Rev. Mr. O’—— is about to be restored for some time longer to his health and friends. Of all those who regret his pains or sympathise with him in his sufferings, we should be the first, as we always enjoyed the advantage of his special friendship and affectionate regard. Pay him a visit for me; tell him how much I lamented his illness, and how I rejoice at the prospect of his recovery; for though I hope his demise, whenever it may occur, will be only a removal to a happy life, still I cannot but wish that his stay in this world may be somewhat more prolonged. It is well that you have not been visited by the cholera, which has kept us in a state of alarm for several months. How are all your little ones? When you write to me, dear Kate, you must change your mode of address; what you use is too stiff and school-like. You must be familiar and easy and affectionate when writing or conversing with me; so begin your letters with ‘My dear Uncle,’ and end them in the same way; and do not think of how or what you write, but set down everything that comes into your head, as a child tells a story to a father.”

[In a similar vein he addresses a young lady, a ward of his, who from being a Protestant had become a postulante with the Sisters of Charity :—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is now night and I am quite alone, and I have just thought of writing to you in reply to your bundle of letters which were handed to me on Sunday last. Those which I did not understand I gave to your friend Mrs. Breen, and that to Walter I have not yet delivered. I really feel quite distressed at Mrs. Aikenhead taking any trouble about this desk of mine, for, however dear it may be to me, there is no reason why she

should be exercising her charity towards it ; but then there is such a profession of that virtue about your house that, like our Redeemer, she can extend it even to the house of Israel.¹ I wish you would exert yourself to convince her how truly and how greatly I feel indebted to her ; but half your energies are wasted, and you do not exercise yourself as you used to do ; at least I fear so, and apprehend very much that if you do not act with more confidence you will not be half so happy, nor half so useful to your neighbour, nor even so acceptable to God as you might be. Your last letter was quite a heap of disorder, and though I long since gave you a license to write as you pleased, and make due allowance for the hurry in which you write, still there is much wanted of what I expected of you—that composure of spirit which bespeaks the happy simplicity of our thoughts, and shows confidence and affection without intending to do so : you will not be displeased, my dear Hannah ; you know I have never for a moment been dissatisfied with you, and if I seem to blame you now it is that you may always keep your mind at ease in calmness and serenity, and when writing to me to make your letter the business of an hour, to tell me of your health, of the peace or trouble you feel, of your progress in the virtues of your state ; for who can feel so great an interest in these things as I do ? and then something which may amuse you to mention, and which I may be pleased to hear. It is thus that children are taught to write letters, and your being in a convent should perhaps induce you to change the manner and subject, but not the candour and fulness of yours. Religious should not have a thought which they would not willingly expose to their superiors ; and, undoubtedly, you will not have any which you would not be glad to communicate to me.”

A vast number of letters addressed to Miss Gurley the nun, were destroyed some years since by her own desire. The following accidentally escaped that fate :—

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am always gratified on hearing from you, and though sometimes a negligent correspondent, at present I am most exact, for I write this on the same day that your letter has reached me. It is, my dear Hannah, a great blessing to be exempt, as you are, from any vice, for we have within us the seeds of them all ; you will never be blamed by the Almighty as not being ‘ hot or cold ; ’ your ardour is a most happy disposition, for after carrying you through a world of trials and temptations, I am confident it will settle at length into a well-regulated temperate zeal for the glory of the Lord and your own salvation. At present

¹ Mrs. Aikenhead was the foundress, in another diocese, of the Order of Charity.

an habitual timidity is operating upon your mind, and it is but just to suppose that the old serpent who never sleeps is seeking to turn it to his own purpose, but do you resist him, being strong in faith, knowing in whom you have believed, and being certain that He is powerful to preserve your body and soul against the day when He will judge you. We have all sinned, we have done evil, we are not worthy to look to heaven, nor do we put forward our justice, but we trust in those mercies which are without number, and which the Lord remembers even when He is angry. He makes no distinction of time or sin, however we may have lived or abused His grace, but He says, 'On whatsoever day the sinner is converted, all his iniquities I will not remember.' Surely He is not made a partaker of our sins when He associates with us, nor obscured by our darkness; He is light and there is no darkness in Him, and when He calls home the prodigal it is to place upon him the first state, not remembering all his iniquities. Leave all your past sins to Him, that when He comes to judge and you are found amongst His elect your faults may proclaim His mercy to the world. It would be better you had never offended Him; it would be better Adam had not fallen, but yet the Church calls his a happy fault, '*felix culpa*,' because it produced in some manner the coming of Christ and the work of redemption. So God from our miseries builds a temple to His own honour. Your confession has left you nothing to amend or fill up in the way of examination, turn to it only by a general reflection that you had done evil, and hence you may indulge compunction, gratitude, love, but above all, humility. The small occurrences which disturbed your peace were not such as ought to produce that effect; as soon as you corrected what you thought was wrong God forgave whatever of offence, if any, there was in it. So you should have thought and proceeded as if it never had occurred, for it is to what is before and not what is past the Apostle teaches us to extend our thoughts; if out of your trouble and affliction of spirit there should grow a settled habit of humility and devotion, all would be well; but if you indulge anxiety about yourself, no matter how self obtrudes, you will not be in peace, nor will you be secure, however fervent, for a single day. I beseech of you, my dear Hannah, whom I esteem with the most sincere affection, be not solicitous about yourself, or about any person or thing, but how to please God by doing the duties, and observing with fidelity the rules, of your state and the virtues which the vows you hope to make bind you to practise; live with ease and freedom under God as in the house of your father, and do not feel diffident with Him though you may have often been disobedient. He knows of what He

made you, and has numbered all your steps, and the more graces He has lavished on you the more valuable and dear to Him you are. I hope to see you all in June, and to settle with Rev. Mother about the profession of yourself and dear Teresa. She mentioned to me, when I was last at Maryborough, some notions of her old project. I shall not oppose any obstacle to them, and if I can reconcile your holy profession with the possibility of your being hereafter employed in the service of the poor abroad—but this is a matter which I beg of you to leave to the Almighty God and to me. Ah! my dear child, to leave things to Providence is sometimes to tempt God, I don't say at all it was so in that case, but that is oftener the language of the sluggard than the saint. Providence has regulated so that we, by our free agency, fulfil its designs. 'Teach me to do Thy will, for Thou art my God,' is the prayer of the saint, but none of them have said I will leave it to Providence. Believe me, &c.

✠ J. DOYLE."]

Pope Gregory XVI. had just announced a jubilee. Dr. Doyle, in March 1833, promulgated the news to his flock, declaring that the Father of the Faithful had unlocked the spiritual treasures confided to his dispensation, and had exhorted his children to go and enrich their souls for heaven. "Is there a heart among us, that will not yield to the call of a fond parent that willing obedience which the concurring motives of filial affection, the glory of God, the welfare of His Church, and the dearest interests of our own souls, contribute to inspire?"

Dr. Doyle was a very rigorous ecclesiastic; and the jubilee tended to weaken his own legislation for extreme cases. But we find him, nevertheless, proclaiming the advantages of the great privilege, "to afford to sinners every possible facility of returning in this acceptable time to the bosom of mercy; the most ample powers, with respect to censures and reserved cases, are granted to all approved confessors: so that when once the penitent is truly converted, he may select among all the confessors approved of by the Ordinary the individual of his preference, and unbosom to him his spiritual miseries, how grievous soever they may be, without incurring the risk of being referred by him to any higher authority." Dr. Doyle never wrote more impressively than in this pastoral so little known. "Approach, then, the sacred tribunal, but do so in that true spirit of interior repentance, without which your confession would be little better than a mockery, and your absolution, instead of being an instrument of pardon, would add the new crime of sacrilege to your former guilt."

He laid down the conditions by which the jubilee was to be

obtained, including a strict fast. "But let not your fast degenerate into a mere form. Let it be such as to evince the horror which you feel for sin. Let it punish corrupt nature for its rebellion against God; and let it weaken those criminal passions which will expose you incessantly to new miseries if you do not, like St. Paul, 'bring them into subjection' (1 Cor. ix. 27)."

[On his visitations he manifested to the end, the same characteristics of manner that had marked an earlier day. "When I was appointed to Tullow, with two assistant curates," writes Fr. Thomas Nolan, "I found the parish a prey to drunkenness and other vices, which so relaxed in their grasp under the rule of Dr. Doyle that it has now become a model of piety, morality, and discipline. Once, when the parishioners declined to abide by a regulation he had made as regards a gallery in the chapel, he said, 'I will come with a rod of iron, and an arm of malediction.' But the same priest adds, "That at conferences when a rebuke was expected, paternal words came often instead." To a stubborn old priest named Hart—his senior by near half a century—he said, during a theological discussion, "Pray sir, where is your book?" "I have none," was the reply, and what is more, I do not mean to get one." Here he gave a sort of grunt. "Are you not well?" asked the Bishop mildly. "No," "A month at the seaside might serve you." "But I can't afford to go." "If you will accept £10 from me," said Dr. Doyle, "it is heartily at your service."

"Be indulgent to the timid; affable with the cheerful; be patient and humble to the froward," wrote Dr. Doyle in dedicating his catechism to the Society of the Christian Doctrine. The same principle guided him very much in his intercourse with men. A priest named Clancy found himself unexpectedly called upon to solve a syllogism, and in his confusion addressed his Bishop as "Mr. Doyle," instead of "my Lord." "Try and be better prepared next time," was the gentle rebuke.¹]

We have already noticed Dr. Doyle's wonderful popularity as a conversationalist. This success was not owing to what has been styled "the sovereign gift of making everybody pleased with him-

[¹ Fr. Nolan adds an anecdote which, had we known it sooner, should have been inserted among the events of the year 1850. One of the first conferences revived by Dr. Doyle (*vide* vol. i. p. 107), was held at Robertstown. Fr. Nolan when entering the appointed place of meeting, was loudly accosted by an old "P.P.," the Rev. Mr. Higgins, with "This new Bishop of ours is, I hear, a terrible fellow." "By no means," replied Fr. Nolan, "as you will see," saying which he presented him to a young ecclesiastic at his elbow, who laughed heartily at the incident, and expressed himself much pleased to make his acquaintance. It was Dr. Doyle himself. Soon after, observing that Fr. Nolan looked very delicate, the Bishop said, "I will send you as curate to Myshall (his family lived there), that you may enjoy the advantage of your mother's care." The Rev. Thomas Nolan is now (1879) in his eighty-eighth year. When Dr. Doyle made this wise arrangement for his recovery he was spitting blood and speeding heavenward.]

self and drawing out all minds," or to the ready tact which some men have of catching the tone of their companion's thoughts. Such arts Dr. Doyle held in contempt ; he was all candour—he thought aloud, and was sometimes almost Johnsonian in his roughness. In conducting Canon P—— through the new church at Carlow the Bishop asked him if he knew much about architecture. "Not a great deal, my Lord." "Indeed, I believe so," was the rejoinder. Fr. Cooper, a chatty, fussy little man, having talked and laughed too much at table, Dr. Doyle said, "I should strongly recommend you, Mr. Cooper, to apply a few leeches to your temples !" There must have been something very fascinating in Dr. Doyle's conversation to render it popular in the teeth of such drawbacks. And yet the men to whom he addressed these and other sarcasms are the warmest in his praise. "Never," writes Bishop Leahy, "did I meet an individual whose conversational powers I had so much reason to admire." "There was a simplicity and strength in his conversation," observes Bishop Clancy, "which is generally the mark of great genius. The character of the man was easily gathered from his conversation, frequently rising to sublimity, and never descending to mediocrity."

In January 1833, O'Connell made a most successful appeal to the people. He touched a chord in their heart which vibrated passionately and proudly. In unfolding his plan for the organisation of Irish Volunteers, he awakened the glorious traditions of '82, and the chivalrous spirit of the Dungannon Resolutions. "The patriotism of armed citizens and the Legislative independence of Ireland," became the popular watchword. The idea was taken up with enthusiasm, and a liberal response to the appeal for funds to sustain the monster organisation was made. This new plan of agitation, writes Mr. Fagan, M.P., "terrified Ministers." Many counties were already in a state of agrarian insurrection, and it needed but the breath of a powerful leader to blow all Ireland into a blaze. "Our present effort may be only the squibbing of a gun," said O'Connell ; "by the next the shot will be completed. It may now be but the flash in the pan ; we shall yet have a light and a report." The latter phrase would seem to bear two meanings. Did O'Connell allude to a "Report" from the House of Commons recommending a Repeal of the Union ?

[Some of the angry forces let loose by O'Connell, finding Repeal, with which they strove to grapple, merely a phantom, took a bad turn, and to the dismay of O'Connell himself proceeded to wreak their fury in acts of savage violence. Lord Grey showed in the House of Lords that between January 1st and December 31st, 9000 crimes had been committed.]

A system of terrorism prevailed in many places, which no Government could permit to continue unchecked. Witnesses were intimidated from giving evidence, and jurors from bringing in verdicts of guilty. Assassinations daily occurred, and notwithstanding that rewards, to the amount of £12,000, had been offered during several previous months for the apprehension of the perpetrators, two only of the rewards had been claimed. The ordinary process of the law had failed to arrest the monster evil. O'Connell exerted his influence and eloquence to check it, but in vain; and although the Coercion Bill received severe condemnation at the time, we cannot help thinking—viewing the time historically—that some extraordinary powers were necessary for the preservation of life and property. "Think," exclaimed Peel, "of 196 murders in one year! Why, you have gained glorious victories with less loss of life. But it is not the fatal hour of that death which is most terrible; it is the wasting misery of suspense—the agony of expectation; it is listening for weeks and months to every nightly sound, lest it be the fatal knell that is to summon a whole family to destruction."

"The Whitefeet outrages," observes Bishop Clancy, "afflicted Dr. Doyle beyond conception; his spirit appeared broken within him when he casually referred to them in private conversation. There can be no doubt entertained by those who knew him that the conduct of those unfortunate victims of that rural insurrection contributed to shorten his career, by inflicting on his sensitive and religious heart the deepest anguish and most painful anticipations."

The King's speech in 1833 strongly recommended measures of coercion for Ireland, and declared an unalterable determination to maintain the Legislative Union. O'Connell having pronounced this to be a "brutal and bloody speech," Lord John Russell moved that his words be taken down. The Coercion Bill was introduced by Earl Grey, and met with a hurricane of opposition from the Repeal members. O'Connell denounced it for four hours. Some of the English Liberal members co-operated with him. At Birmingham a meeting was held to resist the bill. The struggle was a desperate one. Lord Althorpe declared that the Government would stand or fall by its success.

It will no doubt surprise many to find Dr. Doyle sanctioning the Coercion Bill. Writing to H. Lambert, Esq., M.P., 1st March 1833, he says:—"If, however, we are not to have good government or wise laws—and I see no prospect of either—I prefer Lord Grey's bill to any other less despotic measure. If we are to be subjected to a despotism, let it be the despotism of gentlemen,

though but twenty-one years of age, not of the brutal *canaille* composing the Trades' Unions and Blackfeet confederacies. The honest and industrious people of this country will suffer less and prosper more under the iron rule of the constituted authorities—let these be whom they may—than under the yoke of the impious and seditious, who now torment them and drive them into all manner of folly and excess. I have not busied myself in examining the details of Lord Grey's bill. It is complete in its kind. There is no use in softening it. Let the terror of its intolerable severity prevent the necessity of enforcing it, but where enforced, let it go forth unrestrained. I have been very unwell, and am as yet scarcely better. I do not think the ills of the country affect me, for my health has been declining these last three years."¹

[Moore's Diary of April the 9th, 1833, records a strange conversation with O'Connell. In talking of the Coercion Bill, and the feeling of the House of Commons towards Ireland, he said, "I am now convinced that Repeal won't do, and that it must be separation!"

Mr. Hill, M.P., stated at this time that some of the Irish Members who denounced the Coercion Bill in the House, had privately expressed to the Government satisfaction at its renewal. O'Connell, and thirty other members wrote to Mr. Hill to ask if they had been referred to; and received a negative in reply. Letters and leaders appeared in the popular press, headed "Who is the Traitor?" At last Mr. Sheil put a question to Lord Althorpe in Parliament, which elicited the reply, "The honourable member is one of them!" Sheil denied it in solemn terms: and lest a hostile meeting should result, both were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. Dr. Doyle, writing to Mr. Lambert, expresses "pity for the position in which poor Sheil was placed." An inquiry was held; Hill called witnesses; but Macaulay refused to speak. With great emotion Hill held out his hand to Sheil, and the committee came to a sudden end by acquitting him.]

The bill was carried by 446 to 89. The proportions on the third reading were 345 to 86. O'Connell was filled with strong indignation and bitter disappointment. One of the old Repeal members tells us, "When the Coercion Bill passed, he said to me, with hand clenched and lips compressed, 'Ah, England!

¹ Mr. Lambert writes:—"It is among the most highly-valued recollections of my life that I was honoured by his friendship. I revered Bishop Doyle as a distinguished and exemplary ecclesiastic, and looked up to him as a consummate statesman. Dr. Doyle was a century in advance of his generation; he was, therefore, misunderstood and misrepresented. I fear that our public have not yet, by any means, come up to the level of his ideas." [And in a subsequent letter he writes:—"Your book has fortified my conviction that Dr. Doyle lived in an age unworthy of such a man, and to which he was in every respect immeasurably superior."]

would that I were justified in raising the standard of revolt against you.’”

It was not so easy to foil O’Connell. In a public letter he writes :—“I feel the awful duty imposed on me by the Volunteers. I will endeavour to perform it honestly at least, if not well. I mean to take up in detail the necessary agitation in each county in Ireland. Our enemies shall not triumph over the people, nor put down the popular sentiment.”

As a set-off to the measure of Coercion, a bill for the reduction of Irish bishoprics from twenty-two to twelve was introduced. Sheil and others were of opinion that the Lords would throw out the bill, and thus occasion a resignation of Ministers ; but acting under the advice of the Duke of Wellington—who previously had declared his intention of never again entering the Upper House if Reform should pass—their Lordships decided in favour of the measure by a majority of 59.

Notwithstanding this important reform the Government became still more unpopular. “The run for gold in Ireland,” writes Raikes, “is becoming more serious, and the value of property there is falling.” Early in April the last shred of Lord Anglesey’s popularity was shattered by placing Kilkenny under martial law, and suppressing in Dublin the formidable society of Irish Volunteers. The Viceroy having, however, advised mitigations of the bill next year, Lord Grey, holding a different view, resigned.

O’Connell had once more recourse to epistolary agitation. Letter after letter fell from his pen, and by a special arrangement the newspapers containing them were distributed gratuitously throughout the country. The brevity of his paragraphs, the pith of his sentences, the emphasis of their expression, and the singular clearness of his meaning, made his letters intelligible to the rudest minds. Some village peasant, whose education had rendered him superior to his fellows, would read aloud to them these soul-stirring effusions ; and thus the system of agitation received no serious check. It was in the letters which followed the Coercion Bill that O’Connell first applied to the Whigs the epithet “base, bloody, and brutal.”

In the midst of this excitement Dr. Doyle left Ireland with a presentiment that his death was not distant. [Previous to his departure he addressed, on April 21, 1833, a hurried line to Fr. Martin Doyle :—“I returned to Carlow this evening, after a week’s excursion which has not contributed to the improvement of my health. I am anxious to leave home forthwith, lest delay should disable me to move ; so, if convenient, come to me, and say as little as possible of your excursion.”]

To an early correspondent he gives an account of his ills and adventures :—

“HARROGATE, 12th May 1833.

“MY DEAR CLARE,—I bought this long paper a week since for the purpose of writing to you—and through you to all anxious and inquisitive friends—a journal of my travels since I left home. We arrived in Dublin at six o'clock on the day of our departure, and established ourselves in St. Stephen's Green with an old gentleman, who had been all but raised from the dead by bleeding, hot water, hippo-lozenges, and the skill and attention of Dr. M——. His civilities to me were most acceptable, and rendered less painful a very bad evening and night spent under his care.

“In the morning I crept out and breakfasted with Mr. Tench, his family, and the Bishop of Ossory. After breakfast, and some laughter, Dr. Kinsella and I set out for my hotel. On the way we fell in with Dr. Nolan and Fr. Martin Doyle; and these three gentlemen thought proper to carry me, bound hands and feet, to Dr. Colles's house, where I was placed for a time among the lame, blind, and miserable of all kinds who waited the advice of this second Esculapius. I was in a little time ushered in, and, in presence of the two doctors, the Bishop, and the priest, delivered, in a neat speech, the history of all my diseases. I was listened to with great attention, and then called on to answer certain interrogatories, as you question a child who has incurred the suspicion of not properly conducting herself, or attending as she ought to the admonitions of her parents or the nuns. When this had passed I was permitted to withdraw, and, when recalled, very gravely told I should do half a dozen things which I would not; however, I acquiesced in all that was said to me, and departed to my hotel, where I continued very ill until three o'clock. At this hour I seated myself in Mr. Tench's chaise, with my trunks, and Mr. Doyle, and a full determination to do nothing of what the doctors had advised, but to follow my own will, which, when God directs, I do rightly, but when directed by others generally conducts me into some devious path.

“We embarked on board the ‘Etna’ steam-packet at five o'clock. I went to bed at eight; and, without much rest but less of sickness, arrived in Liverpool at half-past four on the following morning. We breakfasted at six, to the great annoyance of a poor housemaid, who prepared it for us with her eyes half closed from sleep. We were next removed into an omnibus—a sort of long gingle or covered car, which collects all descriptions of travellers and sets them down in Lime Street, at the railroad to

Manchester. From this point we started at seven, and in two hours travelled thirty-eight miles; arrived at Manchester at nine o'clock, and then stepped into the mail-coach about proceeding to Leeds (forty-seven miles), where we dined as best we could, being Friday; rested, and at nine o'clock started for this place. In twenty-four hours we thus travelled 221 miles. I was nearly exhausted; they bathed my feet and gave me a good bed, where I slept rather soundly. On Saturday we arose and breakfasted, and found ourselves in the outskirts of the town, encompassed by bogs, morasses, and all the miseries of a country on which the sun never seemed to have shed a genial ray. I sat musing over my misfortunes—sent for a Dr. Richardson to talk with me on the waters of Harrogate, at the expense of a guinea, while Mr. Doyle proceeded to engage lodgings in Cornwall House, where we now are—a front drawing-room with two lodging-rooms (small size), at two guineas per week; our food being cooked, fires and all so forth given to us, and our host a worthy Irishman from Armagh. An Irish family are lodged in the same house, and improve our society—or rather occasionally interrupt our solitude. For a week after our establishment here the weather continued cold and boisterous. Mr. Doyle caught cold; it brought on a feverish rheumatism, from which, after ten days' suffering, he is only recovered. During the severe weather I proceeded from bad to worse, and became so feeble as to scarcely be able to remain a few hours in the twenty-four out of bed or off the sofa. The spa when taken in the morning relaxes me; and as a bath afforded no refreshment, I resolved to desist from the sulphurated water and betake myself to the chalybeate mixture of iron and salts. This, with the fine weather for the last week, has made me suffer less, and I think there are about me some symptoms of improvement, which, if I had not felt, or imagined I felt, I would leave this on to-morrow for Cheltenham; but I will now remain for a week, and then decide whether to continue or remove.

"Let no person write to me or expect a letter from me; but do you publish this—not in the newspapers, but by all the wise and unwise people you meet with, and when I am in good-humour I will send you a second despatch.

"We hired a chaise, and drove three miles to Knaresborough to hear Mass on the first Sunday we were here. The clergyman, who dined with us two days, was exceedingly civil, and lent us vestments; and Mr. Doyle has providentially been able to celebrate Mass for us this day and last Sunday in our own apartment. The fens and morasses I mentioned are on one side only

of Harrogate; in all other directions the country is most picturesque—hills, valleys, fertile fields, plantations, and all that perfection of agriculture which distinguishes this country. *All* the people are the most civil and obliging you can imagine. The great bulk of them are Dissenters; they are as hostile as you are in Ireland to the Established Church, and hate the tithes as cordially as we do. I am an object of curiosity to many of them, and the kindness I meet with from them is very gratifying.

"The meat here is excellent; the bread tolerably good; the ale better—but I long for it, and cannot drink it; the vegetables bad, and the butter execrable: different women have been put in requisition to make it for me—but they all failed; it is abominable—I suppose owing to the quality of the soil and herbage.

"The sulphurated spa springs up in the centre of Lower Harrogate; it emits a putrid effluvia, which is felt as you approach the well and when you drink the water; but it becomes by use less and less offensive. The whole vicinity abounds in different mineral waters, and those of opposite qualities are found to spring up within a few yards of each other. That which I now take is encompassed with beautiful pleasure grounds, and is dealt out by an old deaf sybil of a woman, with whom I hold long conversations, whilst she details the merits of the waters and the history of visitors who, for the last half-century, have profited by their use. There are four-wheel carriages here for hire, drawn each by two asses—they are delightful vehicles; and myriads of asses with saddles, for ladies to ride upon. If I remain here I shall get one of those donkeys and ride on a side-saddle; I may be stared at for a day—but the English people don't wonder long at anything.

"I think, my dear Clare, you are now satisfied with your old friend; continue your prayers for him. Remember me affectionately to each of the dear nuns, and to the clergymen."

The minds of the Bishop's family and friends were alternately buoyed with hope or depressed by gloom, as conflicting accounts of his health—all from apparently reliable sources—continued to reach Ireland. Dr. Richardson of Harrogate, addressing the Bishop's niece, writes:—"During his sojourn of three weeks here, the Bishop occasionally made a cautious trial of the water, without, I am sorry to say, experiencing much benefit. I believe he will likewise visit Cheltenham, and will probably make the tour of the watering-places; but I much doubt whether any of them will do him any good. I am very sorry that I cannot make

a more favourable report of my patient ; the most I dare venture to say is, that I do not think he lost ground whilst here."

The Rev. M. Doyle, writing to the same lady from Leamington, observes :—"We quitted Harrogate on the 17th, and arrived here on the 22d of May. Had we stopped three weeks longer at the former place the consequences might have been serious, as all its waters disagreed with his Lordship. He has got under the care of Dr. Jephson, who has discovered his complaint, and under whom he is doing well. We have no doubt of his recovery now ; it is only quite lately we could say so. We hope to be in Dublin on St. John's Day. We feel quite pleasant here since the Bishop's improvement. Our hours are varied very much ; there is often quite a levee here of earls, lords, and ladies. I must confess the English are equally attentive as the Irish. Communicate the glad tidings to our friends. It is more, indeed, than his nearest friends had anticipated. For some of the time he was greatly debilitated, and would have gone home to die if he were not confident that I would not leave his bones in this land."

It may truly be said that doctors differ and patients die. Dr. Overden observes : "I met Dr. Doyle at Leamington. I never saw a man in whose face and gait death is so sadly discernible."

He rallied nevertheless. "Well," he said triumphantly on reaching Dublin, "I have escaped from the thief, and I did not leave my bones in heretic England, after all !"

This reaction, however, would again give place to a wretched depression of mind and body. Dr. Furlong, who had been his preceptor, writes :—"In 1833, I went to Carlow, and spent four days with him. He was then very infirm—indeed, nearly prostrate all the time. However, he rallied on two occasions, and spoke on one of them particularly with all the clearness and vigour he could have done ten years before. During my stay he informed me his life had been a martyrdom during the four years previous. This was in August, the year before he died. He playfully alluded to a warm discussion on the subject of exclusive salvation, which we had many years before, and added that he feared there was not much chance of our deciding it that side of the grave."

[Dr. Doyle was so ill this summer that he found himself unable to attend the meeting of the Board at Maynooth ; but he sent a letter strongly recommending that Mr., afterwards Archbishop Slattery, should be elected president, which was done.¹ This

¹ [A not uninteresting chapter might be written descriptive of Dr. Doyle's visits to Maynooth. Canon Roche writes to us under date, December 4, 1879 :—"At a thesis of the Dunboyne class, in presence of bishops, superiors, professors, and students, his Grace, Dr. Mc Hale, who had long been the professor of dogmatic theology, expressed an opinion different from that advanced by Dr. Slevin, the then rector of the Dunboyne

appointment, as appears from the minutes of the Board, bears date "June 19, 1833," and was made to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. Crotty's resignation.¹]

Archbishop Murray attributed the premature break up of Dr. Doyle's constitution to his superhuman labours. "Ah!" he said, "the activity of my dear friend's mind has worn out his body." This mental anxiety underwent no diminution; the Bishop's mind grew stronger and stronger, while his bodily strength became weaker every day. The veins of his forehead would swell with indomitable thought, and the brain surge anxiously beneath, as ideas, which he had no longer an opportunity of enforcing, crowded forward. It may be said that his thoughts ought to have been fixed feverishly on eternity, but Dr. Doyle had too long communed with his Divine Master to shudder at the contemplation of an event which had been ever foremost in his mind, and to the consummation of which his pure life and secret aspirations had long taught him to look forward tranquilly. He prayed much, but it was easy to see that his patriotic heart had still its political anxieties. He was the dying gladiator of the arena as well as the dying Christian who had fought the good fight, and he could not sink into the grave without casting a lingering look behind.

class. Dr. Mc'Hale said that it would be unworthy of the attributes of God to accept of human sacrifices as a general system of public worship; but that it would not be unworthy of His attributes to accept of a human sacrifice on an extraordinary occasion, for the manifestation of His power and some extraordinary good. Dr. Slevin, on the other hand, said his opinion was 'That in no case whatever, no matter how extraordinary, could God, consistently with His attributes, accept of a human sacrifice.' Dr. Doyle stood up and said, 'The opinion of Dr. Slevin is more in accordance with our natural feelings than that of Dr. Mc'Hale. The opinion of Dr. Mc'Hale, however, is more in conformity with the words of Almighty God, expressed in the twenty-second chapter of the book of Genesis. God said to Abraham, "Tolle filium tuum unigenitum quem diliges Isaac et, offeres eum in holocaustum super unum montium quem monstravero tibi . . . per monet ipsum juravi quia fecisti hanc rem et non peperisti filio tuo unigenito propter me Benedicam tibi et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terrae quia obedisti voci meo."'

Dr. Doyle did not read this passage, but quoted it from memory and with extraordinary emphasis, and then drew his conclusion that as God ordered Abraham to offer his son Isaac in sacrifice, He could therefore have permitted him to execute the order."

It seems to us that Canon Roche—the only person now living who was present, unless Dr. Mc'Hale,—has failed to retain a recollection of the main argument employed on the occasion. But probably its chief aim was to strike the logical distinction between what theologians call accidental and essential glory.

It may be added that conflicting sectaries have sought to derive authority from this passage in Genesis—some holding that the command to immolate Isaac justified human sacrifice; and others arguing to an opposite effect, because God did not permit it to be performed.]

¹ [Letter of the Very Rev. Archdeacon Lee, Secretary to the Board, December 22, 1879.]

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Repeal agitation again postponed by O'Connell—Letters to a friar and to a nun—Preface to the "Lives of the Saints"—Retires from the political arena—Projects foiled by death—His treatise on matrimony—Letters to Mariana and Bishop O'Connor—He avails himself of every remission of suffering to discharge his visitation—Presents an affecting spectacle—Powerful effect of his sermons—Incident at Stradbally—Love for little children—What he said at the Synod—His achievements in the confessional—The travelling showmen—Anecdote—Correspondence with Thomas Moore—Lord John Russell—Anecdotes—Fatuity of the people in thirsting for disorder—Repeal revived—Richard Barrett—Letter to Mr. Lambert, M.P.—Incident at Kildare—A political revelation—Cautious reception of a visitor—Correspondence with nuns and nieces—Letter to the Right Hon. R. More O'Ferrall, M.P.

EARLY in the year 1832, as will be remembered, O'Connell greatly distressed Dr. Doyle by relinquishing his advocacy of a legal provision for the poor, and substituting in its stead the Repeal agitation. "My poor law," said O'Connell, "is a Repeal of the Union." An incident occurred in June 1833, which led Dr. Doyle to hope that the great Tribune was about to abandon the pursuit of Repeal, and concentrate the energies of the country on the poor law and tithe questions. A meeting was held by the Irish Repeal members, in which the propriety of postponement or immediate discussion of Repeal was debated. A division followed, when, owing to O'Connell's earnestly expressed desire for postponement, a large majority appeared in favour of that move. His organ, the "Pilot," also promoted the policy of postponement. It denounced immediate discussion of the Repeal as most injurious to the national cause, and called it a desperate experiment.

Dr. Doyle's hopes proved vain, and O'Connell's hostility to the poor laws continued as unwavering as before, while the Bishop's anxiety for Ireland fed the disease which now depressed his energies and chilled his hopes. To Bishop O'Connor he writes :—

"CARLOW, 3^d July 1833.

"Though I have almost lost my usual facility of writing, I cannot omit acknowledging your exceeding kindness to me, not in your letter only, but in providing me with the very rare commodity—good chocolate. I hope soon to feast at your expense. During the pressure of my illness nothing gave me so much uneasiness and pain of mind as the over-solicitude of my friends, exhibited in their visits or ill-timed letters to myself or others. I rejoice exceedingly that you did not add to this pain, as you would have

greatly done, by visiting me either here or in England. All my convictions, whether arising from reason or religion, condemn useless manifestations of sympathy or solicitude about life or death, and though in this respect I but badly correspond to the interest felt for me, I am unable to divest myself of it or of any part of it.

"In enumerating the advantages and delightful influences of Cove, you omit the eternal rains with which it favours those who resort to it, except in these few months, when people do not draw near the fire but retire from it. I believe, for persons affected with pulmonary complaints or nervous affections, it may, with all its rains and tempests, be the choicest winter residence in Ireland; in the summer heats an open coast is preferable. I hope one day to revisit what you so justly call my 'dear South,' but will not at present avail myself of the blessings of Cove.

"Wheresoever I am, or in whatsoever state of health, I remain your faithful and affectionate friend,
✠ J. DOYLE."

Although writing, from being a pleasure, had now become a drudgery, his purely charitable correspondence continued without interruption. The following note was intended for the perusal of two sisters, Catherine and Ellen H—, who had long been under his spiritual direction :—

"MY DEAR CHILD,—Miss L— has requested me to write you a line, accompanying the foregoing intelligence of the happy removal of our dear friend. I cannot regret that those I most value should be transferred to that happy life to which we all aspire. Desire dear Ellen to be consoled at the dispensations of our Heavenly Father, and not to appear before Him otherwise than as living by His Spirit, and not by the spirit of this world. Let us bless His name, for all His ways are justice and truth, and pray to Him to give us fortitude and patience to bear the sorrows of our exile, until we are united with those whose labours are ended, and whose rest is eternal and secure. Assure my dear Ellen, and be assured yourself, of the sincere affection of your faithful servant in Christ."

He also continued, as an arbiter of disputes, to dispense the dictates of his wisdom. Some jealousies and differences had again sprung up between the Augustinian Friars and secular clergy of Dungarvan. The note which follows is in reply to the Rev. Charles Stuart, Provincial of the Order :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I cannot say when I could see you here, for my time at home is uncertain and every moment of it is engaged. I was very unwell on Monday; yesterday and to-day I am better, thank God—but exceedingly feeble.

"I spoke to Dr. Abraham [R. C. Bishop of Waterford]. He professes the utmost desire to gratify you, and to promote the interests of religion in our Order. I explained to him all your views; he heard all the objections on the part of the secular clergy concerned, adverted to Mr. ——'s habits and character, and agreed, fully and cordially, that the best mode was to give faculties to the young man and withhold them from ——; you taking care that the number of Masses in your chapel be not increased, and that a common life, with religious observance, be observed by the community. I need not add to you, who feel rightly on these matters, that the brethren should so exercise their talents and zeal as to afford no cause of umbrage or loss of emolument to the most excellent Dr. Foran [parish priest of Dungarvan] or his clergy."

Dr. Doyle assures Dr. O'Connor that he had lost his usual "facility in writing." We may, therefore, the more readily appreciate the kind alacrity with which he immediately afterwards undertook, at Mr. Coyne's request, to edit Butler's "Lives of the Saints." The circulation of this work had been hitherto confined to those who could afford to purchase it in twelve costly volumes. To the new edition Dr. Doyle prefixed an interesting preface. He characterised the "Lives of the Saints" as an historical supplement to the Old and New Testaments—an illustration of all that God has revealed, and of all the sanctity which His Divine grace has produced among the children of men. "It is a history not so much of men as of all ages and nations—of their manners, customs, laws, usages, and creeds. It is a succinct but most accurate and satisfactory account of all that the Church of God has done or suffered in this world, from the creation to almost our own days—an account not extracted from authentic records only, but one which exhibits at every page the living examples, the speaking proofs of whatever it sets forth or asserts.

"But the 'Lives of the Saints' is not confined to history, though embracing whatever is most valuable in history, whether sacred, ecclesiastical, or profane. It presents to the reader a mass of general information digested and arranged with an ability and a candour never surpassed. Here no art, no science is left unnoticed. Chronology, criticism, eloquence, painting, sculpture, architecture—in a word, whatever has occupied or distinguished man in times of barbarism or of civilisation, in peace or in war, in the countries which surround us or in those which are far remote—all are treated of, not flippantly nor ostentatiously, but with a sobriety and solidity peculiar to the writer."

One quality especially characterised these "Lives." "The

doctrines of the Catholic Church are presented to us passing through the ordeal of time unchanged and unchangeable, whilst her discipline is seen to vary from age to age; like a city fixed and immovable, but whose walls, ramparts, and outworks undergo from one period to another the necessary changes, alterations, or repairs. Here are pointed out the persecutions which the Saints endured—persecutions which patience overcame, and the power of God subdued. Here are traced the causes of dissension in the Church, the schisms and heresies that arose, the errors to which the pride and passions of bad men gave birth, the obstinacy of the wicked, the seduction of the innocent, the labours and sufferings of the just—the conflicts which took place between light and darkness—between truth and error—the triumph at one time of the city of God—at another the temporary exaltation of the empire of Satan. In this work we see the great and powerful leaders of God's people, the pastors and doctors of the Church, displaying lights given them from Heaven, and exercising a courage all divine; whilst crowds of the elect are presented to us in every age retiring from the world, hiding their lives with Christ in God, and deserving by their innocence and sanctity to be received into heaven until Christ, who was their life, will again appear, when they also will appear along with Him in glory. Here we behold the Apostles and their successors in several ages, calling out to the nations who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, 'Arise, thou that sleepest, and Christ will enlighten thee'—men of God and gifted with His power, who, by preaching peace, enduring wrongs, and pardoning injuries, subdued the power of tyrants, stopped the mouths of lions, overturned paganism, demolished idols, planted everywhere the standard of the cross, and left to us the whole world illuminated by the rays of divine truth. Here is seen the meek martyr who possessed his soul in patience, who—having suffered the loss of goods, the loss of kindred, the loss of fame—bowed down his head beneath the axe, and sealed, by the plentiful effusion of his blood, the testimony which he bore to virtue and to truth. Here the youthful virgin—robed in innocence and sanctity, clothed with the visible protection of God—is seen at one time to yield up her frame, unfit as yet for torments, to the power of the executioner, whilst her spirit, ascending like incense, 'passed from earth to heaven.' At another time we beheld her conducted, as it were, into the wilderness by the Spirit, where, having left the house of her father, the allurements of the world and the endearments of life, she dedicates her whole being to the service of God and to the contemplation of those invisible goods reserved by Him for those who love Him. We

behold the prince and the peasant, the warrior and the sage, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the shepherd and the statesman, the wife and the widow, the prelate, the priest, and the recluse—men and women of every class, and age, and degree, and condition, and country, sanctified by the grace of God, exhibiting to the faithful reader models for his imitation, and saying to him in a voice which he cannot fail to understand, ‘Go thou and do likewise.’”

Dr. Doyle had now retired from the well-fought field which bore so many trophies of his prowess ; but he ceased not to watch with undying interest the political struggles of his country. He knew that death was at hand, and he was prepared and resigned to die ; but still he hoped that the bitter cup might not come until some of the achievements on which he had set his heart should be attained. These anxieties were those of the theologian as well as the tribune. The parish priest of Ballinakill writes : “I spent some weeks with Dr. Doyle at Tramore the autumn previous to his death. He frequently expressed a regret that he had not been spared to accomplish a work that then engaged his mind, and on which he seemed to have set his heart—viz., the elaboration of treatises on laws, justice, and contracts ; and, lastly, a treatise on matrimony, suited to the existing laws and institutions of this country, and its altered relations with the See of Rome. The matter for those great theological works he had in great part arranged, especially that on laws. I remember one day, when sitting on a rock hanging over the sea, his giving me an epitome or outline of the manner in which he intended to treat the subject of law. It was as simple, as clear, and brilliant a theme as ever man listened to. Oh ! what a loss to the ecclesiastical student that those stores of knowledge, moulded by such a master-hand, have not seen the light, especially the treatise on matrimony, now sought to be degraded (so far as human legislation can effect it) into a venal and meretricious contract.”

“A few years before his demise,” observes Mr. Battersby, “Dr. Doyle had formed arrangements to leave works after him which would not partake of an ephemeral character, but would be standard productions, interesting to all ages and nations.”

Dr. Doyle, on his way home from Tramore, passed a week with his former pupil, the Bishop of Ossory. Dr. Kinsella had considerable tact in rallying Dr. Doyle, who, during the period of his sojourn at Kilkenny, seems to have exhibited some improvement both in strength and spirits. The following note to Mariana was thrown off during this interval :—

"5th September 1833.

"DEAR MARIANA,—I write this in Kilkenny, on my return from Tramore (a bathing station). Miss Gurley is quite well, but a little impatient in the midst of her resignation. Dr. Harold did you and himself a service by not writing to you of me. It appears I have been subject to active disease for the last four or five years, and am now about escaping it—either into this big, bad world, or into that other, whereof even Moses and the Prophets do not choose to tell us those particulars which most people, especially pious women, would be glad to know. It is to me, my dear friend, a matter of the most perfect indifference whether I am to be detained here or sent to the other side; so do not trouble your head praying for what I never pray myself—but pray the Lord to forgive my sins, and, as to the rest, leave His providence to rule in its own way, which is wiser and better than any we could point out. . . . I am heartily glad you are gone to dispense happiness, not by rule and compass, but by the exercise of the meekness, humility, and long-suffering of our Lord. [If you help the good Father O'Reilly to dig the potatoes and lay down the ground for your future comfort you will profit by the exercise.]¹ I could not describe to you how I am, as more changes come over me in a day than did over that vagabond—was it not him whom the children at school call 'Neby-kidnezer?'—whom the Lord sent to graze among the wild beasts for seven years. But under all these changes I remain unchangeably your sincere and affectionate friend and servant in Christ."

On the same day he writes to Bishop O'Connor: "I am mightily averse to committing to the ecclesiastical state children so young as your wards. Were they thrown upon me as they are on you, I would think myself doing all I could for them by assisting, not largely, their mother to rear and educate them: and if I found that at about twenty years of age they were fit and disposed to embrace a clerical life, I would assist them to do so. I do not think you, as a religious, are justified in undertaking to pay pensions in propaganda or elsewhere for two so young boys during their classical education. But judge for yourself."

The Bishop, on his return to Carlow, made an effort to resume those exercises of hospitality which had long made his name dear to friends. Dr. Harold, writing to Mariana in October 1833, says: "I spent two days with our dear friend, Dr. Doyle. You

¹ [Mariana had become Superioress of Loretto, Navan. Her *embourgeoisement* had now promised to develop into the rotundity of Sir W. Scott's abbot—hence Dr. Doyle's prescription. The Rev. Eugene O'Reilly was president of the Diocesan Seminary, Navan.]

were the subject on which he appeared most pleased to converse. We had often talked of you before, but until then I did not know in what high estimation he held you. I could have given a little world for the place you hold in the heart of that great man. You will join me in thanking God that his health is improved."

While a particle of health remained, no inducement deterred our Bishop from acquainting himself, upon the spot, with the minutest concerns of his vast flock in every quarter of the diocese; nor could the multifarious and distracting cares for Ireland which filled him, or his zeal for the vindication of religion, ever make him forget or defer the biennial visitation of his diocese. This zealous disciple of the Lord caught with avidity at every apparent remission of his suffering, which held out the faintest gleam of hope that he might be enabled to discharge so important a part of episcopal duty. When some of his brother bishops—alarmed at the catastrophe in which they foresaw such an effort must terminate—conjured him to allow them to add to their own weighty burden the charge of making the visitation of Kildare and Leighlin in his stead, Dr. Doyle resisted the proposal with determination. Dr. Kinsella having implored of him to relax, even ever so little, the wasting anxieties in which he was uninterruptedly engaged, he replied, "Am I not a Bishop? Was it to spare myself I submitted to such a title?"

Some sermons delivered by Dr. Doyle on his last visitation were not surpassed in vigour, eloquence, or earnestness, by any preceding effort. They were as energetic as those which had marked the plenitude of his strength, while their impressiveness drew aid from the pallor of death which had now overspread the Bishop's face. In the fleshless hand which pointed the way to heaven, death was also painfully shadowed. His eye, however, had lost none of its former lustre, nor had his voice grown weak as his frame decayed. His nerves, too, remained vigorous, although his muscles were unstrung; and while his limbs tottered, his mind bounded with elasticity within.

His sermons having been delivered, for the most part, in remote country chapels, and by the hillside and wayside, it may readily be supposed that stenographers, rarely, if ever, formed a portion of the auditory. His sermons, grand and thrilling, often reached sublimity, they always touched the heart. Ireland possessed many gifted orators, but none left a more exalted opinion of his elocution, or exercised a greater mastery over the feelings of his audience than Dr. Doyle. "His eloquence was of the most nervous character," writes Bishop Walshe, "it is impossible to convey an adequate notion of it. To comprehend it fully, he

should be seen and heard. It illuminated whatever it touched—it set truth in bold and attractive relief—its force was irresistible. We love to dwell upon the memory of our departed Prelate, who ‘shone in his days as the morning star,’ and ‘honoured the vesture of holiness’ in which he was robed.” Sad to say, owing to the circumstance we have alluded to, there is hardly a vestige of his sermons preserved. A friend has kindly placed in our hands some unconnected notes of an appeal made by Dr. Doyle about this period on behalf of a thousand poor orphan children.

The Bishop took for his text the Epistle of St. Paul to the Christians at Rome. The Jews who had embraced the law of Christ were at first so zealous for the law of their fathers that they would combine both, and even exclude from the new covenant all those who had not belonged to the old. St. Paul reminded them of the insignificance of those works of the law in which they gloried when compared with that faith which is the source and root of all justification. It was by this faith their father, Abraham, had believed in the promises of God, hoping in them even against hope; it was not in the circumcision of his flesh that he became justified before the Lord. The apostle, in divulging the doctrine of grace, lifts the veil for an instant from the great mystery of predestination; but, as if man could not behold these truths and live, he lets it fall again with an exclamation on the inscrutable judgments and unsearchable ways of God.

Dr. Doyle proceeded to give an eloquent exposition of this Epistle, until he approached those moral truths and duties which he had undertaken, for the sake of the little ones whose cause he pleaded, to unfold.

It may well be supposed that the obligation “to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and enlighten those who sit in darkness,” was treated in a spirit thoroughly *con amore*. “Who of you,” he asked, “does not know from Isaias that if you feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and bring the wandering poor into thy home, that thy light shall go before thee, and thy darkness become as the noonday—that the Lord will lead thee continually, and refresh thy soul in the severest drought—that thou shalt be as a well-watered garden, and as a flowing fountain whose waters shall never fail—that thou shalt even ride upon the high places of the earth, and enjoy the inheritance of Jacob thy father, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Shall I have recourse to the language of the wise and the experience of ages, that the charitable man, although cast down and humbled like Job, is not yet abandoned nor his seed seen seeking for bread? Shall I expound the laws of property, and ground the claims of

the destitute—not on mercy, but on right? Shall I exercise a worldly wisdom, and convince you that it is your interest to support and educate the poor; or shall I appeal to your passions—arouse the feelings of the father, or touch the tender fibres of the mother's heart? No, dearly beloved, I shall content myself by explaining for you what is the *good and the perfect will of God*, as it regards those children whom you have assembled to relieve. And this explanation shall be the only means whereby I will seek to recommend them.

“The *good will of God*. This expression is in general use; but though we all, on every occasion of distress, refer to the goodness of God, we do not attach to the expression any very particular idea. To me it seems to imply not only our confidence in Him, but also His tenderness, His compassion, His love, His mercy for us. Thus Paul, after reminding sinners that by their obstinacy they treasure up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath, inspires them with confidence by the assurance that the goodness of God leads to repentance, and that they should not despise the rulers of that goodness and mercy. Hence we are justified in inferring that towards these children, who are not sinners but innocents in a great degree, the good will of God is a feeling of tenderness, of compassion, and of love. How often do we find in the Gospel that He called the little ones to Him, that He placed one of them in the midst of His disciples, that He told how their guardian angels appeared before the face of God for them, that it would be better to have a millstone tied about one's neck and be cast into the sea than to scandalise one of them—in fine, we are told that the Son of God laid His hands upon them, and embraced them, and blessed them; such was His tenderness and affection for the children of the Jews. This, beloved brethren, was the good will of God, which Paul exhorts you to imitate.”

Having laid before his hearers the case of the convert Jew, who, besides neglecting the admonition of the apostle in refusing succour to the Gentile, repelled with disdain and bitterness the shivering child of Abraham, Dr. Doyle asks what judgment they would pass on him. “A more severe one, no doubt, than David passed upon the rich man who took the only sheep of his poor neighbour—the sheep that fed from his hand and slept in his bosom—that he, the rich man, might kill it and serve it up to feast his visitor. You would condemn the Jew in Rome to make a tenfold atonement for the scandals of his tongue and the hardness of his heart. There is no Nathan, however, to say to you, ‘Thou art that man;’ but if your conscience testifies that you deserve the reproach, cry out with the penitent, ‘I have

sinned against the Lord.' Yes, do, dear brethren ; but continue with him and exclaim, ' Create in me a new heart, that I may love the orphan, and console the widow, and relieve the distressed. Renew a right spirit within my bowels, that I may compassionate those little ones whom Thou lovest, that I may clothe those naked who are Thy special inheritance, that I may feed those whom Thou hast appointed to represent Thyself—renew within me a right spirit, that I may no longer cherish hatred or spread dissension, but do the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God.' ”

“ He had committed the Holy Scriptures and portions of the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, to memory,” observes Bishop Clancy. “ He seldom or never composed or wrote out his sermons, but generally took notes of the leading points, their order and division ; and thus furnished, he was able, at the shortest notice, to preach on any subject of doctrine, morality, or discipline.”

When on his last visitation Dr. Doyle passed a day at Stradbally in order to administer Confirmation to an immense assemblage of children. As the atmosphere of the little chapel was extremely close and the Bishop very much exhausted, he reluctantly found himself compelled to transfer the onerous functions of the day to the chapel-yard, a neat enclosure overhung with lilac and laburnum trees. He was so weak that a chair had to be provided for him. The children, as they advanced one by one to the great man for examination, trembled ; which Dr. Doyle observing, he endeavoured to give them courage by a few playful expressions. This failing in its object, he had recourse to acts, and presented his silver snuff-box to a tiny girl, asking her politely to take a pinch. The courtesy was so novel and comical that a series of merry, musical laughs rang along the youthful ranks like a chime of bells. In this way Dr. Doyle relieved the children of their bashfulness, and enabled them to answer, collectedly and clearly, the questions which he found it necessary to put, previous to invoking on their heads the light of the Holy Ghost.

Although so miserably debilitated that it was a labour to drag his limbs after him, he nevertheless persevered, without murmur or sigh, in the daily accomplishment of an immense amount of work. But the most singular fact in connection with the close of his days is, that he austere rejected the aid of the easy carriage with which the Baroness de Montesquieu had presented him. Addressing Fr. Maher he said, “ I wish that good-natured woman had not sent me this coach. Much as they say against me, I will never leave it in their power to say that the Bishop jaunted in a carriage. I never knew any man enter a carriage who could

dispense with it—unless a fool—especially if that man were a Bishop.” Bishop Abraham, who was present, winced. He used a carriage.

Dr. Doyle’s health seemed so irrevocably broken in the autumn of 1833 that his friends besought him to accept the aid of a coadjutor. But he was determined to die in harness, and steadily parried all expostulations. The vigilance with which he looked after the interest of his flock became, if possible, more active.¹ He was a father who went to look for the prodigal child, a shepherd who sought even one sheep. But he laboured in other ways. “His colleagues of the Episcopal Bench,” observes Dr. Meagher, “best can tell—for they know it best—how cheerfully and unfailingly he aided them with his counsel. Well did they appreciate the punctual attendance he gave, even when sinking under the last extremities of debility and pain, to the numerous synods and conventions of their august body—meetings never before, at any period of our history, so frequently repeated, and on whose transactions the Holy Ghost has showered such fertilising blessings. Well do they remember the ready ardour with which he entered into all their pious views, and opened all the rich stores of his accomplished mind to aid their deliberations !”

Our Bishop, on the eve of an important synod in Dublin, was sitting in the study at Braganza, bound to his seat by a fatal lassitude, while a violent shivering shook his frame. Fr. Maher entered and found Dr. Doyle seeking for increased warmth by probing the red embers which occupied the grate. He urged Dr. Doyle to relinquish all idea of going to Dublin, and to content himself with sending to the synod a written statement of his views. “Pshaw !” was the reply, “I might as well send this poker. It is absolutely necessary that I should be present to support and defend the opinions I advance.” He tore himself from his chair, and started for Dublin. Dean O’Connell observes : “Eight months before his death I saw J. K. L. ascending the stairs of the presbytery in Marlborough Street to attend a synod, and never did I behold such a living ghost !”

¹ [He felt himself a debtor alike to the wise and to the unwise. Mrs. Cole, a lady of the Established Church, living near Braganza, dismissed a servant for using offensive observations respecting Protestantism. The following letter shows the charity of his heart :—

“BRAGANZA, *Aug.* 6, 1833.

“Dr. Doyle presents his compliments to Mrs. Cole, and begs to thank her for her attention to his wishes in giving a discharge to Mary Neal in which there is no mention of religious disputes. Dr. Doyle sincerely laments that such disputes too often disturb the concord of families, and impair that charity without which no one can please God or enjoy peace. In the present case he would depart from the maxims which govern his own life if he were to attend to the reports made to him. He does not do so, and only wishes the temporary ebullitions of excited temper may be forgotten.”]

Archdeacon Hamilton, who was present as secretary, told us the following anecdote. "At a meeting of the Bishops Dr. Doyle proposed a resolution which was opposed by Dr. Egan, Bishop of Kerry. Dr. Doyle's heart had been set on carrying it, and he seemed unprepared for opposition. 'I would rather carry that point with your dissent and that of your entire kingdom of Kerry,' he replied, 'than place it in abeyance, much less relinquish it.' He spoke for three hours, and brought over every prelate to his views."

Dr. Doyle in his letter to Clare does not tell what Dr. Colles prescribed.

Mariana writes :—"Although extremely ill, he would not leave Dublin without paying me a visit at Rathfarnham ; and I would not let him leave the Convent until he promised to go direct to consult Dr. Abraham Colles, which he did ; and on his return to Carlow wrote to me to say he had kept his promise ; that Colles told him he would certainly shorten his life if he did not allow himself some relaxation. 'So,' he continued, 'I came home and went on as usual ;' and that usual meant that he would sit in the sanctuary of the chapel of Carlow, hearing at the rails the confessions of the beggars in particular, where he was exposed to cold and inconvenience in many ways ; but he was as austere to himself as he was kind and generous to others."

Bishop Kinsella writes :—"Even when his body was worn out by a lingering disease, how often have I seen him in the confessional soothing the conscience of the afflicted sinner. Well might he exclaim, 'I will seek out that which was lost, and that which was driven away I will bring back again, and I will bind up that which was broken, and I will strengthen that which was weak, and that which was fat and strong I will preserve ; and I will feed them in judgment'" (Ezek. xxxiv.).

Dr. Doyle told the Parliamentary Committee in 1825 that the instances of reparation and restitution of which he had been made the medium by penitents were numerous beyond the power of counting. He was asked whether, in cases of mischief intended to be done, either to the public or to an individual, it was not the priest's duty to avert that mischief, without disclosing names, by apprising either the State or the party to whom the mischief was intended. "We can make no use of any knowledge derived from confession, but it is uniformly our practice to dissuade the penitent from the intended crime ; and I myself have frequently prevented the commission of mischief by obliging the person who felt compunction at being concerned in plotting some evil—not at first to inform, but to dissuade his companions from doing the

intended wrong; if he did not effectually succeed thus, then by obliging him to warn the person concerned in the danger, or to give such information to him, or to a magistrate or other proper authority, as should effectually prevent the intended evil."

Dr. Doyle would sometimes try and relieve the disease which was gnawing his inward man by a saunter around the lawn and pleasure-ground at Braganza. On the particular evening of which we are now speaking his equanimity was somewhat ruffled by the proximity of some itinerant showmen, who with braying trumpet and deafening gong announced that the performances were "just about to begin." He tried to forget the adjacent nuisance, but all to no effect. Half-an-hour had elapsed, when a man dressed in very extravagant costume entered the gate of Braganza, and, hat in hand, approached the Bishop. "Begone!" exclaimed Dr. Doyle in a voice of thunder; "we allow no mummers here." The visitor tremulously explained, in broken English, that he was but an envoy from a Continental community of monks, who had conveyed to Ireland the remains of a person said to have received "beatification," whereupon he presented Dr. Doyle with a considerable portion of a dead body. The Bishop's temper, however, was still ruffled, and notwithstanding the all but Eastern prostration of his visitor, he replied sternly, "Sir, we need not the ashes of beatified foreigners while we see the bones of our martyred forefathers whitening the soil around us." But in a few minutes the cloud had passed from the Bishop's brow, and he showed his odd-looking visitor hospitality. Ireland is spoken of by old writers as "*Insula Sanctorum*;" and the mission of the pious envoy to Ireland struck Dr. Doyle as like bringing coals to Carlisle.

[He had a loud voice, which sometimes became specially sharp during the excruciating pain of his tedious illness. The study hall and chapel, during the progress of some alterations at the college, communicated and seemed the one apartment. He was talking loudly in the study hall when suddenly he asked:—"Is the Holy of Holies here?" "Yes." He at once genuflected, and with eyes cast down seemed for some minutes absorbed in earnest prayer.¹

Though few ventured to give it, yet, when conscientiously offered, Dr. Doyle took reproof well. A traveller, one day in passing Braganza, called upon the Bishop, and after paying fulsome compliments concluded by requesting alms. Dr. Doyle with *hauteur*

¹ [At the examinations in the college about this time, lines of ecclesiastics listened complacently to the alumni, as they passionately declaimed or recited by rote—while Dr. Doyle paced up and down, and at last unable to restrain himself, cried, "My —, what trash that boy is giving out!" The President, Dr. Fitzgerald, as proud of the display as Dr. Doyle was ashamed of it, muttered "Humph! what is it to him? I wish he'd mind his own business."—*Memo. of the late Rev. H. Korke, S.J.*]

replied, that the small funds placed at his disposal were given to the poor of his district, and that charity began at home. "It ends there, too, sir," replied the stranger, "and I tell you that your absence of humility and want of charity to the stranger unfits you for the office you hold." Dr. Doyle was a good deal annoyed by this attack, and that night he asked his curate, Mr. Maher, whether any appearance of pride ever marked his demeanour. "Well, my Lord, perhaps a little may sometimes seem to assert itself," was the reply. "If so, it was your duty to have told me in order to its correction," said Dr. Doyle. "Was it left for the stranger, passing the road, to come to tell your Bishop of his faults?"

We have already seen the physic he employed to check that pride which great prestige and power was apt to feed (vol. i. p. 459). It was no unusual incident to see the Bishop accost the first priest he met in his visits to the college, saying, "Sit down, sir, and hear my confession." Some of the more young and nervous priests were often thrown into an agony of trepidation by the request.

An amusing anecdote may now, perhaps, be told in connection with an event of this character. The late distinguished pulpit orator, Dr. Cahill, was a young priest discharging professor's duties at this time, but a constitutional laziness, which he was never able fully to shake off, often detained him in bed long after the unwelcome tones of the morning bell. Dr. Doyle appreciated the promise which his sparkling talents conveyed, and lavished upon him many marks of regard. One morning he came to Fr. Cahill's door, and knocking received no reply unless luxurious snores. He raised his voice, exclaiming, "I protest the sun is up these four hours, and here is a gentleman not up yet." After breakfast, Fr. Cahill said to the college porter, "John, keep a sharp look-out every morning for the Bishop, and as soon as you see him enter the gate at the foot of the drive, hasten to my room and see that I am awake." A few mornings later the professor's slumbers were disturbed by an excited voice shouting at his door, "Here's the Bishop!" To bound from his bed, hastily assume a dressing gown, and chalk upon a large black board which he used for the instruction of his class, was the work of a moment. Presently the well-known voice of Dr. Doyle was heard outside saying, "Does Mr. Cahill happen to be awake?" The reply was prompt, and bidding the visitor enter, he feigned to be engaged in solving a most difficult problem in logarithms. The Bishop was edified, and having asked him to hear his confession went away absolved. The professor meanwhile returned to his couch, and wrapping himself in thought and

blankets, resolved to indulge in further rest. But to his surprise the handle of the door again turned, and a too familiar voice exclaiming, "There is something I had forgot," paralysed the recumbent professor !]

Moore's "Travels in Search of a Religion" was published at this period. Moore had never been introduced to Dr. Doyle, but he held his public character in such high veneration that he sent the work to him, accompanied by an assurance that it was the only presentation copy he had made. The Bishop examined the theological lucubrations of the Bard of Erin, and in acknowledgment declared, "If St. Augustin were more orthodox and [the Lutheran] Scratchinbach less plausible, it is a book of which any of us might be proud."

The following letter from Moore exhibits the Irish harp upon the seal, accompanied by the appropriate motto, "Dear harp of my country :"—

"SLOPERTON COTTAGE, DEVIZES, 10th December 1833.

"MY DEAR LORD,—It would be difficult for me to convey to you in words my sense of the pleasure and honour which your letter, received a few days since, has conferred upon me ; and it comes the more welcome both from my long expectation of such a favour, and the intelligence it brings that to the revival of your health and spirits I am at last indebted for the gratification of hearing from you. The next great pleasure I look forward to is that of being personally known to you, and I trust the day is not far distant when this wish also will be gratified.

"I feel both the delicacy and strength of your observation on what must be allowed, I fear, to be essential defects in my book. The omission of an answer to the 'plausibilities' of the German arose chiefly from want of space and time ; but the view taken of the doctrines of St. Augustin has no such excuse, and might have been avoided had I the aid of a mind like yours to inspire me with better and juster thoughts. Wishing most sincerely for your perfect return to health and strength, I am, my dear Lord, faithfully and gratefully yours,

THOMAS MOORE."¹

Dr. Doyle was greatly disgusted with the fatuity of the people in rejecting his advice and thirsting for disorder. But although they did not in all instances embrace his counsel, they venerated him as a great man, and viewed him with eager curiosity. During a visitation at Mountmellick thousands thronged round the

¹ Earl Russell, the executor of Thomas Moore, writes :—

"I have never had in my possession any letters of or had any correspondence with Bishop Doyle ; such a circumstance could hardly have escaped my memory, as his writing and character were so striking."

hotel in which he stopped. From the balcony he addressed them for an hour, and then turning to a priest beside him, said, "It is like one singing to the deaf—they are still a prey to infatuation, and bent on disorder. If it were possible to effect an analysis of the mass, I doubt whether, in the entire of that surging sea of heads below, a dozen grains of sound sense would be found." This remark, however, must be read by the light of Fr. Maher's observation, p. 415 *ante*. A letter to Henry Lambert, M.P., dated 23d December 1833, would seem to have been thrown off under the influence of a similar impulse.

The revival of the Repeal agitation vexed Dr. Doyle. He feared that some of the ignorant and demoralised rabble, who constituted the Whitefeet and other dark leagues, would only be too glad to join the political unions, and make the rallying cry of "Repeal" an excuse for venting the voice of turbulence. Other reasons rendered the Repeal question unacceptable to Dr. Doyle. Careful inquiry and ample thought had convinced him of its impracticability, and O'Connell himself had publicly admitted that "Repeal was but a means to an end."¹ But, assuming the sincerity of those who advocated Repeal, the fact that "it could never be effected peaceably and without much bloodshed,"² was in itself a consideration sufficient to weigh powerfully with a prelate whose love of peace had been proverbial.

During the winter of 1833 the Repeal agitation reached a pitch of intensity exceeding its former strength. Public letters, meetings, and charity dinners, constituted the chief machinery of the organisation. Lord Anglesey had retired from the viceroyalty, and was succeeded by Lord Wellesley, but the pacificator of India was not destined to pacify Ireland. Having prosecuted Richard Barrett for publishing a letter from O'Connell libellous of the Crown, the new viceroy was all but pelted through the public streets. O'Connell defended Barrett in a masterly manner; and with much tact made the speech, from beginning to end, a powerful argument for Repeal. It moreover contained a philippic against the Whigs, far more violent and able than that for which his client was put on trial. The excitement of the country increased, and several of the subordinate leaders went dangerously far. The following is the letter to Mr. Lambert, M.P., alluded to on the previous page :—

"They are so blind and obstinate as to preclude a hope of their return to a better sense; yet the evil in their power to effect

¹ Mr. Fagan writes: "It was scarcely right to have admitted, even on the principle of expediency, that Repeal was but a means to an end."—"Life of O'Connell," vol. ii. p. 98.

² See p. 239, *ante*.

is very limited. They may renew the savage scenes of the last year, and bring disgrace and punishment on themselves, but how can their proceedings ever embarrass the march of good government? It is a truth that the mere rabble are the only supporters at present of agitation, and they with their leaders must fall away if the movement party in England do not revolutionise that country, in which case our cry here would be '*Sauve qui peut.*' You or I should require more than ordinary speed in our flight, the late panegyric on one of us notwithstanding. We had no tribute collection or a word about it in any chapel of this diocese, but the *employées* collected it *ostiatim*. After the exhibition at Kildare they had the impudence to call at my house in their perambulations, but I refused even to see them."

"The exhibition at Kildare" is explained by an anecdote which we give on the authority of its late pastor, Fr. Brennan. In 1833, the new Catholic church there was opened for consecration. Dr. Doyle, stricken by mortal illness, was unable to attend, and Fr. Brennan, with a view to make the ceremonial attractive, secured the presence of O'Connell and other celebrities. After the consecration O'Connell caused a platform to be raised, from which he addressed the people on Repeal, and made some references, it is said, not complimentary to Dr. Doyle. The parish priest of Naas and other pastors were present. Dr. Doyle expressed himself much annoyed, and exclaimed, "I protest, only for Brennan I would suspend them all." With this pastor of Kildare he had early relations of friendship.

[One evening Dr. Taylor called upon the Bishop, whom he found muffled in a cloak and suffering from a chill. "Had your Lordship not better put your legs to the fire?" remarked the visitor. "Pshaw!" was the reply, "these legs will soon be the food of worms in yonder cold transept, nor can I promise them other than a very scanty meal."]

The state of the country and of the people, political and religious, continued to fill the Bishop with extreme anxiety. In January 1834 a meeting of the prelates was held in Dublin. "I have been doing everything in my power, since I came to town, to prepare a barrier against the tide of irreligion and multitudinous tyranny now being let loose upon us; and though I have succeeded to a great extent, I find a dread of the power O'C—— wields to prevail where it ought not, and which is likely enough to deter weak-minded individuals from opposing in time what if unchecked may be irresistible. Dr. Kinsella is much concerned lest his name should appear in the affair of the County Kilkenny."

On the latter allusion an interesting piece of secret political history hangs. Lord Duncannon had been a consistent advocate of liberal progress, and a warm private friend of O'Connell, but some political difference at last estranged them; and although Lord Duncannon had ably represented Kilkenny in successive Parliaments, O'Connell gave it to be understood that he ought not again to be returned. In no county had the agitation attained a more formidable head. The people sullenly assembled: some marched in military order; others, regarding themselves as the elements of a forthcoming outburst, intently watched the Tribune's eye, and persuaded themselves that, like the lunar circle, it portended a coming storm. Once more it had been arranged to prosecute O'Connell, who, knowing that the popular movement would receive a serious blow if the Crown succeeded in imprisoning him, wrote confidentially to Bishop Kinsella, requesting him to use his known influence with Lord Duncannon, then one of the Cabinet, in getting the pending prosecution quashed. The letter concluded with a promise that if the interposition proved successful he would not oppose Lord Duncannon's return. The violent tone of the agitation in Kilkenny gradually decreased, O'Connell's volume of declamation, without losing its more prominent characteristics, became more guarded. He quietly promoted the return of Lord Duncannon, and the Crown prosecution collapsed.

A gentleman who for many years had performed a very prominent part in Catholic affairs spent a day at Braganza at this time. When he had taken his departure Dr. Doyle observed to Fr. Maher, "Mr. ——— has been plaguing me for a letter testifying to his ability and rectitude, and although he tells me that it would be of the greatest importance to him, I have refused the request. Every other prelate has given him a letter, but of late I have acquired a feeling of unlimited distrust in him. And mark," he added, "if that man, when I am dead, should publish any document of approval as coming from me, you have my authority to repudiate it as a forgery." Dr. Doyle's discrimination proved correct. The gentleman, years after, quite lost caste with his party.

A rich suit of vestments, which he had health to wear on two subsequent occasions only, having been presented by a nun, he thus acknowledged the gift:—

"CARLOW, 10th December 1833.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—Will you be pleased to accept for yourself, and to offer for me to Sister Mary, my sincere and grateful

thanks for the estimable present, rendered so valuable by the taste and labour expended on it, which you sent me? Should I be enabled to use it on any of those great festivals when Heaven is supposed to be more than usually propitious to our wants, I will not fail to commend to our Lord and Master those, His faithful servants, who, by ornamenting His altar and His priesthood, seek thereby to enhance the glory of His name. But some other kind of grateful recollection is due to the dear little children who shared in this holy work. If I visit Maryborough, as I intend and hope, remind me of them, that they may have reason to be content. We had a solemn Mass in our new church on the first Sunday of Advent. I was (thank God) enabled to assist thereat, and participated largely in the satisfaction felt by all who were present. After six years of care and toil we saw our task accomplished, and all our anticipations realised. 'How good, O Israel, is God to the upright heart!' I wish He would increase our faith in Him, and we could say to a mountain, 'Rise, and be cast into the sea.'

"The weather continues very hard, and if I have not grown as strong as an ox it is owing to its influence. I am (thank God) better than heretofore, and though the reports in the newspapers are great pieces of trumpery, they are not totally void of truth. Praying God to bless you all and confirm you in every good work, I remain," &c.

Addressing a niece he says: "I was glad to hear that our friends in — are enabled to live without embarrassment. I have no doubt that their industry, protected by Divine Providence, will enable them to proceed and enjoy those little comforts which, in a reasonable quantity, are a great gift from God, and remove a great many temptations; for poverty, like virtue, is the parent of many crimes."

A letter to Mr. More O'Ferrall shows how Dr. Doyle, when no longer able to write with freedom, was yet willing to aid those who sought to promote the welfare of their country. The letter is endorsed, "Dr. Doyle on a Plan of Poor Laws:"—

"CARLOW, 3d January 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been endeavouring to make up my judgment on the proposition you submitted to me. If Mr. Wyse's notions of county boards, with defined powers to levy money for necessary purposes (including education and relief of the poor), were adopted, then, *but not otherwise*, would I consent to a central or national board in Dublin, to whom monies, accruing from funds now existing or to arise from a land-tax, would

be intrusted, that they from these monies might assist such public works or local charities as should fail if not assisted; the application for such aid to pass, in every instance, through the county board, as constituted by Mr. Wyse's bill.

"If this system—no doubt complex in its nature, but which a clever man could simplify and render practicable—be not adopted, then my decided and certainly unchangeable opinion is, that all centralisation should be avoided as a most pernicious principle in all social legislation—fit only for a military empire, but ruinous to the peace, honesty, frugality, and efficiency of civil institutions. It is a broad principle of nature that every man manages best his own household, and every town its own local concerns. In poor laws the more you confine the district, the more of the family industry and good management you ensure—the more you remove the power of taxation; and the more you spread out the taxation, the more delay, the more favoritism, the more jobbing, the infinitely less concern about the burden imposed or the mode of its expenditure. This is also the opinion of Dr. Kinsella, who thinks that my plan, as 'tis called, of relieving the poor—combined, as it ought to be, with emigration, and placing the burden of assessment, agreeable to the plan or scale sketched by Smith O'Brien, on those who have an interest in real property within the several districts, leaving open, as it does, the question of assisting the able-bodied—is the only plan of relief that will work at all well in this country.

"Whether partiality for my own opinions, or some other hidden cause, influences my judgment, or whether it be decided by the merits of the case, yet that judgment is more and more confirmed by reflection, observation, and experience."

A postscript adds:—"I think the evils likely to arise from the crowded state of the population in certain localities, would be remedied in a very few years by the working of the Bill and the motives of action in the poor which it would not fail to produce; but if in that matter, or in the foreclosing of mortgages, much evil were found to lurk it could when it appeared be checked by law."¹

¹ [As some apology seems due for the non-appearance in this work of Dr. Doyle's many letters to Mr. More O'Farrell, we may state that having applied to that gentleman, several years ago, at the suggestion of Lord Monteaigle (who, in letters partly quoted in our preface, gave cordial counsel and aid), he replied, "I am quite sure Dr. Doyle would never have written in such full confidence if he believed that his letters to me would be made public. I believe his executors are much of my opinion; and tho' I am sure that any memoir edited by you would be interesting, I fear it will be difficult to compose it without opening questions now happily closed. I have great respect for Lord Monteaigle's opinion mentioned in the letter you enclosed to me, but I look at this matter from a very different point of view, and see no advantage in opening to discussion the opinions given in his evidence before parliamentary committees. I have no doubt that if Dr. Doyle had lived to the present time, the opinions given then would be much

CHAPTER XXV.

The Catholic Oath—Mr. Devereux again—Attempt to bring Dr. Doyle and O'Connell into collision—Political revelations—O'Connell's Repeal motion in Parliament—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry on the demoralisation of the people—"The privileges of a dying Bishop"—Letter to Miss Gurley—His last pastoral—Anecdote—He swoons in the midst of labour—Letter to Rev. Charles Stuart—Anecdote—Letter requesting the appointment of a Coadjutor—Letter to Mr. Murray—The election—Rev. Dr. Cullen—Dr. Doyle's last letter—"Othello's occupation gone"—Pious ladies try to make him a Protestant—Conversations with Rev. James Maher—A dying injunction.

O'CONNELL continued his exertions with a view to the redress of grievances, for which he received the gratitude of many. But in defining the obligation of the Catholic oath, he involved himself in a difficulty, both with his own and the adverse party. An attempt was made by James Edward Devereux, one of the five delegates who, in 1793, obtained concessions from George III., to bring the Bishop and the liberator into collision on the subject; but the former, from motives of delicacy, declined to perform the ungracious task which Mr. Devereux would fain assign to him.

"RIGHT REV. LORD,—In 1825 certain Irish Catholic prelates were summoned to London to be examined before the House of Lords. Their adversaries had for a long time before been employed in consulting, with the utmost care and study, Protestant theologians in all quarters and of all colours, and preparing their queries; so that they confidently expected, as indeed their friends beforehand announced, that the examination of our prelates would end in their total discomfiture and in the utter disgrace of our holy religion. But here, as usual in their polemical contests with us, the too sanguine hopes of our opponents were disappointed. Our prelates came out of this ordeal triumphant, having left their adversaries themselves impressed with an undissembled sense of admiration of their profound and ready learning, and the display of their modest and unassuming, but eminent talent; and from that day forth both our venerated clergy and

modified. You must be aware from the letters you have seen that he was a man of strong impulse, and that reflection frequently changed his first impressions."

No reader of this book can fail to see the prodigal help which Dr. Doyle's executor, the late Very Rev. James Maher, gave in conjunction with the Bishop's kinsfolk and friends. As regards the final objection, Dr. Doyle himself met it in replying to Mr. Lefroy before the tithe committee (Preface). The tone of many of his letters is similar to that at p. 415 (vol. i.), from which it seems inferable that he well knew they would some day see the light. Upwards of two hundred letters exist addressed by Dr. Doyle to Mr. More O'Farrell.]

our holy religion stood on higher ground in the public opinion in England than ever they had before occupied.

"But, my Right Rev. Lord, I lament to have now to say that a great change has of late taken place on this subject in the opinion of that same public, and that our holy religion, which, from and after the above examination before the Lords' Committee, was never (except by fanatics) mentioned but with respect, is now everywhere, and by almost all Protestants, spoken of with the utmost contempt, as the religion of men without principle, faith or honour—whose bishops and priests allow oaths to be taken and afterwards to be broken as suits their political interests,—a religion which admits of mental reservation, and one, therefore, to which not only the Christian, but no gentleman or man of honour could belong—in short, a religion fitted only for equivocators and perjurers." . . .

[Severe animadversion on Mr. O'Connell follows.]

"It is, my Lord, most humiliating to Catholics, and particularly to Irish Catholics in England, now everywhere to hear their religion reproached as being the religion of equivocators—to behold this repeated *usque ad nauseam* in the country papers and periodicals, and to see sermons advertised to be preached against Popery, grounded upon Mr. O'Connell's doctrine on oaths; our adversaries having, as it would appear, manifested great alacrity in profiting of this occasion to proclaim a short-lived triumph over us, as some consolation for the innumerable controversial defeats they have experienced at our hands. How is this evil to be abated—how is our religion to be justified and we to be restored to the good opinions of our fellow-subjects? Certainly not by the writings of laymen, for our adversaries would disclaim their authority on such a subject. This justice, to be adequately done to our religion, must come from a higher quarter. I may humbly presume to suggest that it would not answer, at this time of day, for our prelates to say that they can in no manner be accountable for the theological opinions of a lawyer. This answer, I admit, might in the abstract be conclusive; but in this case it cannot apply—for the fact is that here our prelates may be said to be virtually implicated; for, however erroneous the opinion may be, still it is the fixed opinion of the people of England that Mr. O'Connell holds the bishops and priests of Ireland under his heel, and that whatever doctrine he thinks proper to promulgate, that doctrine they beforehand approve; and, as evidence of this, the people here will tell you that if the doctrine he has been so long holding forth on the oath had not been approved of by our prelates, some one of them would have come forward, and, in contradiction to

Mr. O'Connell, would have shown what is the Catholic doctrine on that subject. If they are answered that most certainly they one and all disapprove of the learned gentleman's theology, the reply is, that then there must evidently be some reason for their silence; and this ready reason occurs—that many of those right reverend persons having, when they presumed to differ with him, been severely dealt with by Mr. O'Connell, his press, and runners—those right reverend persons, most acutely feeling the *régime* of terrors under which they are held by Mr. O'Connell, are unwilling again to encounter the inveterate fury of his said press and his runners, and remain silent—here the prelates of Ireland manifesting a quicker sense of utilitarian prudence than did the prelates of France, who, sooner than bend to the *régime* of terror, bared their breasts to the pike of the libocracy of the day, and placed their heads under the guillotine. . . .

“My intimate conviction of the necessity of this immediate vindication of Catholic doctrines has urged me to take the liberty of intruding on your Lordship. I have now laid the whole case before you, and with it you will deal as to your Lordship's wisdom may seem meet, and that, I can have no doubt, will be—as is usual with your Lordship—in that manner which will most redound to the honour of our holy religion, to the edification of Catholics, and to the satisfaction of our Protestant fellow-subjects, with whom, as Christians and loyal subjects to our king, it is our earnest desire to draw close the Christian bond of fellowship and union. . . . We, therefore, cannot but look forward with great anxiety to the auspicious moment when one of our prelates shall at once and forever expunge from Parliamentary record the honourable member's special-pleading sophisms on the Oath.”

Mr. Devereux, hoping to provoke Dr. Doyle to answer O'Connell, further declared that Ireland contained, not as alleged by the “Times,” a priest-ridden people, but “an O'Connell mob-ridden priesthood and prelacy.” He reminded Dr. Doyle that because Archbishop Murray did not “cover himself with sackcloth and ashes on the appointment of Chief-Justice Doherty, ridicule and abuse were dealt out to the worthy prelate.” Bishop Kinsella met, we are assured, the same fate for having given his vote to Lord Duncannon, and “was repeatedly told that if he did not act as the people pleased he should be made to do so.” Mr. Devereux next reminded his illustrious correspondent of the treatment which Dr. Doyle received for “having had the sacrilegious hardihood to support the poor laws.” “The O'Connell press was set to work, and the prelate was abused, reviled, and

torn to pieces in a manner hitherto unparalleled in the annals of newspaper ruffianism."

The tempter proceeds: "Again, the Bishop in Waterford, having presented himself at the hustings to vote for Mr. Wyse, instead of voting for the O'Connell candidate, was hustled, hissed, and spat upon, and sundry significant threats were used, so that the Prelate was obliged to apply to the High Sheriff for an escort, in order that he might get home in safety."

It was all to no use, however. The "Lion of Judah" was not to be roused by the goads of the dexterous delegate. All dew-drops he shook from his mane, and gazed forth fixedly before him.

The immense influence wielded by O'Connell, and which Mr. Devereux had viewed with no little alarm, received, some weeks later, a check. William IV., in his speech from the throne, declared that he viewed the Repeal agitation "with deep regret and just indignation." He attributed to the practices which had been "used to promote disaffection to the State, and mutual distrust and animosity between the two countries, that spirit of insubordination which had been but too perceptible. To none more than to the deluded instruments of the agitation, is the continuance of such a spirit productive of the most ruinous consequences."

O'Connell indignantly demanded discussion, and moved for the appointment of a committee to "inquire into and report on the means by which the Union was carried, and on the effects of that measure." He intended to introduce this memorable motion in a speech of overwhelming power, but, shortly previous to the effort, he lost courage and fell into a state of utter despondency. From a letter of O'Connell's we cull the following remarkable passages: "I never felt half so nervous about anything as I do about my Repeal effort. It will be my worst—I sink beneath the load—my materials are confused and totally without arrangement. I am convinced there will be nothing in my speech deserving recollection or any extraordinary exertion by my friends. It is quite true that I have often desponded before a public exertion and afterwards succeeded; but this cannot now be the case. I feel for the first time overpowered!"

O'Connell spoke for five hours; but his words wanted fire and force. Mr. Spring Rice replied in a telling speech full of facts and figures, though not wholly free from special pleading. On this occasion he pronounced a handsome eulogium on Dr. Doyle. Only 38 members voted for O'Connell's motion, while 485 negatived it.

The condition of the country during the spring of 1834 was not of a nature to gratify Dr. Doyle. The following letter to Lord Cloncurry heaves a long-drawn sigh, and is, we believe, the last letter on politics penned by J. K. L.

"CARLOW, *March 3rd, 1834.*

"MY DEAR LORD,—I had partially recovered from a long illness, but have again relapsed into such a state of debility as to be incapable of applying my mind to any subject requiring attention. Should it please God that I be again enabled to attend to business, I shall derive great gratification from the study of your Lordship's work.

"Perhaps it is in part owing to the state of my health that my hopes of the improvement of our country are weakened. I thought there was more intelligence and virtue among the middle classes of our people than there now appears to me to be. Their conduct at the period of the last general election, and since—in suffering themselves to be deceived, and then bestrode by the basest tyranny that ever established itself for any length of time in these latter ages—compels me, God knows how reluctantly, to doubt whether there be sufficient soundness in the community to render it capable of profiting by any liberal system of legislation. As to the lowest classes of the people, their demoralisation is extreme, and they thirst for disorder. I am very much of opinion that if there be a chance remaining of yet rescuing the country from the evil genius which troubles and torments it, and of placing the people within the fold of the law and constitution, a measure large and comprehensive, such as your Lordship's professes to be, would be most likely to attain those ends."

The Bishop's estimate of the then popular thirst for disorder is confirmed by a despatch from Lord Wellesley to Lord Melbourne, dated 18th April 1834. The viceroy enclosed the reports of the provincial inspectors. "Their opinion," he writes, "is unanimously and powerfully given in favour of the renewal of the Coercion Act," and his Excellency adds a most anxious desire that the Act might be renewed.

Mr. Littleton, afterwards Lord Hatherton, filled the office of Chief Secretary under the second viceroyalty of Lord Wellesley. "I had the greatest admiration," observes Lord Hatherton in a letter to the author, "of Dr. Doyle's mind and character."

When at all able, Dr. Doyle used to come into Carlow every day—sometimes to say mass at the convent, at other times to prepare the little children, by catechetical instruction, for their first Communion. One evening, shortly before the Bishop's death,

as he walked home leaning on his curate's arm, his countenance but too indicative of the unflagging labour and anxiety which day by day was wearing out his frame, a covered car, which proceeded in the same direction, drew up, and a respectable lady of the Society of Friends got out. "Bishop," she said, "thou lookest weakly, and if thou and thy curate take a seat in my vehicle, I will leave thee at home." Dr. Doyle gratefully accepted the courteous proposal, but had no sooner entered the car than he recognised a young lady who had expressed a strong desire to embrace Catholicism, but whose vocation had been ingeniously stifled by the arguments and taunts of this Quaker lady. "Madam," he said sternly, "I cannot shut my eyes or my mouth to the cruel act which you must be well aware you have performed towards that fine, ingenuous girl yonder. God, in His infinite goodness, permitted her soul to be filled by a great vocation. You urged her to turn a deaf ear to His voice, and but for *your* interference she should long since have been baptized." "She *has* been baptized, Bishop," replied the Quaker lady—"baptized in the spirit." "Out upon such baptism," he replied. "Yours is the theory of the Manichees, who held that baptism by water was not necessary to salvation. Without the outward and visible sign it is impossible to confer the inward or invisible grace by which the soul is cleansed from all sin, made the child of God, and an heir to the kingdom of heaven. They who have received the power to become the sons of God must be born thereto, 'not of blood,' which is all corrupted, 'nor of the will of the flesh,' which is equally vicious, nor even of 'the will of man,' which is exceedingly perverse—they must be 'born of God' by regeneration in water and the Word of life—they must be created anew in Christ Jesus, and receive of His fulness. The founders of your Society originally called themselves Seekers, from seeking the truth. Why, therefore, do *you*, who profess to follow Fox and Penn, attempt to stifle the solemn inquiry which your young friend wished to institute for her soul's good? You reject the marriage ceremony, because, as you allege, there is no Scripture warrant for it; while inconsistently you ignore conclusive passages of the Scriptures in favour of baptism. Christ gave His commission to the apostles to 'baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Peter says, 'Do penance and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus for the remission of your sins.' Our Lord has told us that 'unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' But happily it is not too late to seek and find the truth, for 'he that believeth and is baptized,' saith an Evangelist, 'shall be saved.'"

Dr. Doyle was for a moment silent. "And now, dear lady," he resumed: "having expressed myself in the language of sincerity, I hope you will not take it in anger. I could have wished that some other opportunity had been afforded of uttering my sentiments; but it is, perhaps, one of the privileges of a dying bishop to express his condemnation of wrong at all times and in all places. As he should make the most of the short period remaining for work, you will, perhaps, pardon the vehemence with which I spoke." Having now reached the gate of Braganza, the car stopped. "You must enter my hermitage," he said, "and partake of some refreshment, if for no other reason than to show me that you have not taken my rebuke in pique." "Well, Bishop," replied the good lady, "I embrace thy proposal in the spirit in which it is offered." St. Paul's remark that bishops should be hospitable was completely realised. Dr. Doyle's feeling heart admonished him that he had been led by zeal to transgress, and he now endeavoured to compensate his guest to the full. She was all the more struck by his cordial manner, from the contrast it presented to that honest bluntness of a previous hour, and her eyes filled with tears as the Bishop, taking her hand, observed that probably she would never again see him alive.

Dr. Doyle's early correspondent, Miss Gurley, sought a renewal of their epistolary intercourse, but his once vigorous thoughts had ceased to bound, and his hand was weak and powerless:—

"March 2d, 1834.

"DEAR HANNAH,—I am not able to write letters, and have very rarely done so for some time past. My strength has left me, and my illness has many fatal symptoms; but life or death from the hands of God are indifferent to me—I confide in His mercy. I know the charity you all bear towards me, and that you will continue to pray to God for me. I beg that He may bless you all."

The Bishop's sense of duty, however, was still indomitable, and he determined to die in the helmet of his office. It may well be imagined what an effort it must have caused him to produce, at this period of prostration, a *brochure* of fourteen pages. For the Lent of 1834, he published a pastoral address to his flock, which alludes to his own approaching dissolution:—

"Another year has passed, and we have been brought nearer to the judgment-seat of God. The holy time of Lent has come, when we are called upon to judge ourselves, that our sins may not be brought in judgment against us at that awful tribunal where each and all of us must shortly appear. The Almighty

God, who has placed me in His ministry to watch over you, that I may render to Him an account of your souls, has created in my heart an unceasing solicitude for your welfare. This solicitude and the continual pain I feel on account of the wants, or the errors, or the faults which prevail among you, urge me to address to you at this holy time, words of instruction and advice. Receive those words from me, beloved brethren, as a message sent to you from God; 'for we,' says the Apostle Paul, speaking of himself and his fellow-apostles, and of those who after them were to enter upon their labours—'for we,' says he, 'are ambassadors for Christ—God, as it were, exhorting by us.'"

The Lent, he explained, was not only a time of peace and reconciliation, but of repentance, atonement, and penance. The latter consisted of alms-deeds, prayer, and mortification. Having relapsed into sin after baptism there remains nought but a terrible anticipation of judgment, unless, aided by divine grace, we stir up by prayer the faith that is in us, and, fixing our eyes on Christ and detesting our past sins, we form a purpose of a new and better life. Thus we may awaken the hope that for the Saviour's sake God will be propitious to us. The Bishop impressively explained the means by which "if our sins were as red as scarlet, they should become whitened like snow." And referring to the relaxed rigours of Lent, he said: "Light, indeed, and short is the mortification which the Church enjoins; and lighter still and shorter it has become, so as to appear at present but as the shadow of what it once has been." Dr. Doyle briefly laid down the regulations which he wished his people to observe. "If we be desired to watch over you in order to give an account of your souls to Him who has purchased them with His blood, you are commanded to obey us, and be subject to us, that we may give that account not with sadness but with joy. If we be not faithful dispensers of the mysteries of God we shall be cast out with the wicked steward mentioned in the Gospel; but if you do not hear us and attend to our words whilst we preach that Gospel, it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha on the last day than for you. Hear us, therefore, beloved brethren, and let the word of God dwell abundantly in you."

But it was not fasting from the flesh-pots alone which he so earnestly inculcated. His flock should also fast from sin. He besought them to look back and see how far they had departed from the law of God. He reminded them of the love they were obliged to bear their neighbour, without distinction of friends or enemies, and urged them to compare with that obligation the envy, the anger, the strife, broils, and even bloodshed which of

late had been heard of among them. These were the attributes of the old man, of which they should strip themselves in order to put on the new. And, quoting from the Scripture, he added: "Put ye on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience—bearing with one another and forgiving one another. Even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so you also. But above all things have charity, which is the bond of perfection."

The Bishop, however, felt that it was in vain to exhort his flock to holiness of life if the causes which tempted them to swerve from it were not removed. These he analysed one by one. The use of alcohol received strong condemnation at his hands. "It consumes the substance of the poor, destroys the health and vigour of youth, stupifies manhood, and brutalises old age." Theft, lies, lust, and blood were its inseparable companions. He could say with the prophet that his "throat had become hoarse" crying out against that vice; and yet it prevailed—nay, prospered in the midst of the nakedness and desolation which spread on every side. "Oh, senseless people," cried the dying Bishop, "who has bewitched you not to obey the truth? The law of God condemned drunkenness as a crime which deserved hell; it enjoined sobriety as a virtue most necessary for a Christian people." Dr. Doyle concluded by saying that he who could command them in all things prescribed by that law was yet unwilling to do so, lest such command should be turned into an occasion of offence and a rock of scandal; but he implored of all who were prone to intemperance to desist for the sake of God and of Christ Jesus, before whose tribunal both Prelate and people should shortly stand.

This address was written; but several were spoken about the same time. In one of his later admonitory appeals to the student children at Carlow, he felt so weak that, contrary to custom, he was obliged to sit upon a form while addressing them.

Dr. Doyle had always been in the habit of dining at the same table with his curates. One day during this spring he was helped to a leg of chicken; but he had only eaten a tiny morsel when the priests observed that he could not go on. "Will your Lordship try something else?" asked Mr. Maher. "Your dinner is an excellent one," replied the Bishop; "but I cannot touch it. My appetite," he added with an effort at cheerfulness, "has become 'small by degrees and beautifully less,' until a scarcely perceptible particle satisfies me. I am reminded of the story of the old man and his donkey. He gradually reduced the feeding of the animal until two straws a-day were sufficient to sustain life; but the moment he put him off with one straw, poor Jack died."

"St. Austin preached constantly," observes his biographer. "Sometimes every day, and sometimes twice on the same day. He did not desist even when he was so weak as to be scarce able to speak ; but he seemed to gather strength in preaching, as we learn from his forty-second sermon ; and his ardour for the salvation of souls made him forget the pains of sickness." These remarks are singularly applicable to Dr. Doyle. We have already seen how closely he copied the finest characteristics of St. Augustin. In this particular he was also his zealous imitator. The Dean of Limerick observes : " I well remember, shortly before the death of Dr. Doyle, that, after celebrating mass at Carlow Convent and otherwise taxing his shattered constitution, he fainted from sheer exhaustion. He had already announced his intention of preaching that day ; and, as soon as he partially recovered from the swoon, the priests endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying out his purpose. But all to no use ; he was not to be turned from his resolution. Through life it had been his motto to falter at nothing which man had ever achieved before him. He was determined to accomplish what St. Augustin had mastered. ' I'll lean upon God ; ' he said ; ' He will not withdraw to let me fall.' The church was already filled by hundreds anxiously waiting to hear the Bishop's sermon and receive his benediction. I went to hear the evangelist contend with the empire of death for the hour which he thought duty demanded. With a countenance pale and careworn, and marked by the haggard hue of wasted energy, he tottered up the stairs of the pulpit. He was obliged to keep both hands firmly grasped to the front of the pulpit, or he should have fallen. He preached with wondrous power nevertheless, and almost with stentorian strength of lung. I well remember the piercing intonation of his first words—' We must preach, brethren, and woe to him who does not preach.' The sermon was listened to with breathless attention by priests and people. It was a splendid cornucopia of truths and precepts, sublime and practical."

Christ laid down His life for His flock ; and so fatally exhausting were the Bishop's labours in behalf of his charge that it seemed as though he desired to imitate Him, even to the sacrifice of life itself.

Dr. Doyle had the occasional power, during this advanced stage of his disease, of concentrating the life of many days in a single effort ; but once achieved, he would relapse into languor and remain prostrate from reaction until again aroused by a new call of duty. The inspiration held him up until he delivered the divine warning ; but when the elixir was withdrawn, he sunk back mute and passionless.

The Bishop's friends were filled with deep anxiety on his account. The Very Rev. Charles Stuart, who had made some studies with him in early life, overwhelmed by the emotions which a recollection of by-gone days aroused, was on the point of starting for Carlow to tender the homage of his love and sympathy, when he received the following reply :—

“CARLOW, *April 10th*, 1834.

“MY DEAR CHARLES,—I seldom attempt to write a letter. I am fully convinced of your affection for me, and assure you 'tis mutual. When lately in Dublin I gave the servants directions to deny me to all visitors, but these directions were not always observed. I am sorry you were not of those to whom they opposed no obstacle. I would regret your coming here. I am no longer able to converse, and the presence even of my friends, after a short time, becomes painful to me. About my death or recovery I feel perfectly indifferent, knowing that the designs of God will be fulfilled ; and having no link to bind me to this world, I bow with the more freedom and confidence to the divine mercy.”

[To a clergyman who expressed his intention of bringing some robust visitors to see the dying Bishop, he wrote, “I dread the clangour of your noisy priests.” It may be added in explanation that many of the older clergy who had been educated in France and Spain, though polite, and, as some would say, of very elegant manners, were occasionally noisy, and to most people, agreeably so. Their profusion of bows has been noticed by Lady Morgan.]

Mrs. Coney having got Father Maher, V.G., to break to Dr. Doyle the news of her advent, the following dialogue ensued : “You'll have a visitor to-day.” “Who?” “A lady.” “I sha'n't see her.” “Oh, but you must—your niece, Mary.” “I wish to the Lord she was in Halifax.” As soon as the lady made her appearance, however, he received her most kindly ; and what was then a novelty, he made an effort to join both guest and curates at dinner. “My Lord,” she said, “you ought to drink a little claret.” “There's not a drop in the house,” he replied. “Oh, but there is.” “I had really quite forgotten it—bring it in.” The Bishop drank a little and appeared revived. His niece had brought it unknown to him.

This revival was of short duration. “I saw him on the 29th of April,” writes Bishop O'Connor, “and he was so enfeebled as to be hardly able to help himself to a pinch of snuff.” Previous to this interview Dr. Doyle had addressed to each of his parish priests the following circular :—

"REV. SIR,—His Holiness the Pope, by virtue of a rescript directed to me, bearing date the 9th day of March last past, having graciously permitted me to convene a meeting of the parochial clergy of these dioceses, to be held in the manner and form prescribed by the decree of the congregation of the 17th October 1829, at such time and place as I might appoint conformably to the said decree, for the purpose that the said clergy would commend by their suffrages three ecclesiastical persons to his Holiness, of whom he might be pleased to appoint one to be my coadjutor, with a right of succession in these sees; now these presents are sent to apprise you of the above, and to require your attendance at a meeting of the aforesaid clergy, to be held in our cathedral church in Carlow, for the purpose above-mentioned, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon, on Monday the 21st of April instant."

[To his old friend, the Rev. Martin Doyle, he confidentially writes in a remarkable letter now first published :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have no wish whatever to influence the votes of the clergy, and advise you to take no trouble in that way. I hope the Lord will direct them. But as you wish my opinion as a private friend to assist your own judgment I give it you in strict confidence.

"I would greatly prefer to all others Paul Cullen, now of Rome. He is a priest of the diocese—greatly eminent for piety, learning, and the conducting of the most delicate and difficult affairs, having a good name in Rome and here, and endowed with all the qualities required in a bishop. His not being on the mission is his strongest recommendation in my eyes. Next to him I would select Laurence Dunne of Castledermot, and next, either Edward Nolan, or Phil Healy of Clonmore."

Fr., now Archdeacon Dunne¹ was one of the names recommended by the clergy of the arch-diocese of Dublin on the death

¹ [From an early period Dr. Doyle's eye had been favourably fixed on Laurence Dunne. The following letters, in proof of it, are now printed for the first time, and should have been inserted earlier had they reached our hands. To Archbishop Troy, he writes on July 1, 1822 :—

"MY LORD,—The Rev. Laurence Dunne, one of your Grace's subjects, who has been lately ordained here, desires that I should introduce him to your Grace. He has been at our college for the last eight or ten years; and in truth I could not express to your Grace how much the great purity of his life and amiability of his manners endeared him to all his companions and superiors. I have always had a particular affection for him on account of his eminent virtues; his talents and acquirements are very considerable, and I am confident your Grace will find him an ornament to his profession."

Two years after we find him a curate in Meath Street, and thus addressed by Dr. Doyle :—

"OLD DERRIG, August 25th, 1824.

"MY DEAR REV. SIR,—Were you disposed to become a candidate for the office of Secretary to the Trustees of M.:ynooth yourself, you should have my earnest and anxious

of Dr. Murray. "Phil Healy," late parish priest of Monastereven, having proved himself godly "in works, in doctrine, integrity, and in gravity" (Tobias ii. c. iv.), became Vicar-General, and died in 1878, aged eighty-six.

Surprise, if not pique, had been felt that Dr. Doyle should have appointed to the dignity of Vicar-General so young a man as the Rev. James Maher, who had been his curate to within a short period previously. This ascetic priest—one very stern in the discharge of official duty—was uncle of Dr. Cullen; and but a small number of parish priests recommended that subsequently historic name.]

To Archbishop Murray Dr. Doyle writes :—

"BRAGANZA, April 21st, 1834.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am unable to take any active share in the meeting of the clergy to be held this day. May I therefore beg your Grace will have the goodness to preside over the said meeting, which will find its greatest happiness in attending to every intimation of your Grace's will."

Forty-three parish priests assembled. At the termination of mass to the Holy Ghost all the congregation were ordered to leave the cathedral, except the parish priests, who are the sole electors in this diocese, there being no chapter nor canons. The names returned by the scrutators were, Rev. Edward Nolan, Professor of Theology, 38 votes; Rev. Mr. Flanagan, V.G., 31 votes; Rev. D. Lalor, parish priest, 26 votes. The voting was carried on by private ballot.

Dr. Doyle had corresponded with Dr. Cullen as agent at Rome to the Irish Catholic Bishops. He remembered him at Carlow in 1819, as a youth of promise; in 1834 he had barely attained his twenty-sixth year; but Dr. Doyle, with that depth of penetration which characterised him, discerned in Dr. Cullen all the requisite materials for a great bishop. When the clergy had assembled to deliberate, Dr. Doyle said—"May God direct them in their choice. I wonder will they have the good sense to elect that boy in Rome."

This letter to Mariana is the last written by Dr. Doyle :—

"CARLOW, May 4th, 1834.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I was of course much gratified by the receipt of your last letter; but since it has been in my hands I

support, for I know you have imbibed deeply that good spirit of an ecclesiastic which teaches with Thomas à Kempis *ne te Rebus misceas alienis et te implius causis majorem*, a spirit which would fit you, though young, for an important office. I shall keep myself disengaged till the time of the election, at which it is very doubtful whether I can attend; and you may be assured I will not forget your wishes in Mr. Flanagan's favour, nor omit any opportunity of evincing the sincere esteem and true affection with which I always am
"your faithful friend, &c.,
J. DOYLE."

was unable to tell you I had received it. I am now quite unable to write, though my hand as you observe is but little shaken, and unless I speedily improve—and I believe my most sanguine friends scarcely hope I shall—this is the last time I will attempt to disturb your peace by placing before you that image of coming dissolution which so strongly affects you. It is *merely possible* that my present illness be not for death ; but supposing the contrary, have I not lived long enough ? The objects for which I seem to have been sent into the world are, in a great degree, attained ; and as the mercy of God is above all His works, and as He hates nothing of what He has made, may we not hope that He is chastising my offences before He calls me to judgment—a judgment which no man can stand. These, dear Mariana, are my hopes ; for as I never received aught but good from the hand of God, I can scarcely fear that He will break me, like the rod mentioned by a prophet, and cast me away. ‘All his gifts,’ says St. Paul, ‘are without repentance’—that is, He is never sorry for any grace or gift He bestows, and if so, I humbly hope He will take away my sins like a cloud, and perfect the gifts He has conferred upon me from the days of my youth. I feel no kind of attachment to anything in this world, and the threatened separation from my friends gives me no pain. Strive to wean yourself by degrees from all your friends living and dead ; pray for us, and be content. May God bless you, dear Mariana, and believe me, &c.,

“✠ J. DOYLE.”

[Dr. Doyle's retirement from the public arena led numerous itinerant missionaries to circulate the report that his views had undergone a change, and that he was dying a Protestant. Lord Shrewsbury found Bristol completely placarded with an announcement that an inquisition had just been held on Dr. Doyle by four Jesuits, who, finding that he was in error, decreed that he should be subjected to the discipline. A great crowd, it was added, had collected outside Braganza, and a frightful sensation was produced when the emaciated frame of Dr. Doyle, marked from the lash, was exhibited at the window by Dr. Kenny, who exclaimed, “Behold the penance suffered by your Bishop for his sins !” Lord Shrewsbury enclosed the lying placard in a long letter to Father Kenny, and both documents are still preserved at Clongowes as a curiosity.¹]

¹ A few weeks later Lord Shrewsbury wrote :—“I cannot but feelingly express the fervent tribute of my lively gratitude and most profound veneration for a Prelate uniformly distinguished by the most unremitting zeal and activity, and by the most incessant charity and disinterested purity in the discharge of all his sacred duties—a Prelate whom no dangers have ever terrified, and no seduction has ever led astray, and no temptation could ever bribe from the faithful performance of the duties he owed to his God and to

The Vicar-General opened all Dr. Doyle's letters for weeks before his death. "Well, what letters to-day?" he would ask. "Six, my Lord; one from the Secretary of State, soliciting your opinion on his new Bill; another from Sydney Smith, declaring that the public expression of your opinion on Church property at this crisis would be hailed as a boon by the British Dissenters as well as by Catholics; a third from Father —, begging of you to give him faculties; a fourth from a parson arguing a point of theology with you; and two from evangelical ladies, urging you to embrace the truths of Protestantism." Regarding the political letters, Dr. Doyle would merely mutter, "Othello's occupation's gone." To the priest, although not under suspension, he declined for sufficient reasons to grant faculties. Father Maher afterwards communicated this decision to Dr. Doyle's successors, Bishops Nolan and Haly, both of whom religiously observed what they regarded as a dying injunction. The Vicar-General next read for Dr. Doyle a long letter signed "Maria," expressing wonder that so powerful a mind as his should be oppressed by the trammels of Popery, and arguing fluently on polemics. "Ah!" he would say, "what a pity that their knowledge is not commensurate with their zeal. If they possessed the true faith what charity they would have. They seek the truth, but do not find it. Dear, dear! how glibly they quote from the Sacred Volume, covering their own nakedness with its shreds and patches. May the Holy Ghost inspire them to find the truth. Pity that zeal so strong should not find the right field for its exercise." "She encloses a high-flown description," proceeded Dr. Maher, "of the last moments of a fair Methodist." "Read it." He did so. The account was extremely inflated, and dwelt particularly on the lady's hopes in the *merits* of Christ. "Poor creature," said Dr. Doyle, with a writhing of pain; "in what else could she trust?"

Father Maher took up a newspaper, and read aloud a long letter by an eminent bishop who then and since enjoyed a high reputation for his eloquence. "Ah!" exclaimed J. K. L., turning on his pillow, "there is no ballast in him."

Dr. Doyle's dying injunction that a certain clergyman should never receive faculties in the diocese was no exceptional case of episcopal austerity. After his death a manuscript book fell into the hands of Bishop Nolan, wherein was recorded, for the guidance of that prelate and his successors, the names of families of which he ruled that no member should be at any time ordained priest.

his country; ever the firm, and manly, and decided advocate and supporter of the rights of the people, and of every measure calculated to ameliorate their condition. Dr. Doyle has now obtained, as he well deserved during life, the heartfelt admiration of all the members of the Catholic faith, and also the decided approbation of the liberal and enlightened of every other religion."

CHAPTER XXVI.

CLOSING SCENES.

"There is nothing in history which is so improving to the reader as accounts of the deaths of eminent persons, and of their behaviour in that dreadful season. There are no parts in history which affect and please the reader in so sensible a manner:—because there is no other single circumstance in the story of any person, which can possibly be the case of every one who reads."—*Addison*.

"The wise good man is gone—
His honoured head lies low,
And his thoughts of power are done,
And his voice's manly flow;
And the pen, that for truth like a sword was drawn,
Is still and soulless now."—BISHOP DOANE.

IN one of the remarkable conversations which passed between the Bishop and his Vicar-General, he was asked if he should not wish to live longer. "About my death or recovery," said Dr. Doyle, "I feel perfectly indifferent. I came into the world without any exercise of my will, and it is only fitting that I should leave it in the same manner. I never knew any one who wished to live longer in order to do a great deal of good who did not do a great deal of harm. All my hopes are in the mercies of God. Am I not as near them now as though I were to remain forty years longer on earth?"

The Bishop devoted much time to prayer and thought. The intervals he would sometimes employ in the consideration of such metaphysical subjects as the nature and attributes of the soul. Nor is it surprising that a man of vigorous intellect, who knew his soul to be on the eve of separation from the body, should meditate much on the destination and immortality of that soul.

A lassitude continued to bind him down, especially when left much alone; but his intellectual activity was so great that, like the pendulum of a clock, the slightest touch would set it going. Any impulse imparted by a genial mind rarely failed to set in motion the dying Bishop's thoughts.

"About six weeks before the death of Dr. Doyle," writes Dr. Cahill, "I visited him; it was late in the evening, and the sun was just setting in a cloudless May sky. The Bishop was alone, was very much exhausted, and in fact so feeble as to remain erect with difficulty. He continually complained of a feeling of suffocation, and he had been often removed from room to room

looking for relief from this overwhelming sensation. On this occasion he was carried to the library window, and thus situated he pensively fixed his eyes, as nearly as the position of the house would permit, on the darkening shades of the west. Although he was aware that the priest (an intimate visitor) had entered the room, having heard his name announced by the servant, he still kept his large hazel eyes riveted to the same view, and remained for a considerable time silent and motionless as a statue. Then awakening, as it were from a reverie, and turning round with a sad smile, 'Alas!' he said, 'how little conscious—or rather how indifferent are men to the glorious lessons which our good God every day, every hour, every minute, places before us in every object that surrounds us to captivate the intellect and to move the heart. What signify the ideas of men, on paper or in conversation, in comparison with the facts displayed before us in the wonderful works of nature. Oh! such power, such wisdom, such order, and such Providence; and in their silent exhibition, such eloquence—such persuasion! What a cheering picture of opening life was that sun as it rose this morning in the east; and what a sorrowful emblem of the decline of our days it is now, when about to disappear in the west! What a picture in its way, on this glorious evening, of the death of the just man, as, after a brilliant, spotless life, the day of existence is spent, and the darkness of the grave is about to commence—ah! yes; the dark, dark grave! All nature will be lighted up again to-morrow morning; but not so the grave—"*Semper hyems in tumulto imperat.*" But it is too the glorious grave, as the soul rises from it to the never-ending day of eternity. It is the end of the battle of life—there the soul and body separate, and the wrench must be terrific. In the awful struggle between life and death the grave appears to conquer. But no, my dear friend,' he said (assuming a noble look, as it were, of haughty defiance); 'the soul of the just man conquers here—and, Lord, how true are the words, "O grave, where is thy victory?"' It is surprising,' he continued, 'how imperfectly these ideas strike us when men are in vigorous youth. In the weak, serious, and ruminative moments of life these thoughts cannot make that impression which a glance at one's own grave produces. While death speaks to others we listen with comparative unconcern; but be assured when death is seen approaching ourselves—when his voice sounds in the ear like a funeral knell, you become in an instant like a dead man, hating and despising everything in this world except holiness of life. And what a grace from God—what a favour from Heaven, to purify us by sickness beforehand.

It is a divine messenger to bid us prepare—it is the voice of God Himself, who in love speaks to us to save us.’

“During the delivery of this sermon, of which the foregoing is a mere outline, he seemed perfectly happy; his spirits towards the end became absolutely buoyant; his voice took a deep, solemn, measured tone; and being at the time a mere skeleton, wrapped in a thick counterpane, he looked like a being who belonged neither to this world nor the next, but placed on the boundary between both, reviewing the vanities of the one, and the solid glories of the other. The sermon, in fact, was the epitome of the Christian life, and it was delivered with the incomparable firmness of manner which distinguished him in life, and which was predominant in his character, even on the brink of the grave. There was no whining, no tears in this scene; neither was there fearless presumption. It was the courageous feeling of a great servant of God; it was the noble bearing of an eminent Prelate of the Church, glancing at the world which he was about to quit, and looking steadily into the eternity just opening before him; it was the fulfilment of all his teaching and his example through life.”

The resignation of all right and title to earthly possessions made in his youth, he respected rigorously to the last. The week before his death he wrote, for form’s sake, a will of two lines—“All things that I possess came to me from the Church; and to the Church and to the poor let them return all.”

“He had been contemplating a journey to the Continent for the last six months,” observes Bishop Clancy, “and a residence there for two years, and through the generosity of his priests and friends made some provision for that expensive journey; but as this was not now practicable, he ordered the sum collected to be distributed amongst the convent-schools and other charitable institutions.”

Dr. Doyle expressed a wish to be interred in the same grave with his predecessor, Dr. O’Keefe, who when dying directed that his body should be borne by paupers and buried beneath the walk of the churchyard. But Dr. Doyle was assured that were the bones of J. K. L. interred anywhere outside the cathedral, the warm-hearted people would carry them away. “Well, if so,” said he, “take care that you do not spoil my new chapel. Let there be no monument or any unnecessary expense.”

“Knowing that Dr. Doyle was on the point of death,” writes Bishop O’Connor, “I called at Braganza on my way to London on the 12th of June 1834, to take my last leave of him. I had just been appointed to the episcopacy through his exertion—

but without my knowledge. He recommended me to the Holy See through Dr. Murray. Being educated in Portugal he was very anxious to promote the mission in the East Indies, and when the opportunity occurred he fixed on me *proprio motu*, and felt gratified that an Irish Augustinian should be the first British-born subject that ever was a R. C. Bishop in British India. I knew nothing of the matter until the bulls were presented to me. Father Maher introduced me into Dr. Doyle's bedroom, where he lay upon a sofa, dying. He conversed with me a short time as well as the weakness of approaching death would permit. He was scarcely able to raise himself on his couch as I knelt down to implore his blessing. He placed his hand upon my head and said, 'Go—do good. God bless you !' The expressions almost threw him into the agony, and I retired. I received these last words as an oracle from on high ; and I had afterwards the comfort to think that his blessing was fruitful, in my being the instrument of reducing chaos to order, and that the mission of Madras ever since is one of the most happy and fruitful in the Church."

Archdeacon Dunne writes : "I had the melancholy gratification of witnessing his holy and thoroughly Catholic feeling in his chamber of death. I visited him after he had received the last sacraments of the Church. One of his respected parish priests accompanied me. The Bishop was able to give me his usual familiar greeting, calling me by my Christian name with the enfeebled tongue from which I had so often heard words of fiery eloquence. It was then I found that the suffering Prelate caused his exhausted frame to be carried out of his death-bed to be stretched in a sheet on the bare floor, that with lowly reverence and profoundest respect he might receive as Viaticum the body and blood of Christ. The good priest told me this with wonder, but I was not surprised."¹

The Bishop having said, "Take this body of flesh and fling it on the floor," his attendants gathered up the four corners of the sheet and placed their burden upon the ground. Dr. Doyle several times endeavoured to raise his long bony arms in order to meet his fingers in an attitude of prayer, but they as often fell, from sheer debility. At last Dr. Maher presented the Holy Viaticum. "The sublimity and joy of the Bishop's prayer, while I repeated the words, '*Ecce Agnus Dei*,' baffles all description. It seemed to me as if the dying Prelate absolutely saw a vision of Christ standing meekly and lovingly before him, and that he was fired with an ardour to become instantaneously dissolved."

¹ Canon Dunne had frequently seen Dr. Doyle manifest extraordinary demonstrations of respect in presence of the Eucharist. See p. 52, ante.

On the day previous to his death, Father Martin Doyle celebrated mass at Braganza. The dying Bishop answered with audible accuracy every part of the mass to which it is an acolyte's duty to respond. His bedroom windows were open to admit fresh air. The person who occupied the gate-lodge informs us, that so strong and sonorous was his voice to the last, that every motion of it, either in prayer or conversation, could be distinctly heard at the bottom of the long avenue leading to Braganza House. "During this tedious and fatal illness, he could not sleep unless an occasional doze of a few minutes, from which almost the dropping of a pin would rouse him. You might see Father Edward Nolan, afterwards the Bishop, gliding on tip-toe along the gravelled walks or across the lawn, with hat in hand, endeavouring to silence or chase away the cuckoo."

[This bird, not only all day but all night continued, almost under the Bishop's window, which remained open for air, to tease him greatly by its incessant cry. At last a donkey in a neighbouring field set up a deafening roar; and two of the priests were hurrying out to have it banished when Dr. Doyle said, "Let him alone! I don't object to its honest, outspoken bray; it is the endless droning of that restless bird which teases me."]

Considering that the season was midsummer and not winter, the visit of two robin-redbreasts to the sick-room may be noticed as interesting. They remained fluttering round, and sometimes perching on the uncurtained bed. The priests, struck by the novelty of the circumstance, made no effort to expel the little visitors, and the robins hung lovingly over the Bishop's head until death released him.¹

Dr. Taylor writes: "It was my melancholy consolation to sit by Dr. Doyle's bedside for some hours the evening before he died, and there to read out prayers for him and to listen to him joining in them audibly. From time to time he used to fall off in swoons that seemed each of them the immediate prelude of death: while he was in one of those I was reciting aloud the prayers for a departing soul, the attendants on their knees answering, when unexpectedly he again came to himself, and noticing his servant-man in tears, he said in a firm voice: 'John, why are you crying?' 'Oh! my Lord,' said the young man sobbing, 'what will become of me when I lose you?' 'My child,' said the dying Bishop,

¹ [Lovers of the supernatural would be interested in inquiring whether the death of any other members of Dr. Doyle's race had been preceded by the appearance of a bird; as in the case of the Asenham family and others. See Howell's "Familiar Epistles;" Gough's additions to Camden's "Britannia;" Price's "Worthies of Devon;" "Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe," and Kingsley's "Westward Ho." The newspapers of 1878 contained frequent reference to "Pio's Pigeon." It was said to hover successively over the Pope's carriage, couch, and catafalque.]

'where is your faith? Will not our good God continue to take care of you?—the hairs of your head are numbered with Him.'¹ He heard the clock on the stair-head strike, and having asked, 'What hour is that?' I answered, 'Seven.' 'Blessed be the name of the Lord,' said he, 'have I lived so long?' Soon after this the swoons began to follow in quick succession."

The present Bishop of Kildare stood by the bedside of Dr. Doyle the whole of his last night in this world. At three o'clock, just as the grey dawn was breaking, Dr. Doyle requested to be carried from his bed, and placed opposite an open window. In this position he slightly revived. The fresh air of morning was laden with fragrance. The song of the blackbird mingled with the harsher tones of the cornrake. The Bishop's eyes rested on the rich country, smiling in the luxuriance of June. To the last, his mind was as clear and collected as possible. Having detailed to the good priest who supported his knees several directions which he wished to have carried out, Dr. Doyle gave his thoughts entirely up to God, and indulged in a prolonged series of ejaculatory prayers. "He made his confession to Dr. Nolan," continues Bishop Walshe. "He received the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. The fervent piety, the touching sentiments of lively faith, hope, and charity with which the dying Prelate received these last rites can never be forgotten by those who witnessed the striking and edifying spectacle. May my last end be like to his!"

The fortitude and resignation with which he submitted to the stroke of God, was indeed singularly grand. Dr. Meagher's words are so striking, that although they repeat an incident already described, we hesitate to mutilate them.—"How well, like Paul, the great apostle of nations—whose character his so strongly resembled, and from whose inspired and inspiring writings he drew so much of that sublime spirit which breathes through his own—might the dying Bishop not have exclaimed: 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, and now there is laid up for me a crown of glory which the Lord shall render to me, the just Judge.' But no! humble and mortified to the last, he could not endure one utterance that reminded him of any good he had done—to God alone he gave all the merit, on God alone were all his ideas fixed. When exhausted nature apprised him that the last sad struggle was approaching, he called for the Viaticum. But recollecting that his Master had expired on

¹ Determined to the last to break down that haughty feeling of which he speaks (vol. i. p. 459); Dr. Doyle, with exemplary humility, begged his servant's pardon for any exclamation of peevishness or impatience which in the torture of his prolonged illness might have escaped him.

the hard bed of the cross, and anxious to resemble Him even in His end, he ordered his mourning priests to lift him almost naked from his bed and stretch him upon the cold and rigid floor; and there, in humiliation, and penance, and prayer, James Kildare and Leighlin accepted the last earthly embrace of God."

It may with truth be said that Dr. Doyle not only taught his people how to live, but also how to die. "Never, in my life," records the Bishop of Ossory, "was I so edified as by the death of that Prelate; the firmness of his faith—the ardour of his hope—the fire of his charity, gave the fullest manifestation of his being about to take possession of a better life. Like St. Paul, he was burning with anxiety to be 'dissolved and to be with Christ,' but he was contented still to linger in pain, that he might be more like his dying Saviour."

Whilst in his agony the sacrifice of the mass was offered up at Braganza, the cathedral, the college, and in the neighbouring parishes, to solicit for him the grace of a happy death; and at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, the 15th of June 1834, Dr. Doyle, in the forty-eighth year of his age and the fifteenth of his episcopate, passed from this life to receive an "imperishable crown" from the Master whom he had so long and so faithfully served.

The Irish correspondent of "The Standard" writes: "I have just come from seeing the remains of Dr. Doyle. The body was lying as he died—on a narrow truckle-bed not six inches wider than his body apparently, and with only a straw mattress beneath him. Thus it would seem that bodily penance was added to his emaciating illness."¹

All the shops in Carlow, Catholic and Protestant, remained closed during several successive days. The cathedral, college, and convent bells tolled throughout the entire week. On Monday permission was given to the public to view the remains as they lay in state, dressed with mitre, rochet, cross, and crozier. "The road from the town to the dwelling-house," records Bishop Clancy, "was crowded with people of every rank and age, from the wealthy shopkeeper, merchant, and farmer, to the poorest tradesman and labourer. The children also, and the aged, pressed forward to bid a long farewell to that spiritual parent and benefactor who so often eloquently preached to them a future and a better world."

On Tuesday, vast crowds assembled at Braganza and appealed to the clergy to allow them to testify their respect by unyoking the horses from the hearse, and drawing it the entire way. This filial request having been assented to, the melancholy procession

¹ [Dr. Doyle's hat, still preserved at Braganza, reveals that if his figure was slight, he must have had a very large head. The hat covers the eyes of most men who try it on.]

moved slowly on, the priests chanting the psalms *Miserere* and *De Profundis*. The students and professors, attired in surplice and soutane, met the remains at the outer door of the cathedral. The venerable President, Dr. Fitzgerald, was attired in a mourning cope and stole, and, during the reading of the service, wept so deeply as to attract and excite the sympathy of all present. Prayers for the dead continued to be offered on Tuesday and Wednesday ; whilst the students kept mournful vigils over the body during two nights, as it lay in an open shell.

The following lines, suggested by impressions at the time, record the emotions of the moment, as well as the various accompaniments of a spectacle which few now survive to remember and describe :

God's holy house in mourning lay,
No light through the windows beaming ;
The flickering lamps shed their feeble ray,
Like stars at midnight gleaming.

Through the vaulted aisles sad music stole,
And the dirge of death was knelling,
For the Sovereign Judge had summoned a soul
To depart from its earthly dwelling.

Before the altar a corse was laid,
In a sacred robe arrayed there—
The crosier, and cross, and the mitred head,
Too plainly told who was laid there.

Crowds were around, but sadness and awe
Held them mute, and a chill came o'er them
As they gazed on the pale, cold corse and saw
That their father lay dead before them.

Oh ! had you seen the poor people there,
By the side of that body kneeling—
Their horny hands uplifted in prayer,
While tears down their cheeks were stealing.

And, oh ! had you seen them moving on,
With reverent air and lowly,
To touch the robe of him that was gone,
As a relic precious and holy !

The solemn scene had saddened me so,
That to fly from the grief that pressed me,
I turned to leave, but, ere I could go,
A stranger's voice addressed me :

“ And wherefore this pomp,—this funeral knell,
And these crowds that weep as they gather ? ”
“ Ah ! wherefore ? ” I said, “ that open shell
Holds their prelate, their friend, and their father.”

To the Lord he lived—in the Lord he died—
To Him were his pure thoughts tending ;
And surely with Him hath gone to abide,
’Mid the joys that know no ending !

On the wealth of this world he looked as nought,
 As nought he regarded its pleasure ;
 In heaven alone he found what he sought—
 A sure and abiding treasure.

An Apostle of Christ—in the Church a light—
 The cross of his Master bore he—
 Like a pillar of fire through the world's dark night,
 Leading on to the promised glory !

'Mid all his cares would he never withhold
 Defence when his country needed—
 Ah, no ! to the world her wrongs he told—
 For her rights, for her poor he pleaded.

But, alas ! he was filled with a spirit too brave,
 That to gen'rous conflicts bore him ;
 He fell in his prime, and an early grave
 Is waiting now to close o'er him !

Religion bewails her vanished son,
 And Letters the light bereft them ;
 His country grieves that her champion is gone
 And the poor that their friend has left them.

Ah ! when shall we look on his like again ?
 But shall we forget him ?—Never :
 Great, glorious Doyle : may thy soul remain
 In bliss for ever and ever !

A solemn office and High Mass were celebrated in the darkened Cathedral. Dr. Kinsella acted as celebrant. Archbishop Murray presided in the choir ; “and if one may judge from the expression of his countenance,” observes a contemporary letter, “and the plaintive tones and pathetic manner in which he read the usual prayers, his heart struggled with no ordinary feelings of sorrow for the suffragan and friend lying dead before him.” Bishops Slattery, Murphy, and Keatinge, were also present.

At 3 o'clock the funeral cortege left the college park. It consisted of the female children from the convent, 400 persons in scarfs and hat-bands, the lay and ecclesiastical students, the professors and clergy, the pall-bearers, including Walter Blackney, Esq., M.P., and Thomas Wallace, Esq., M.P., the chief mourners, and the relatives of Dr. Doyle. The procession was two miles in length, and included 20,000 persons. On its return at five o'clock, the body was received by the Bishops at the western door of the cathedral. The mortal remains of J. K. L. were then lowered into a deep grave, opposite the altar, amid the tears and benedictions of prelates, priests, and people.¹

¹ “Pilgrims of devotion and lovers of their country's glory will yet kneel upon that grave,” said Dr. Meagher : “The inspiring marble may cheer them by a glimpse of what

Sobs told that J. K. L. was gone ; but a consolatory assurance came—that he was not altogether lost to his flock. His were not the virtues whose merits should be measured by the period of his brief sojourn here. His deeds were not those whose results terminate with life's short span. Not alone the souls whom his efforts sanctified remain to perfect in themselves the piety which he inspired, and to propagate long and far its influence among others—not alone the priesthood whom he instructed—the pious institutions which he reared—the wise regulations he established—and “the good works that perish not” of which he was the architect, remain to attest his unwearied zeal, and extend the benefits and perpetuate the merits of his apostolic life ; but the charms of his bright example, the recollections of his public and domestic virtues, the ardent devotion and commanding wisdom of his imperishable writings, are left to guide his successors, to edify his people, to exalt his country, to console the Church, and to enlighten mankind.

he was, and fire them to aspire to what he exhorted their fathers to become.” This monument, the masterpiece of Hogan's genius, has more than once inspired the voice of patriotism and eloquence. Thus, Cardinal Wiseman, having made a special visit to Carlow while suffering from mortal disease, spoke, in 1857, these words :—“There was one object there, a tomb, which reminded him how much the awakening of a powerful religious feeling in Ireland was due to that great and noble theologian, the pride of his country, J. K. L. He remembered, when young himself, reading the glowing letters which awakened anew an enthusiastic feeling in every one who perused them, which, while they confounded the enemies of the faith, encouraged its friends, and which might be said to be the first trumpet note of that out-spoken Catholicity and bold avowal of faith which had since become the general law of the country. He remembered the enemies of their faith perplexed—struck by wonder at the man whose courage, and ability, and address, and learning, and eloquence enabled him to speak so powerfully in defence and vindication of his religion.”

APPENDIX.

FORFEITED ESTATES.

(Vol. i. p. 3.)

Strafford's Letters (vol. i. p. 353) admit the necessity of packing a jury for effecting forfeitures and "plantations." "Nay," he adds, "in case there be no title to be made good to these countries in the crown, I should not despair to have them passed to the king by an immediate Act of Parliament." He admits (p. 339) that he "inquired after fit men to serve upon juries, and treated with such as would give furtherance to the King's title."

The judges were bribed with four shillings in the pound of the value of all lands received before them for the crown; and Strafford boasted (vol. ii. p. 41) that he thus made the Chief Baron and other judges "attend to the affair as if it were their own private business." The Viceroy was not less pliant than the judges. In a letter to Laud, dated 1st October 1633, but suppressed by the Editor of Strafford's State Papers, the Viceroy observes: "I am in the hands of my maister to be moulded to honour or dishonour as shall be to his good pleasure, without having whereon to complain."

A day of retribution, however, was at hand; the English Commons censured Strafford's administration. "Jurors," it said, "who gave their verdict according to their conscience were censured in the Castle-chamber in great fines, sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead, with other infamous punishments." It transpired that a Galway jury who refused to find for the king were subjected to penalties of £4000 each. The sheriff was fined £1000 at the same time for having returned an inefficient panel. Sir John Davis, originally a pliant commissioner, had been appointed judge to enforce the findings of the juries, and received for his pains 4000 acres of the confiscated lands.

DR. DOYLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE
REV. DR. M'GHEE.

(Vol. i. p. 84.)

"CARLOW COLLEGE, 31st October 1817.

"REV. SIR,—I appreciate highly the zeal and candour that inclines you, 'as a Gospel minister,' to express your opinion on the practice of our Church which regulates the reading of the Bible, by withholding it from such persons as should not, in her opinion, profit by it, or who might abuse it; and enjoining all those who read it to receive such interpretation of the different parts as has been bestowed by the Fathers of the Church—those pastors and teachers whom Christ has given 'for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry'—even 'till we all meet in the unity of faith, that we may not be children tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine in the wickedness of men, in the craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive (Eph. iv.). You consider this practice as unscriptural and contrary to the practice of Christ and His Apostles, who referred the people to the Scriptures: you add that it is the undoubted right of every man to read the Bible, and the duty of every Christian minister to induce all to search the Scriptures. Under this impression you express a hope that *we* should shortly see the matter in this point of view, and conclude by a pious wish, in which I heartily concur, that we may all behold the cross as the ground of our hope before God, through Him who was wounded for our transgressions, and by whose bruises we are healed. These remarks of yours seem to call for some explanation from me, as it is my duty always to render an account of the hope that is in me, and to vindicate, as far as I am able, the doctrine and practice of that Church of which I am a most unworthy minister. Indeed, Rev. Sir, I should be desirous to remove from your generous mind even a shadow of misconception; it is by mutual explanations and cool discussions that difficulties are overcome, peace preserved, and charity promoted.

"You are well aware that we Catholics recognise in the Church of Christ a supreme authority, and that all our rights as Christians are subject to its control. We are of opinion that as in society natural rights, if unrestrained, would create anarchy, but when regulated by law produce civil liberty—so in the Christian society certain rights, if unrestrained, would engender schisms and heresies, but when regulated by Church authority they produce that evangelical liberty to which civil liberty bears a faint resemblance.

"We do then acknowledge with you that every Christian, according to his respective capacity, has a right to all those gifts which our Redeemer has bestowed on His followers; and among these gifts the sacred Scriptures hold a high place. But then these rights, however undoubted, must be regulated; otherwise, like in the civil state, all would be confusion. Is not the Priesthood, for example, given to the Church? And permit me to

ask, have all the members of the Church an undoubted right to become priests, or only such of them 'as are called by God as Aaron was'? Is not the ministry of the Word granted to the Church? And are all entitled to preach? No, plainly; for how can they preach unless they are sent? So the Scriptures are given to the Church; and those who are placed by the Holy Ghost to govern it may permit the reading of the Scriptures to such of their subjects as may profit by them, and withhold such permission from those who might use it 'to their own destruction.' This salutary authority 'is necessary, in order to preserve the unity of spirit in the bond of peace' (Eph. iv.). If every member of the Church—which is the body of Christ—were to define his own rights, and exercise them according to his caprice, where would be that harmony between the several parts which the Apostle (1 Cor. xii.) so earnestly recommended? But it is not so: 'for God hath set the members every one in the body as it hath pleased Him' (1 Cor., *ut supra*).

"This is no theory of modern invention—it is the Christian religion as established by its Founder. As His Father sent Him, vested with all power in heaven and on earth, so did He send His Apostles to teach all nations, to baptize them, and teach them what they had got in command; and so He would remain with them even to the end of the world. Whosoever despises them, despises Him; and whosoever hears them, hears Him. The Apostles and their successors—those bishops whom the Holy Ghost has placed to govern the Church of God—form with their flocks that entire congregation of Christians against which the gates of hell will not prevail—that Church of the living God which is the pillar and the ground of truth—that Church, in fine, which if any person refuse to hear, he is thenceforth to be rejected as a heathen and a publican (St. Matt. xxviii.; Acts, Tim., *et ab passim*).

"Submitting, then, as we do, to this authority so plainly established and vested with such high prerogatives, we receive the Scriptures as our birth-right in Christ, that we may be instructed and consoled whilst we meditate on them night and day. We receive them as the written law given by Christ to His subjects; but should their sense be hidden from us, or their meaning appear doubtful—whereas there are many things in them hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstable wrest to their own perdition (1 Pet.)—then we must have recourse to the authority established by Christ, that is, to those pastors and teachers whom He has given to His Church, and to whom He left His own power to teach all truth, even to the consummation of ages.

"The faithful, then, who have an undoubted right to read the Scriptures, must use this right subject to the regulation of the Church. Times and circumstances may require that this right be suspended with regard to certain classes of persons, and numberless individuals—such as children, stupid people, and those who cannot read—can never, of course, make use of it. [A line illegible in the MS.] This circumstance alone is sufficient to show that the study of the Bible is not necessary for salvation, even for the majority of mankind. In the C. Church no right is taken away; but in

the exercise of the most undoubted rights we will have 'the reason to be captivated to the obedience of faith.' It is the want of this salutary obedience to the authority instituted by Christ which produces in some Churches anarchy instead of liberty, confusion in place of order. We consider the man who lifts his voice against the Church even as a heathen. We are taught by St. Paul (Tit. iii.) to avoid him as being subverted for having preferred his own opinion to that of the Church—'he sinneth, and is condemned by his own judgment.' 'Tis thus the C. Church has always taught and practised; she has condemned in every age those impious men who blasphemed her majesty and taught error, supporting their pride and impiety by texts of Scripture. Yes, it was quoted by Apollinaris, Valentinian, Manes, and every other heresiarch down to the present day—nay, Satan himself quoted Scripture when he tempted our Redeemer in the desert. Even in our time is verified the remark of St. Jerome, that every fanatical old woman, every silly old man, every prating disputant, can quote Scripture to support their absurd theories in religion.

"Thus it is, Rev. Sir, that Catholics avoid those extremes to which others are subject. We 'are not wise beyond what becometh, but are wise to sobriety.' We know that our Redeemer referred the Jews to the Scriptures, as containing the prophecies which regarded Himself; so we refer all inquirers to the Scriptures for the proofs of the doctrines which we teach. But as He who did not need the testimony of man received, nevertheless, the testimony of the Baptist, the testimony of His Father, and more than once appealed to the works which He wrought as a proof of His mission; so do we receive the testimony of God by His grace which is within us, the testimony of the Scriptures, and the testimony of the Church. When we dispute with those who are not Christians, such as Jews and Deists, we refer them to the Scriptures as Christ did; but when a person once professes the religion of Jesus, he must admit that there is on earth a Church which teaches; and to this Church he must be referred for the interpretations of the Scriptures, as they are hard to be understood and liable to be wrested to his own perdition. Had this Church been established when Christ referred the Jews to the Scriptures and to His works, He would also have referred them there; for the teachers of His law would be as worthy of being heard as the Scribes and Pharisees who sat in the chair of Moses, and whose decisions on that account He commanded to be received.

"This explanation of the passage alluded to in your letter, will also serve to remove every doubt which might arise from the comparison made by the people of Baria between the ancient prophecies and the doctrine of St. Paul; they were not as yet Christians, and, of course, could not be referred to the Church. They were to be converted by miracles and by such wisdom as the Scripture afforded; but having once embraced the faith, they must have obeyed the constituted authorities, that they might not become as heathens and publicans.

"It would exceed the limits even of this letter, already too long, to state and explain the different texts from Isaiah and Jeremiah, and from the Apostles John and Paul, which would seem to countenance the strange

opinion that all persons can of themselves understand the Scriptures ; but one answer suffices for them all—that these holy writers, from time to time, paint the advantages of interior grace, its overflowing in the Church, and the light which it imports to true believers. But if the texts alluded to proved more than this, they would prove too much ; they would make the unction of the Spirit to supersede all necessity of teachers in the New Law, and render the office of the Apostles and their successors—nay, yours and mine—alike superfluous. But woe to such as are of 'this opinion—'they follow their own spirit and see nothing ; they prophesy lies, saying the Lord hath spoken when the Lord hath not spoken.'

"But in good faith, we should in matters of doubt or dispute in religion (and such there will always be, for, according to St. Paul [1 Cor. xi. 19] 'there must be heresies, that such as are proved may be made manifest')—we should, I say, in such cases follow the example of the Apostles as laid down in Acts xv., where we learn 'that when a dispute arose at Antioch relative to the observance of the Mosaic law, it was not settled by a reference to the Bible, nor to any individual however spiritual, but to St. Peter and the Apostle in Jerusalem, who after a regular consultation decided it, saying, 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' &c. Here we have a precedent which the Church has always followed. In her councils she accursed Arias and all other heretics down to the present day, commanding her children to avoid them as being subverted and condemned by following their own judgment rather than hers whilst she directed them in the way of truth—commanding them to observe her doctrine as Paul commanded the churches through which he passed to observe the decrees of the Apostles in Jerusalem.

"The authority of the Church is so intimately connected with the right of reading and interpreting the Bible, that I could not separate them in the observations which I found myself called on to make in reply to your letter. Had you confined yourself to what regarded the publication of my former note, I should not trespass on your indulgence so much as I have done. If any expression of mine should appear harsh, it is the subject which has elicited it. That exclusive authority I have awarded to the Church of Christ is attributed to her in one shape or other by every sect of Christians. My very partial view of the subject is also founded on a concession which I only make for the greater facility of replying to your observations, namely, that what is Scriptural or what is not, cannot be known without previously admitting the authority of the Church to determine it. But we are in the habit of allowing many things to our adversaries, that we may be permitted from time to time to vindicate the wisdom of our doctrine and the purity of our faith.—Believe me, &c.,

"JAMES DOYLE."

CONFERENCES.

(Vol. i. p. 107.)

It will be recollected that Ecclesiastical Conferences had quite fallen into disuse until restored by Dr. Doyle. We learn from the Secret Statutes of the diocese, that "Conferences in moral and dogmatic theology and on the rites of the Church are held annually in the first and second weeks of every month from July to October. The Bishop or Master of Conference presides; the latter is vested with all the authority of the ordinary, and while presiding is revered and obeyed. All the clergy are bound to attend the Conferences of their respective districts, unless exempted by special license of the ordinary; but this license does not exempt from the fines to be paid by absent clergymen. These fines are levied by the President, and applied as the members of the Conference may direct.

"All the clergy are equally bound to act as respondents when called on. The Conference commences with prayer. The priest who has previously been appointed to preach then delivers his discourse. At its close the clergy retire to the sacristy, and, according to their seniority, range themselves at each side of the Master, who," observes the *Statuta Diocesana*, "will require of one curate, and after him of one parish priest, to make a few remarks on the sermon, its composition and delivery, pointing out, with modesty and charity, the defects or good qualities he may have observed therein.

"The Master will then desire the two priests previously appointed to defend to take their seats before him, and will call successively upon one or two more of the clergy to propose or argue, with either of the defendants, one or more of the propositions or of the questions arising thereon, which have been marked out as the matter of the Conference, taking special care that the order of the propositions as set forth in the schedule be adhered to; that no irrelevant matter be introduced or desultory conversation, whether relating to theological or other subjects, be permitted. This done, the Master himself proceeds to interrogate each of the clergy present until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when, having specified the questions to be discussed at the next Conference, and named the clergyman who shall preach, the assembly recite the short prayer '*Actiones Nostras*,' and then partake of dinner." "To promote economy," adds the *Statuta Diocesana*, "as well as to avoid the appearance of luxury, no wine is to be introduced at or after dinner. The clergy shall separate precisely at 6 o'clock, and will not afterwards, in the town or village where they assemble, take wine or any other inebriating beverage. No lay person can be admitted to dine with the clergy on the day of Conference."

The statutes declare that if any priest shall be absent from two Conferences in the same year, without license in writing from the Bishop or Vicar-General, he is suspended *ipso facto*. (See chap. v., *De Collationibus Theologicis*.)

BISHOP DELANEY.

(Vol. i. p. 126.)

[It having appeared to some persons in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, that full justice had not been done in this book to the character of Bishop Delaney, we asked his successor, the Right Rev. Dr. Lynch, to enumerate such additional points in his career as seemed to claim commemoration. Our original authority was the letter of Fr. Delaney. (See vol. i. p. 128, which was printed off before the following correspondence took place.) His lordship writes from Tullow, Nov. 30th, 1879—“I have put the matter into the hands of our good nuns here, who are the spiritual daughters of the illustrious Dr. Delaney.” These ladies, after referring to Carlow College and the monastic institutes of Tullow and Mountrath, already described, go on to tell—

“Towards the end of the last century, Tullow was in a sadly demoralised state, a very hotbed of vice. Dr. Delaney devoted himself heart and soul to the reformation of his flock. He organised Sunday-schools, at which children were taught catechism, and the adults had religious books read to them; thus reviving the observance of the Sabbath, which had been sadly neglected. In a very short time a marvellous change was effected, and in order to provide ample accommodation for his regenerated charge, the zealous pastor laid the foundation of the churches of Tullow and Mountrath, which still exist, and are surpassed by none in Ireland of the same period: the former he furnished with sacred vessels of massive silver, not only chalices and ciboriums, but even lamp and thurible. His devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament was something extraordinary. To this day the oil used in the lamp before the tabernacle tells of his undying love for his ‘hidden God;’ for, not content with supplying it during life, he willed that it should be *his offering* for all time. He established processions of the Blessed Sacrament during the octave of Corpus Christi, when benediction was given from a temple, still standing in the convent grounds, and which Dr. Delaney had built for the purpose. To repair the insults offered to God in the Most Holy Sacrament, he next formed into a confraternity the most edifying members of his flock, male and female, who, beside performing the duty of perpetual adoration, taught the children in the church on Sundays. This confraternity still flourishes, stimulated to renewed life by the zealous care of the Right Rev. Dr. Lynch, who has added to its former duties that of assisting the sick poor. In order to perpetuate the benefits of religious and secular instruction to his people, Dr. Delaney, assisted by Miss Brown, established the congregation of St. Bridget, whose members devote themselves not only to the education of the poor, but also to that of the middle and higher classes, having attached to each of their houses a national school for the respectable children of the town, and a boarding-school for young ladies.

“I subjoin, in accordance with Dr. Lynch's desire, the epitaph inscribed

on the mural slab placed over the holy bishop's remains in the church of Tullow : it tells in what estimation he was held by contemporaries, and is certainly more worthy of credit (though an epitaph) than the testimony of your informant, who, if he could have known, it is clear he could not appreciate the worth of him whose character he undertook to paint.

" Hic ubi Elecit jacet
 REVERENDISSIMUS DOMINUS
 DANIEL DELANEY
 Episcopus Kildariensis et Leighliniensis
 Præsul
 Pietate, fidei, zelo ac religionis amore
 Præclarus
 Specie Angelus, animo Pontifex, Vita Sacerdas
 Humilitate Morum, Suavitate ac Sermonis Separe
 Omnium Corda Conciliavit
 Majori Dei gloriæ, Promovendæ jugiter intentios
 Templum hac a Fundamentis erexit,
 Cœnobium, Monialium contiguum extruxit ac dotavit
 In Oppido Mountrath suo natali solo
 Ædem quoque Magnificam Deo sacram Condidit
 Sodalitates ad erudiendas pauperes Pueros ac Puellas
 Instituit ad Redditibus anxit
 Pluraque alia reliquit Pietatis Monumenta
 Pertransiens benefaciendo
 Clero, Populo in vita carissimus
 Altis utriusque Suspiriis ac infando dolore in morte flebilis,
 Nunquam satis pro meritis deffendus
 Obiit
 Expectans carnis Resurrectionem
 Anno Ætatis 67, Episcopatus 31, Incarnationem 1814, Mense JULII, Die 9.
Requiescat in Pace."

On reopening the old note-book to which the oral communications of the late Rev. James Delaney were consigned, we find, under date September 10th, 1857, the following details in addition to those already printed :—"Dr. Delaney saw no use for money except to promote the honour and glory of God. He finally became rather absent, and after his death a bundle of bank notes were discovered inside the lining of his greatcoat, whither they accidentally found their way, inscribed, '*Ad majorem Dei gloria.*' He governed the diocese in very trying times. Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were at first the sole avowed objects of the Society of United Irishmen. From the years 1795 and 1798 some of the younger priests had become concerned in the councils and designs of the time. Dr. Delaney foresaw the perils and bloodshed with which the year 1798 was pregnant. With consummate tact and address he extricated the clergy from the entangled web which surrounded them, and he had subse-

quently the happiness of seeing not one priest under his jurisdiction suffer, although three did so in a neighbouring diocese. There were none of the counties of Ireland tinged more deeply in the treason than Carlow and Kildare, and the fact that no sustained imputation rested upon any priest belonging to the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin speaks greatly for Dr. Delaney's skill and prudence."

Thus spoke the Rev. James Delany. One priest named Prendergast certainly suffered at Monastereven; but he was a friar, and as such not under the jurisdiction of Bishop Delaney.

The present worthy occupant of the see of Kildare will, we are assured, absolve us for supplementing the sketch of Dr. Delaney, furnished under his auspices, with a trait of his predecessor's wit, which he has himself traditionally preserved and orally communicated; and, moreover, it serves to explain the mode by which Dr. Delaney's tact worked its ends. His ready wit made him at all times a welcome guest with the officers of the camp first established on the Curragh in 1798. One day after dinner, conversation was interrupted by an orderly entering to announce the capture of a local rebel. The colonel, starting up, exclaimed, "I'll get his coffin made by G——!" "Don't you think you might as well get it made by the carpenter?" softly interposed the bishop. The pike, a weapon previously little known, had wrecked fearful havoc on the royal troops in different engagements with the insurgents. After 1798, an officer at the head of the table asked how the formidable weapon had been made. By degrees the question travelled up to the head. "Dr. Delaney, as you know everything, will you enlighten these gentlemen how the pikes were made." "That is easily answered," replied the Bishop, taking a pinch of rappee. "The Government supplied the material, the Orangemen blew the fire, and the smiths forged them."

EARLY LETTERS OF DR. DOYLE TO THE REV. MARTIN DOYLE AND OTHERS.

"CARLOW COLLEGE, *February 4th*, 1817.

"MY DEAR MARTIN,—I suppose the good-natured scolding which I gave you in my last letter has prevented you from ever acknowledging the receipt of it; if so, I should be offended with you, for you ought to take such things from me in the same good part as I would receive them from you; but, no! the hurry of your business and the want of news has prevented you from writing; and at present I will only say to you that, if you were at leisure, you who think so little of riding might come here to see us. Why not come the day before poor Carney's Month's memory? and we could ride there together, and on the way converse freely on all that concerns ourselves and others. I have one piece of news which will give *you* at least an agreeable surprise.¹

¹ Probably the rumour of his appointment as coadjutor Bishop of Ferns. See vol. i. p. 79.

"To be sure, my dear Martin, my life is a life of drudgery, but then I like it, and that renders it less painful than you imagine ; *Ubi amator non laboratur aut si laboratur labor amatur*. Would you prefer seeing me a country priest worn out as you are with fatigue, or rusting in a convent ? What, then, will you have me do ? Farewell ! I shall always continue with the warmest affection your friend and cousin,

JAMES DOYLE."

"COLLEGE, CARLOW, *January 30th*, 1818.

"I SHALL not go—I could not go to poor Hennessy's memory. I regretted him exceedingly. I did not suppose I was so much attached to him.¹ Continue your labours and attention to the doctor, he is certainly sensible of them ; and, did I not fear the pain of disappointment, I would entertain the most sanguine hopes of his change of feeling.² You have given a great proof (if proof were wanted) of your friendship in making me acquainted with the remarks of my young friends. But, my dear Martin, I am far from adopting your opinion in the matter. I have always treated both of them like a father, and shall continue to do so. I know their faults, and will endeavour to correct them. If they wanted such a friend as I have been to them, they would not be so capable of serving the Church as they are likely to be. For your information, let me tell you that, as I previously taught the subject-matter of this year's study, it requires at present very little thought. But then *they* cannot know how I spend my time, which is constantly occupied in reading ; in the next place, there is no proposition in the course of theology to which many objections may not be made ; and many objections have never been satisfactorily answered. SS. Augustin, Thonias, and [name obliterated by wafer], have left many difficulties behind them. *They* may have heard of such as these, but such only let me assure you ; and the occasion induces me to say that they have had an opportunity of learning more theology in their class these three years than they would have found in the same time in any college in Ireland—I might add, in any that I have known."

To Miss Gurly, a convert.

"*August 8th*, 1818.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is now 11 o'clock, and only now could I find a moment to gratify the wish that I feel to congratulate you on the recovery of your dear sister. I would, my dear friend, feel a pleasure as well in sympathising with you during anxiety, as in rejoicing with you now that the cause of it is removed. As to consolation, there is scarcely room for it in the time of distress, that alone which comes from heaven can infuse those sentiments into the soul which, whilst they raise it above the trials that are suffered, attach it more and more to Him from whom every good gift descends. I hope your prayers were acceptable to God ; I wish that His goodness, manifested in the preservation of a life so dear to you, will give you new confidence when you again address Him. This confidence is very

¹ Fr. Hennessy, who died curate of Clonbullogue, King's County, had been the school-fellow of Dr. Doyle.

² His half-brother, James Doyle, M.D. See vol. i. p. 90.

necessary for you, for 'he who hesitates in prayer is like the wave of the sea, agitated here and there, and such persons cannot receive anything from God ; ask therefore with faith not hesitating at all.' I send this letter by Mr. Breen, enclosed to Miss Mc'Grath ; he goes to see Magdalen and to give her an account of his wife. I hope you will not be dissatisfied at the ordinance of that Providence which numbers the hairs of our heads, and makes all things concur for the good of those who are called according to the purposes of God ; most of the gratifications of life are illusions ; they are transitory, and one day in the house of the Lord is better than a thousand spent in the gratifications of those feelings which are both the effect and cause of sin—the greatest of all evils ; but I have done moralising, and must give you some account of my life during the last three weeks. Well, I went to Wexford to witness the triumph of our independent electors. You must have read an account of our proceedings there.¹ When they concluded I came to the seaside, where I have continued since, making occasional excursions among my friends, and even on fast days I am obliged to dine abroad ; the consequence is that my health is so improved that I am no longer getting better, but am quite corpulent, and my spirits so gay that I can laugh for half-an-hour without fatigue."

Within a year the cares and anxieties of the Episcopate made Dr. Doyle a sadder though a wiser man.

On the death of Dr. Corcoran, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the Rev. J. Conran was appointed Vicar-Capitular. To this priest the following letter dated March 7th, 1819, is addressed by Dr. Doyle :

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I send you by Mr. M'Donald the letters which I intended to take to you.

"I can offer no apology for not going to see you as I promised and you expected, unless a feeling of delicacy at being at your house, or seeming to interfere in any manner with a business in which some persons may suppose I have a personal concern. This consideration also induced me to request of Mr. M'Donald to write the letters which otherwise I would have written myself. Though you should not have yet received the letters of institution from Dr. Troy, I think you can with propriety sign those other letters, for your own appointment has been made, you have had due notice of it, and *that* is all that is required in order to act under it."

To the Rev. Martin Doyle.

"CARLOW COLLEGE, May 13th, 1819.

"MY DEAR MARTIN,—Apropos, have not your nuns a school, and as they can read and work, why not teach the poor of the village to do the same? It would serve themselves also, by showing the public that they

¹ Miss Gurley was a nun, and nuns are not usually permitted to read newspapers. An ecclesiastic having detected a nun indulging herself in this way, said to Dr. Doyle in presence of the community, "Pray, my Lord, do you allow your nuns to read newspapers?" From the ascetical character of the great Prelate it was presumed that a severe rebuke would have checked what most Ordinaries condemn, but he merely replied, and with some hauteur, "Yes, sir."

have the power and disposition to assist the distressed. Whilst you have them you should make use of them, and by connecting them with the people you would throw the burden of their support off yourself, which otherwise you must bear; for whilst they have their present name and appearance, you cannot withdraw yourself from them.

"I was greatly amused with the tailor you introduced to me. I think he has fitted that shapeless gentleman very exactly; no doubt he is sagacious enough to perceive that himself. What your Protestant friends say of me is of no importance, unless to you, and so far it is very good; as to poor Tom, I wish sincerely he was removed, not only because he is a burden to you, but also as he enjoys a good curacy (which he does not deserve) without being able to serve religion in any respect."

[Here a number of removals of curates are suggested for the consideration of the Vicar-Capitular. The bulls for Dr. Doyle's consecration were not expected to arrive before winter.]

"DUBLIN, May 1st, 1820.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I arrived here last night, and a long conversation only could give you an idea of my adventures since I saw you. I have visited a good many parishes and will continue to do so for some time. I find the clergy different from what I expected; when they and I are well acquainted we shall be very good friends. They were very generous to me."

"CARLOW, October 23, 1820.

"I have returned from the country to-day, and am just setting out for the Kildare district to-morrow. Finding an hour this evening unoccupied, I avail myself of it to write to you, lest we might be insensibly led to forget each other. . . . These are hard times and I am situated as you observed, or perhaps worse, for with a good house, I am penniless and poor. Yet I wish you were here for a night to share my poverty, even without that bonus which you intend to send before you.

"I have passed through many scenes since I saw you. *Sed ab omnibus his liberavit me Deus.* I am still bustling on as well as I can; sometimes with success, sometimes without it, but generally satisfied; for as I undertake everything for God's honour, I hope He generally directs me; and when He does not please to give effect to my labours, I should be as thankful as when He does, and endeavour to be so.

"I feel a new species of uneasiness since I came to this house, a terror of getting into debt, and yet I don't know how to escape it. I live with as much economy as possible, and still—But I cannot go on; a house is a plague. Oh, that I never had one! How anxiously you wished to see me miserable, and verily if I did not hope that God would accept my sufferings as a testimony of sorrow for my sins, I believe I could not be patient; but His will be done. How do you and my friend Dan¹ go on? I fear you both laugh too much, and that is not good; the spirit of God evaporates in mirth. Recollection is very necessary for you; and a grave interior as

¹ "My friend Dan" refers to the late Rev. Daniel Lalor, curate to Fr. Martin Doyle. He was the nephew to Bishop Corcoran. See p. 437, vol. ii. A Latin hymn, signed "D. L.," and published in the *Ordo*, is from his pen.

well as a grave exterior is necessary to support and encourage that feeling of repentance which is the material of which you are endeavouring to build the city of God. My dear friend, be meek with the froward, patient with the stupid and obstinate, sorrowful with the afflicted, and spiritual with the clean of heart ; attend to prayer and to exhortation, and remember with earnestness at the altar your devoted friend,
✠ J. DOYLE."

A document not of the nature of a letter claims to interrupt these traces of the earlier correspondence of Dr. Doyle. The Rev. Mr. Lalor, now of Maryborough, is old enough to remember having heard Dr. Doyle relate the following episode connected with his first visitation. The Bishop praised the pastors of the various parishes he had inspected, and expressed satisfaction at finding those venerable helpers in the Lord comfortably housed after the dark night of persecution, adding :—"But it was not until I came to Stradbally that I found the saint in his cell, and—without envying him his happiness—would to Heaven I was in his place ! " Here it was that the Vicar-General of the diocese—or, as he was styled, the Grand Vicar—lived. A relic of penal days, he was for fifty years and nine months the *Parochus* of Stradbally. Twice had he been implored to accept the mitre, but, with his great humility, he put it from him. Late one evening Dr. Doyle entered Stradbally for the first time, and asked to be shown his house. Some ruined walls were pointed out, and his guide led the way through grass-grown corridors, until they reached a remote room which survived the wreck of the rest. Here he found the old priest reading his office by the light of a solitary taper. Time was when the earthen floor was daily worn by his wasted knees ; but infirmities now bound him to a chair of unplanned wood. Dr. Doyle, with much humility, remained standing until Father Dowling had finished his office. He described himself as awe-stricken in presence of the saintly priest. At last the following dialogue ensued :—"I heard some one enter ; what may be their will ?" "A young man to ask your blessing, father." "There are wags abroad. Who is my visitor ?" "An unworthy son who aspires to walk in your footsteps." "My blessing is not worth much if not worth while to give your name, but such as it is, you have it freely." It was a touching spectacle to witness the emotion of the old priest in the explanation that followed, and the agony into which he was thrown at finding himself unable to vacate the only chair his cell possessed, and offer it to his Bishop,—he raised his withered hands to Heaven, and fervently thanked Heaven that he had lived to see Dr. Doyle.

Fr. Lalor adds that the old vicar attended sick calls in a cart without springs—his cushion merely a sheaf of straw. He was the first cousin of Bishop Delaney, and when asked to take the Episcopal burden himself, he replied, "I have neither head nor hands for it." From exposure to cold he contracted the disease which terminated fatally soon after Dr. Doyle's visit. The Bishop preached his panegyric before a great congregation largely composed of Protestants. There was hardly a dry eye in church while he traced his life and works. It was to this priest that the romantic incident befell, of a beautiful French girl who had formed an attachment

to him in France, previous to his ordination, and who, with rare *devouement*, followed him to Ireland, as Kathleen followed St. Kevin; but was somewhat taken aback when Fr. Dowling, exclaiming, "Perdi!" quietly brought her to his then Bishop, Dr. O'Keefe, by whom she was sent back to her kinsfolk in France. During his early residence there he contracted a habit of using this exclamation, "Perdi!"—possibly a curtailment of "perdition"—which is found interlarding a number of speeches traditionally assigned to him. It may be added that the romantic incident above narrated comes from the high authority of the Rev. Thomas Nolan, P.P., now in his eighty-eighth year, formerly curate at Stradbally.

A characteristic missive, concerning the first year of Dr. Doyle's episcopate, is addressed to Sister Mary Joseph—

"As to what you have been told respecting my removal, you may be at rest. Of my own accord I shall never be removed to a more honourable see, and if the tie which unites me to this were to be broken, surely it would not be that I might of my will make a second engagement. So, though I have endeavoured at all times to be, with regard to my superiors, as the clay in the hands of the potter, I do not think it likely that they will put me into a different form from that in which they have already placed me." This letter is dated October 18, 1820.

The only Irish see which we can find then vacant was Raphoe, from which a translation had already been made of Dr. O'Gallagher to Kildare. The Rev. Patrick Mac Gettigan was consecrated Bishop of Raphoe, November 10, 1820.

Within the same month he again addresses Mary Joseph—

"Nothing can be more consoling to me than the confident hope, I might say the certainty, of seeing so many pious and pure souls devoted to God in every quarter of this diocese. I am most anxious to assist and encourage them, and as your community is amongst the most deserving of them, you can count most securely upon all my good offices, nor think anything will be a trouble to me which I can do for your advantage. I have lately made some addition to the rules of your sisters in Tullow, which I desired they should copy and send you. Should they require any material alteration in any of your present regulations, you may defer their introduction till you see me, but I believe no change is requisite.

"Praying God to pour down His most precious graces on you and your sisters, to preserve amongst you the spirit of peace, union, and love, I remain," &c.

To the Rev. Martin Doyle, P.P.

"CARLOW, February 2d, 1827.

"I have been greatly troubled on hearing of the state of your health, and wished very much to go to see you, but I am unceasingly occupied; and, besides, my horse has broken down. Mr. Tyrrell, whom I requested to visit you, informed me of your improving state. I believe your spitting of blood to be but the effect of temporary irritation, and may not recur. In a person of your age it is not a dangerous symptom; but your whole

system requires to be repaired. Care and indulgence will be necessary for you. You will be able to drive here about the 20th, and that will be a convenient time to make the arrangement respecting the curate. You know that our rule is, in case of two curates, that one-fourth of the dues be divided equally between them if both live with the P.P. ; but if either reside away, then he receives one-third, and supports his colleague, or else pays to him £25 Irish a year. If the P.P. supports him, the *out* curate pays him ; and *vice versa*. I have found that the raising of one curate above the other in any way never answers well ; but if I were to depart from the general rule in your case, Mooney should pay the entire of the £25.

"When the spring opens will be time enough to return to the matter of the schools, and by that time the proceedings in Parliament will shed some new light on them. Meanwhile, impress upon those whom you or the curate meet, that it entirely depends on themselves if they be teased or threatened ; for if they at once declare they will not do what the P.P. tells them is prohibited by their religion, the persons who trouble them will desist. It is temporising, and by lies told to both parties that they encourage their enemies, and expose themselves to trial. This is required especially on Lord Farnham's estate, where any compromise is evil. When you will have schools you may and should insist on all supporting them. We are tormented here by those designing, absurd fanatics, but, thanks to God, they are defeating their own objects. The converts are all nearly to the Catholic faith."

In conclusion he urged Father Martin to prepare a draft of his will, and not to forget the poor. It will be remembered that this good priest vacated the parish of Clonegal for Graigue, in succession to Rev. Mr. Branghall retired. The Rev. Mr. Keogh, who administered the parish, had great hopes of receiving this preferment. The following letter is dated September 19, 1827 :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to hear of your nephew's illness ; when he is well, I will, I believe, have too much occasion for his services to spare him to you for the present. Mr. Keogh, who called on me here, is, as should be anticipated, deeply afflicted. I hope you will do all in your power for whatever time he may remain with you, to inspire him with confidence and content. He will give you his house. He is without a shilling of money, and seems to feel much that —, knowing his wants, and that he was to cease his administration, required of him a few pounds supposed to be due to him on his account.

"I did all in my power to satisfy him of the sacrifice you had made at my desire in going to Graigue ; and that you and his late assistant were in no sense, as was truly the case, the cause of his being not appointed to the vacant parish. I could wish that Mr. Dolan and you, without my intervention, were able to bring into one view all your claims, and his sense of them—and to adjust them by the advice of some mutual friend. My interposition is a sort of Act of Authority of which, if convenient, it would be better to spare the exercise—I remain, &c.

✠ J. DOYLE."

Addressing a well-known pastor Dr. Doyle writes :—" Undoubtedly you are one of the P.P.s. in the diocese who should be most liberal to your curate, as you are not always enabled to share with him the labours of the mission, and I expect to hear from the curate that you have satisfied him on this subject, so that no further interference of mine may be necessary."]

THE UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

(Vol. i. p. 335.)

THE CHURCH OF ROME ADMITTED TO BE HOLY AND APOSTOLIC BY EMINENT PROTESTANT DIVINES.

"I confess that under the Papacy are many good Christian things—nay, all that is good in Christianity. I acknowledge that in Popery is the true Scripture, true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, true keys for the remission of sin, true office of preaching, true catechism, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of Faith—nay, I say that in Popery is true Christianity, even the very kernel of Christianity."—*Luther.*

"Papists are to be accounted the House of God."—*Dr. Morton.*

"The Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, as well since as before the Council of Trent."—*Bishop Montague's Appeal.*

"The most learned Protestant writers have owned the Church of Rome to be the Church of God."—*Dr. Baro's Sermons.*

"There is no difference between Rome and England in fundamentals at all—the former being a true Church."—*Heylin's Answer.*

"Our Church makes no articles of faith but such as have the testimony and approbation of Rome itself."—*Stillingsfleet's Defence.*

"I find no position necessary to salvation prohibited, none destructive to salvation enjoined to be believed by Rome; and therefore I must necessarily accept it for a true Church, as in the Church of England I have always known it accepted, seeing there can be no question made but that it continueth the same visible body by the succession of Bishops and laws that were first founded by the Apostles."—*Thorndyke's Epilogue.*

"Our Protestant religion is not contrary to the Christian religion, or even to the Roman Catholic."—*Confession of Augsburg.*

It may perhaps be added that when the Princess Walfenbuttle was about to be married to Charles III. of Spain, she applied to the University of Helmstadt; and its Protestant professors, by an article dated 28th of April 1707, declared that the Princess could conscientiously become a Catholic, and receive and publicly profess the doctrines of Rome. The Reformers could not have seceded on the ground of the doctrine of infallibility, for the Anglican Church pretended to the same unerring and irrefragable judgment, as witness the 13th statute of Elizabeth and its confirmation by the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Charles II. See also the 36th canon passed in Convocation, A.D. 1603. Bishop Van Mildert's sermon for "Boyle's Lecture," tells us that the Reformers did "not

question the power of the Pope to decree rights of ceremonies, nor its authority in matters of faith."

Protestant testimonies in favour of the Papal supremacy, and the importance of a reconciliation with Rome may now be heard :

"The Pope's supremacy would tend much to preserve amongst different nations unity of doctrine. If other points were agreed on, the Pope's supremacy might be easily allowed."—*Melancthon's Epist.*

"I am clearly of opinion, as are many others, that Protestants will never be united with each other until they are so with those who adhere to the See of Rome."—*Grotius' Discus. of Rivetus' Apol.* [And Grotius concludes with a wish to see "the ancient and respectable order of things restored again."]

"Seeing it has been granted by the Church of England that there ever was salvation in the Church of Rome as a true one, I am very confident that no Church can separate from Rome but must make themselves schismatics before God. . . . I insist on such a principle as may serve to reunite us with Rome, being well assured that we never can be well united with ourselves otherwise, and that not only the Reformation, but our common Christianity will be lost in the divisions which will never have an end otherwise."—*Dr. Thorndyke on Forbearance.*

"As the Church of Christ is but one there cannot be two separate communions in it without schism ; and the schism lies on the side of that party which separates."—*Archdeacon Daubeny's Guide.*

"We have been forced to renounce the communion of the whole world."—*Calvin's Epis.*, xiv.

"If I had any bias it hath been desire of peace, which our common Saviour left as a legacy to His Church—that I might live to see the reunion of Christendom, for which I shall always bow the knees of my heart to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."—*Archbishop Bramhall.*

Bishop Burnet favours a union between Catholics and Protestants, in his *Exposition of the twenty-eighth Article of the Church of England.* Among later writings of a similar aim which fell under the notice of Dr. Doyle was a work published in 1818, by the Vicar of St. Bartholomew, who earnestly urged that the Church of which he was a minister should re-unite with Rome, as the only remedy for the religious dissonance then prevailing.

How closely the views of learned Protestants assimilate to the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, the following extracts show :

"We believe the True Presence no less than you do. And the King [James] believes Christ to be not only present in reality, but also truly adorable in the Eucharist ; whilst we ourselves do adore with St. Ambrose the very flesh of Christ in the mysteries."—*Bishop Andrew's Answer to Bellarmine.*

"Christ says 'tis there ! St. Paul says 'tis there ! And our Church says 'tis there—and that truly, really, and essentially ! Our faith may see it—our senses cannot."—*Dr. Lawrence.*

"The altar is the greatest place of God's residence on earth—yea,

greater than the pulpit, for there it is *hoc est corpus meum* ! In the pulpit it is, at most, *hoc est verbum meum* ! And a greater reverence is due to the body than to the word of the Lord, and to the throne of where His body is usually present than to the seat where His word is preached."—*Primate Laud*.

"The holy communion of the body and blood of Christ."—*Archbishop Marsh*.

"Nay, God forbid we should deny that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the Lord's table. It is the doctrine we teach and comfort ourselves with."—*Dr. Bilson's True Subject*.

"Christ is present really and substantially by an incomprehensible mystery."—*Bishop Casin*.

"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."—*Book of Common Prayer*.

Bishops Usher, Montague, Pomel, Overrall, Bucknell, Hall, Field, and Dr. Shaw, express themselves not less strongly. We shall now adduce some high Protestant authorities who absolutely defend the Mass by conceding that the celebration of the Lord's Supper is a propitiatory sacrifice for sin :

"The name of *Mass* may still be kept ; it is an indifferent thing whether it be said in Latin or the vulgar tongue."—*Luther*.

"It is not only propitiatory and may be offered up for the remission of our daily sin, but impetratory, and may be rightly offered to obtain all blessings."—*Bishop Forbes's De Eucharistica*.

"The consecrated elements are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the body of Christ being contained in them. The Sacrifice of the Eucharist, inasmuch as it is the same Sacrifice of the Cross, is both propitiatory and impetratory."—*Thorndyke's Epilogue*.

Dr. Johnson, in his "Unbloody Sacrifice," Dr. Hickes in his "Christian Priesthood," and Dr. Brett in his "Scriptural Account," have recorded not less striking views, while the eminent scholars Mede and Grabe enthusiastically acknowledge the sacrifice of the Mass.¹

Purgatory and prayers for the dead are usually considered great stumbling-blocks to Protestants—we shall see with what truth :

"I do firmly believe—nay, I am bold to say that I know there is a purgatory, and I am easily persuaded that mention is made thereof in Scripture. At the same time I know no more of it than that the souls who suffer therein are to be assisted by our prayers and good works. It being sufficient for us to know that they do suffer, and that their sufferings ought to be alleviated ; leave the rest to God."—*Luther's Dispute at Leipsic*.

"Let not the ancient practice of praying for and making oblations for the dead be any more rejected by Protestants as unlawful. It is a practice

¹ In the first liturgy of Edward VI. were steadily retained not only the word "*Mass*," but priests and altars, with their usual vestures and ornaments, sacrifice, paten and corporals, chalice, with wine and water, communion-bread in the form of a wafer, triple mersions, chrysm and oils, prayers for the dead, extreme unction, and crossings. (See Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI., c. 1.)

received throughout the universal Church of Christ, which did ever believe it both pious and charitable. The Fathers were of opinion that some light sins, not remitted in this life, were forgiven after death, by the intercession of the Church in her public prayers, and especially those offered up in the celebration of the tremendous mysteries; and it is no absurdity to believe so."—*Bishop Forbes on Purgatory.*

Bishops Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Sheldon, Barrow, and Blandford, together with Doctors Paley, Johnson, Leibnitz, and Thorn-dyke, argue to the same effect; and that notorious sceptic, John Huss, speaks of "the predestinate in Purgatory—so called from their expecting eternal happiness, both from the mercy of God and the assistance of the militant Church on earth;" while Melancthon (*Apolog. Conf. Aug.*) and Calvin (*Instit. lib. iii., c. 5.*) make equally remarkable concessions. Cranmer and Ridley both expressly pray for the dead in the first liturgy of the Church of England.

Some Protestants inveigh against the use of sacred images whether in churches or elsewhere:

"The pictures of Christ," says Bishop Montague, "of the Blessed Virgin, and of the saints, may be had in houses, set up in churches; respect and honour may be given to them. If you call this *dulia*, we give it. Let doctrine and practice go together—we agree."¹

And Dr. Thorndyke, in his "Just Weights," seconds these views. "Far from looking on the cross put into the hands of dying persons as an object of idolatry, Luther on the contrary holds it for a monument of piety, and a wholesome admonition that recalled to our minds the death and passion of Jesus Christ."—*Bossuet's Variations.*

An hostility to auricular confession and priestly absolution is supposed by many to form a characteristic of Protestantism.

"Private confession is a very ancient practice in the Church. . . . Priests have power not only to pronounce but to give remission of sins: it is the doctrine of our Prayer-book—justifiable, therefore, being the practice of the Church of England."—*Bishop Montague.*

"After this I spoke to two of the Bishops, who told me there were many things in the R. C. Church which it were very much to be wished we had kept, as confession, which was no doubt commanded by God; that

¹ In the illustrated edition of Luther's works published by Melancthon, the Patriarch of Protestantism is represented on his knees before a crucifix. "A crucifix with wax-lights burning round it stood in Queen Elizabeth's private chapel," writes Macaulay. "She always spoke with disgust of the marriage of priests. Burleigh prevailed on her to connive at the marriages of Churchmen. But she would only connive; and the children sprung from such marriages were illegitimate till the accession of James I." Queen Elizabeth was equally reverential in regard to "the sign of the cross." (See Heylin's "History of the Reformation.")

Every parson baptizing a child must say, in accordance with the prescribed form in the rubric—"We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross." The rubric adds—"Here the priest shall make a cross upon the child's forehead." The minister also makes sanctified or holy water, saying—"Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," and sprinkles the child "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The sign of the cross is also used at coronations. The royal ornaments, bread, wine, oil, churches, cemeteries, swords, military banners, and other inanimate things, are blessed by the Protestant Church with a form derived from the Roman Pontifical.

praying for the dead is one of the ancient things in Christianity ; that for their parts they did it daily, though they would not own it ; and afterwards, pressing one of them very much upon the other points, he told me that if he had been bred a Catholic he would not change his religion.”—*Anne Hyde, Countess of York.*

“All our sins must be confessed. He who would be sure of pardon let him find a priest and make his humble confession to him. Heaven waits and expects the priest’s sentence here ; and what he binds or looses the Lord confirms in heaven.”—*Bishop Sparrow.*

“Have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease—nor come to him only with such mind as you would go to a learned man, but as to one that hath authority, delegated to him from God Himself, to absolve you from your sins.”—*Chillingworth.*

Luther went even farther than Catholics ; and in his Catechism requires that the penitent in confession should expressly declare that he believes “the forgiveness of the priest to be the forgiveness of God.”

Latimer “wished to God that confession was kept in England ;” and even Ridley declared his conviction that it would “do much good to Christ’s congregation.” Jeremy Taylor exhorts—“If you find any one particular sin or more that lies heavy upon you, disburden yourself of it into the bosom of your confessor.”

A similar invitation is repeatedly addressed to the congregation by officiating parsons, “If there be any of you whose conscience is troubled, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me or some other discreet priest, and confess and open his sins secretly, &c., that of us, as a minister of God and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution.” The language in which Anglican absolution is conveyed may be found in *the Order for the Visitation of the Sick*, still retained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, “after which confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it), thus : ‘Our Lord Jesus who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.’”

When a Protestant clergyman is being ordained, the Bishop says : “Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins ye retain they are retained.” Further important data on this subject may be found in Fuller’s *Church History* (b. x., p. 9), Bishop Andrew’s *Court Sermon* (c. xx., xxiii.), and Heylin’s *Life of Laud* (part ii., p. 415). Laud was confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, and Bishop Morley to the Duchess of York. The declaration of the faculty of divinity in the Protestant University of Helmstadt, in favour of auricular confession, might also be adduced here ; as also the Confession of Augsburg, which styles absolution a sacrament. In the Communion of the Church of England she speaks of even public penance, as a godly custom and discipline.

The Catholic doctrine of the invocation and intercession of saints, though frequently condemned, has been as often zealously vindicated by learned Protestants :

"Who can deny that God works great miracles at the tombs of the saints? I therefore, with the whole Catholic Church, hold that the saints may be honoured and invoked by us."—*Luther, In Purg.*

"She (the Blessed Virgin) is to be prayed to, that God may, through her intercession, grant our requests."—*Luther on the Magnificat.*

"Nay, at your last hour cease not to call upon our Blessed Lady, the holy Angels, the Apostle whose name you bear, and every other saint to whom you have been devout during life, that they may intercede for you."—*Ibid.*

"The saints are mediators of prayer and intercession. . . . I own that Christ is not wronged in His mediation. It is no impiety to say, as Papists do, 'Holy Mary, pray for me!' 'Holy Peter, pray for me.'"—*Bishop Montague on the Invocation of Saints.*

The *Book of Common Prayer* consecrates the 2d February to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, the 25th March to her Annunciation, the 2d July to her Visitation, and the 8th September to the Nativity—thus acknowledging her the greatest saint in heaven. Numerous other testimonies might be cited, including Molanus, who in his answer to Bossuet says that if the Catholics will declare that their prayers to saints are to be understood simply as intercession—such as, "Holy Mary, pray for me to thy divine Son!"—then all danger in such prayers is over. There is not a Roman Catholic in the world who would refuse to make the above declaration, and this Thorndyke well knew when he warned his brethren "not to lead people by the nose to believe they can prove Papists to be idolaters when they cannot." Archbishop Sheldon and Bishops Blandford and Gunning have expressed themselves to the same effect. It is worthy of remark that the Church of England keeps particular days in honour of many of the Pope's saints; and has one holyday for all the saints in general, and another for St. Michael and all the angels. Holydays in honour of Popes Boniface, Gregory, and Sylvester, are set apart for public worship.

Further coincidences of agreement might be largely adduced. The *Book of Common Prayer* observes the same days of feasts, fasts, abstinence, and vigils, throughout the entire year. In the reign of Elizabeth the Irish Parliament passed an Act for uniformity in common prayer, with permission of saying the same in *Latin*. A canon of the Church of England, dated 1640, regards an indulgence, and a regulated sum of money to be paid for it. Both Churches pray for heretics, and consider, theologically, that there is no salvation outside their pale—a fact which the Athanasian creed, publicly read in the Church of England, very explicitly declares. The Catholic ritual of Mentz, in its exhortation to dying persons, says: "We put all our trust in the merits of Jesus Christ, whom God has given to the world in His love truly divine." At the holy name of Jesus, in Protestant as well as Catholic Churches, the congregation bow. The gospels,

epistles, and collects of the Church of England, are the same as those in the Catholic liturgy. Both Churches have the burial service, the reservation of confirmation, and order to Bishops, the different episcopal and sacerdotal dress, the organ, and the cathedral service. Conventual institutions have been recently restored.

The baneful results of interpreting the Bible according to individual fancy and caprice have been pointed out by Bishop Marsh, Dr. Balguy, and other Protestant divines. "Open your Bibles," says the latter; "take the first page that occurs in either testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding?" Primate Stewart, Archbishop Magee, Bishop Jebb, Bishop Mant, and many other learned prelates, have stated it as their opinion that "note and comment are absolutely essential to the right understanding of the Sacred Volume." Luther himself says (*Cont. Zuing*): "If the world endureth much longer, we shall be forced, by reason of the contrary interpretations of the Bible which now prevail, to adopt again and take refuge in the decrees of the councils, if we have a mind to maintain unity of faith."

Many Protestants think that their Church teaches the rejection of tradition in interpreting the Sacred Volume. Their best writers, however—Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, Ball, Andrews, and Archbishop Laud—maintain ecclesiastical traditions, and the authority of the four first General Councils. It is the Sectaries, not Lutherans, who have moved in the opposite direction, asserting the Bible as the sole rule of faith, and that every mind is capable of understanding and explaining it.

The outcry against the Pope and his "excommunications," raised by a leading English journal, in 1860, led to the enumeration in "Notes and Queries" of a variety of well-authenticated cases, in which the Church of England claimed and exercised the power of excommunication. Parker, for instance, solemnly excommunicated Cheney, A.D. 1571, for having absented himself from the synod held at Worcester. The narrative is given at length in Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," ix. 342; but many similar examples may be found in "Notes and Queries," 2nd series, ix. pp. 428-29. The article in question might be supplemented by an extract or two from the Prayer-book in daily use among Protestants, from which it appears that excommunication is at this hour recognised by the Church of England. From the Anglican Prayer-book we learn that on every Ash-Wednesday the clergy are obliged publicly, not only to regret that "the godly discipline" regarding excommunicated persons should have fallen into desuetude, but to express an anxious desire that this point of discipline might be restored to its former lustre. Ten distinct curses are then pronounced on different classes of offenders, to which the congregation respond "Amen." "The Articles of Religion," at the end of the volume, are equally conclusive on excommunication. "Art. xxxiii." is headed "*Of Excommunicated Persons—how they are to be avoided.*" The prelates and clergy of the Protestant Church are obliged to subscribe to this solemn religious profession with an oath.

[J. K. L. NOT ON THE INDEX.]

The following letter from the most Rev. Dr. Crane, Bishop of Sandhurst, was addressed to A. M. Sullivan, Esq., shortly after the publication of the first edition of this work. One too complimentary phrase we now omit :—

“CHAPEL HOUSE, JOHN STREET.

“DEAR SIR,—An impression has been adopted by some persons, perhaps unthinkingly, that portions of the writings of the late Right Rev. Dr. Doyle are not conformable to the doctrines of the Catholic Church ; and assertions have been made that, in Mr. Fitzpatrick’s *Life of Dr. Doyle*, a work in which is given so full and unreserved a biography of every interesting incident connected with the life of the illustrious Prelate, it was at least inconsistent on the part of the author to have suppressed the fact that several of the Bishop’s works are on the index of prohibited books. With a view of removing from J. K. L. and his biographer, imputations unmerited, I wrote to Rome on the subject, and in due time obtained in reply an official attestation, signed and sealed by the Most Rev. Father Modina, Secretary of the Congregation of the Index. The following is an exact copy of the attestation, which I beg to place at your disposal, from which it will evidently appear to all parties who have entertained such erroneous views in regard to the writings of that great Bishop, that not one of the twenty-one works enumerated below has ever received the slightest censure from the Holy See.—Yours very truly, M. CRANE.”

Another letter, to the same effect, was addressed to the late Sir John Gray by the Bishop of Saldes :—

“The recent publication of the truly interesting *Life of Dr. Doyle*, by Mr. Fitzpatrick,” he writes, “led to a renewal of the rumour, and some even of the Bishop’s friends and admirers were made anxious about it, inasmuch that it became the religious order, of which he was at once the professed member and pride, to endeavour to ascertain if the imputation were founded in fact, and accordingly a catalogue of all his published works was laid before ‘The Sacred Congregation of the Index Expurgatoris,’ at Rome, when the following answer was returned, and cannot but be interesting to your readers.—I have, &c., † DANIEL O’CONNOR, *Bishop of Saldes*.”

Catalogus Operum editorum ab Episcopo Kildarensi Jacobo Doyle, expositus secretario Indicis, ut videatur utrum prohibita sint nec ne.

[Here their titles are detailed.]

Editorum ab viro clarissimo Jacobo Doyle, olim Episcopo Kildarensi operum, quorum syllabus in hoc folio exhibetur nullum prorsus in Incidem Vetitorum librorum relatum fuisse, inscriptus pro veritate contestor. In quorum fidem Datam Romæ at S. Mariæ supra Minervam, Nonis Novembris, Ann. 1861.

FR. ANGELUS V. MODINA, Ord. Pryd.,
Sacrae Indicis Congregis. ab Secretis.

[Seal.]

DR. DOYLE AND HIS NUNS.

The community of nuns formerly presided over by Miss Gurley, the favoured correspondent of Dr. Doyle, have been so kind as to transcribe from their MS. annals, for the enrichment of this edition, such portions as throw light upon his life and labours. These notes, having been made at the time, possess peculiar value and interest :—

“Ardently desiring to promote religious instruction among the flock entrusted to his pastoral care, Dr. Doyle resolved, in the year 1823, to send some of the professed members of the Presentation Convent at Carlow to other parts of his diocese, for the purpose of disseminating charitable education among the poor. Maryborough appearing to him the most eligible site for this pious foundation, he determined to appropriate part of his yearly income to support a convent in that town. The Rev. N. O'Connor, its parish priest, offered his house and residence for those who would be sent; and the Bishop, accepting his generous offer, appointed Sister Magdalen Breen to go as Superioress on this new foundation, with Sister Angela Mooney, a professed sister, and at her own solicitation, Sister Chantal Wilmerding, a novice. Dr. Doyle, nominating these three missionaries in presence of all the community in the chapel of Carlow Convent, and from the altar where he stood he gave to them, with much solemnity and paternal feeling, the following impressive advice; in order that this new convent should be founded and perfected on the basis of fervent and unrelenting religious discipline :—‘God calls us,’ he said, ‘and gives us graces equal to our vocation and state in life. He from the abundance of His mercy bestows particular graces on religious institutes and houses, but to continue them, something on our part is strictly required—a most faithful and fervent correspondence to all His graces, unremitting attention to duty, no relaxation of the rule but what sickness requires, to seek the glory of God in everything purely, entirely, and perseveringly, to be as victims ever immolated to His greater honour and glory, aiming at this alone,—seeking this alone,—to be fervent in the morning to consecrate all to His glory, and to renew it often in the day. With regard to subjects for this new establishment never retain one in whom the spirit of the world cannot be subdued—let no consideration whatever induce you to profess such a person, and mark my words,’ he added emphatically, ‘if I would have any of them written in your house or handed down to posterity, they would be these :—

“‘1. Do all for the glory of God.

“‘2. Keep strictly to the rule.

“‘3. And never profess any one in whom the spirit of the world cannot be subdued.

“‘We meet with those,’ said he, ‘who seem to soar to heaven by prayer, and by pride fall suddenly like stars from the firmament; the least deviation from rule also causes these fatal falls.’

"After continuing some time to exhort with much feeling on the same subjects, he raised his eyes and hands to heaven, pronouncing in the language of the Church special prayers and blessings over the newly appointed Superioresse.

"On the 6th of November 1825, the Bishop wrote the following advice as regards strict observance of seclusion and separation from all communication with the world, except what necessity alone would authorise. 'It is my wish, and I advise it most earnestly, that all intercourse with seculars do henceforth cease ; that the religious be not taken from their duty by any courtesy, and that at times when they can be allowed to see persons, it be for a limited period with particular permission, and not one of them alone, unless with a parent, brother, or sister, except the Superioress by special leave allows it.

" 'Let all intercourse be conducted through the lay sisters to the Superioress or senior sister ; let tradesmen and such people be treated with through the same channel.'

"The third week of January following, Dr. Doyle held a visitation at this convent, and when all the community were assembled, he said : 'It is my duty, by the laws of the Church, to hold a visitation every year, but as I have such frequent communications by letter and advice with each member of the house, I would not now deem it necessary but to comply with the desire of the Superioress, and that the result may be recorded in the annals of the house.

" 'It is necessary to explain to you the nature of a visitation, which is the purpose, dear children, that we are assembled for. It is in order that the Ordinary might inform himself of the manner in which the rules and constitutions are observed ; is union and charity preserved, as St. Augustin says in his Rules, "That the members should live as if they had but one soul in God" ? We have all of us the seeds of vice in us, even the child of one day upon the earth ; these seeds are continually shooting forth weeds which we must never cease labouring to tear out as soon as they appear. We must remember that by enclosure we separate from all commerce with the world, from which we are by our state excluded, but we must keep our hearts wholly disengaged from it, imitating Melchisedec, of whom the holy Scripture says he had neither beginning nor end, having neither father nor mother nor kindred. We are, like him, of eternal generation, begotten in Christ from all eternity, nor are we ever to have an end, for our souls are made to the image and likeness of the Divinity ; they are to live for ever, while God exists, for death is no more than a step between this world and the next, where we shall live eternally with God. The more, therefore, we disengage ourselves from every earthly affection, the more closely shall we be united to God. But by our very state we are sometimes obliged to mix with the world ; we should then follow the advice of St. Bernard to his monks : "We ought" (and in effect he did this himself, though his humility did not permit him to say it), "when we mix with the profane, to bring with us the light and salt of God, and to take care never to receive from them any of the corruptions of the earth."

The cares and concerns of the world should never occupy your mind, nor its follies nor maxims be even so much as named amongst you, or if once mentioned should never be repeated. By your enclosure you are almost freed from temptation; the devil going about seeking whom he may devour can scarcely have access to you; you are in a great measure secure from his attacks, but as he transforms himself into an angel of light, and comes like an arrow in the dark, he might deceive you by representing good where it is not; by humility and obedience you will be secure from his snares. We must, however, be vigilant. We also have a remedy in prayer, and by frequent participation of the Blessed Eucharist. As St. Augustin says, "The Lord has laid a table for us at which we may eat the bread of the strong."

"I have spoken thus at length on these things which are the three great obstacles to perfection, although they are not the object of the visitation, which is to inquire if the rules and constitutions be faithfully observed, for they are the medium by which God makes known to you His will, when they are authorised by the Church, and that union and charity be maintained among you.' The Bishop concluded by requesting all to retire but the youngest, with whom he commenced the usual interrogatories.

"The community having again assembled, he said. 'I have now to congratulate you, my dear children, on the good order, discipline, union, and charity that exists among you. I feel relieved when I visit your convent, where charity is preserved, and that I see God is well served among you; when oppressed with care, afflicted with the wretchedness and depravity of those with whom I am obliged to treat, to console, or correct, you are my joy and consolation. If I have aught to recommend to you it is to persevere in the union and charity that exist in your house, to have patience with yourselves and not to be too anxious for your perfection; not to seek to do in a few days what God designs to accomplish in several years; rather let grace act in you and effect its own work. You should leave yourselves more to its operations, and not depend on your own exertions. Content yourselves with the faithful observance of your rules; justification and sanctification are the work of God, and it is not he who runs that gains the prize, but he whom God willeth. God delights in perfecting and crowning His own works, and He will in time accomplish His designs in you. He never would have brought you here, did He not intend to sanctify you; you have but the mere power of becoming reprobate and no more, you will never make use of it, you will have nothing to fear whilst you do what you consider best; abandon yourselves entirely to God, and do not be thinking what you will do hereafter; live in peace, relying solely on God, but above all be patient—be patient even when you see yourselves weighed down with faults, oppressed with anxiety, and your passions ready to burst within you, even then go with confidence to God and look forward to the time when He will deliver you from these evils. Perhaps those things which you think withdraw you farthest from God are the very means He makes use of to separate you from yourselves, to cleanse and purify you.'

"On the 1st of September 1830 the Bishop held a visitation at this convent, having been prevented doing so at the usual time by delicacy of health, and afterwards by many onerous avocations.

"Having assembled the community he commenced by saying, 'It was a duty incumbent on him according to the rescript of Pope Pius VI., as specified in the rules, to hold a visitation every year, but he believed it had exceeded that term since he held one here, and he was now glad to have an opportunity of performing his duty in this respect.' He avowed himself very desirous of ascertaining if the religious exercises of the institute had been regularly performed, if obedience were practised, the school duties attended to, silence well observed, the Sacraments frequently received, and whether union and charity had been preserved and maintained in the community. Religious exercises,' he said, 'are the soul of a religious life; when they are performed with care, piety will flourish, and regularity will be observed. Your duty is to tell with candour and sincerity everything that will enable me to come to a knowledge of the things that are necessary for me to know. It would be a sin in you to conceal aught, the knowledge of which would be requisite for the good of the house.' And he added, 'It is a matter of excommunication to deny or refuse to answer candidly and sincerely any questions I may ask. I am empowered by the authority with which I am invested to require such communication under pain of the penalty I have named. This is merely mentioned, it being rarely ever necessary to have recourse to it. The reason I have assembled you previous to any individual communication is to avoid the necessity of specifying to each what I have just said to all." At the end of his examination he thus addressed the community:—

"I rejoice, my dear children, to find that notwithstanding the delicacy of your individual constitutions you have persevered in the faithful practice of your spiritual duties, and in rising early; that when dispensations were taken through necessity and by obedience they gave more pain than gratification. When sloth and relaxation creep into a religious house, the members of it seek for dispensations in order to indulge themselves, but as long as they occasion pain there is nothing to fear. You should then endeavour to be very faithful to your religious exercises, for it is prayer that purifies the soul. The corruption you inherit as the children of Adam is a weight upon the soul, and so close is the connection between the body and the soul or mind, that the former imparts its propensities to the latter if prayer does not refine and elevate it. You should likewise be very diligent in approaching the Sacraments, as nothing can contribute more to the strength and advantage of the soul. I also rejoice to find that the schools prosper, and that your zeal and charity for the little ones to whom your love for God has induced you to become spiritual mothers is not abated, but on the contrary is much increased. This is one of the best effects of charity. It gives me heartfelt pleasure to perceive that I am not disappointed in the opinion I formed of you, and that your mutual love for each other is not impaired.

"You must all endeavour to exercise forbearance, meekness, and patience towards each other, and if the enemy at any time sows tares in the field

you must seek to remove them immediately. Whenever you find you have given the least offence to any one try to atone for it speedily. 'Never let the sun go down upon your anger,' nor even let those feelings which pride occasions ever exist beyond the day on which they occurred. Be always most anxious to be reconciled to those whom you have offended, and if you act thus, charity will be preserved. Remember, as St. Augustin says, 'that those who fall often and rise quickly are in a better state than those who seldom fall and are slow to rise.' You will be charitable if you be obedient and submissive, and if you be anxious to comply with the wishes of the superioress, who I find endeavours to prove herself the servant of all, and whose chief study is to unite all hearts. If you do this you live in union, and harmony will be preserved in your house, and you will all labour together to promote the glory of God, who, in His special solicitude for your welfare, has called you to religion and given you many helps to advance to perfection. Do you, dear sister, who are preferred before the rest, always remember that you are placed in that station only to be the servant of all. When it is necessary to correct or admonish do so in a spirit of lenity or meekness, lest you yourself be tempted, and when requisite do so with authority and firmness, not with fear. However, I prefer that you should always act with kindness and patience. And you, dear sisters, show to her who is placed over you, submission, deference, and respect. Endeavour, on all occasions, to anticipate her wishes, and assist her to bear her burden ; be kind and docile, and by so doing you will have nothing to fear. Let us all labour together in the service of God until we meet in the enjoyment of eternal rest."

It was on one of these visitations that Dr. Doyle pencilled the following lines on Heaven, in reply to some remarks which one of the nuns had written to him. He was not a poet ; and the lines are given merely for their interest as a relic. They have been furnished by the same good Community to which we owe the foregoing notes :—

Blest land, by God Himself decreed
 The weary pilgrim's home !
 No slandering tongue can there be heard,
 Nor evil ever come.

Here fairest, fondest hopes deceive,
 Here enemies abound ;
 There truth, and peace, and perfect love,
 There holiness is found.

No sin is there, oh glorious thought !
 No heart by sorrow riven ;
 There friends shall meet and need not part,
 None weep or sigh in Heaven !

Dr. Doyle, with all his zeal in promoting conventual discipline, continued to the end averse to undue manifestations of conscience amongst nuns (vide i. 523), holding that the curiosity and loquacity of women tended to expose to abuse a practice salutary in itself, and he was once much amused by an anecdote which a divine told *à propos* of that view. The lady abbess of a continental community attained so high a status as a spiritual director that, month after month, she perseveringly teased the old vicar, who had grown grey in dispensing to the nuns the Sacrament of Penance, for permission to hear their confessions herself. He refused, but ever and anon the abbess renewed her appeal. The old vicar at last so far relaxed that he consented to make his own confession to her. He began—but soon paused and sighed, with the object of persuading her that some unspoken sin oppressed his conscience. Her suspense was at last relieved by the declaration that, as he never received holy orders, his myriad ministrations had been null and void. Within the next hour every nun in the convent had been warned by the abbess of this appalling fact, and the good vicar, in subsequent admonitions, used her betrayal of his confidence as a powerful argument against conceding the privilege for which she craved. This curiosity of sacerdotal experience has escaped—not from the cloister—to which we are indebted for so much that is valuable, but from the “Colatio” or Conference-Room.

FATHER BRAUGHALL OF GRAIG.

To fulfil our design of making these volumes cyclopædian of their subject, some information about Father Braughall—acquired at the last moment—is subjoined. Dr. Doyle, it will be remembered, makes occasional reference to this priest in his letters to the Rev. Martin Doyle. His life, though anchoretic, embraces several striking circumstances. When a student at Maynooth the fact transpired that he had not always been a Catholic; and in accordance with a rule of the House he was obliged to leave and complete his studies elsewhere. Whilst parish priest of Graig he fell sick, and registered a vow that if he recovered he would make a pilgrimage on foot to the Holy Land. Dr. Doyle sought to dissuade him, declaring that the task might prove beyond his strength, and offering to dispense him from his vow. Father Braughall's resolve, however, was fixed. He arrived at Jerusalem, weary and foot-sore, on Christmas Eve, and, exhibiting a letter with which he had been provided by Dr. Doyle, was permitted by the Patriarch to celebrate mass in the Temple. Ere long a pilgrim's staff and habit were presented to Father Braughall, the former richly studded with pearls and cut from the garden of Gethsemani. On passing through Vienna two men asked the pilgrim to translate a letter which seemed to puzzle them, and while he goodnaturedly entered into the task both decamped with his treasured staff. He is next found an inmate of the monastery of Monte Casino, where, looking down upon the plain of the Liras, he remained cloistered for seven years. Founded by St. Benedict, it had been the residence of Tasso and the nursery of

monarchism. During all this time his fate seemed involved in mystery ; some alleging that he was dead. Dr. Doyle, however, kept the parish of Graig open, hoping that he might return. One day he reappeared, but only to resign it formally. Then it was that Father Martin Doyle received his appointment to Graig. Dr. Montague offered Father Braughall rooms in Maynooth College, but the priest preferred to end his days with the Benedictines at Monte Casino, an order which had already given forty-four Popes to the Church.]

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CRITICAL OPINIONS ON THE FIRST EDITION OF THE "LIFE OF DR. DOYLE."

PROTESTANT OPINIONS.

From "The Morning Post," the organ of the late Lord Palmerston.

Respected by the most fiery of his antagonists for his great learning, his formidable strength of reasoning, and his blameless life, and sustained by the enthusiastic veneration of his countrymen, Dr. Doyle accomplished more effectual service, by his political writings and by his voluminous evidence before both Houses of Parliament, than any one politician of his time, either in the British Parliament or on the domestic arena of Irish agitation. . . . And although the literature of political antagonism is generally of an evanescent character, the letters of Bishop Doyle will probably survive in the remembrance of history, and be studied by future controversial politicians as models of vigorous argument, and as perhaps the most powerful of the levers by which the great measure of Roman Catholic relief was accomplished, after one of the most remarkable constitutional struggles in which the British Parliament was ever engaged. Of this distinguished man, Mr. Fitzpatrick has lately published the "Life, Times, and Correspondence," after having accumulated ample materials for his undertaking by unwearied personal investigation and epistolary inquiries extending through several years. In these researches he was courteously assisted by several members of both Houses of Parliament, and by other eminent public men, to whom he applied with the view of collecting reminiscences of Dr. Doyle and opinions of his character and attainments. This work is not, however, like many voluminous biographies, a dry detail of facts, minutely chronicled, with little regard to their importance or their suggestive value, and relieved only by dovetailed correspondence, the extent of which exonerates the compiler from the trouble of composition. On the contrary, Mr. Fitzpatrick's "Life of Dr. Doyle" is in every respect an original work, tracing the intellectual progress, examining the motives and policy, and illustrating the character and habits, of by far the ablest Roman Catholic prelate of recent times. In connection with the main figure of his picture, the author portrays the fluctuations of Irish politics, and explains the circumstances which led to the remarkable, not to say unprecedented, union in one person of two apparently incompatible characters; that, on the one hand, of the ascetic and unworldly ecclesiastic, toiling without remission for the spiritual welfare of an extensive flock; and that, on the other, of the public intellectual gladiator, grappling successfully in argument with the foremost politicians of his time. [Three columns of eulogy followed.] Men of all parties united in conceding to him the praise of a high order of genius and of unsullied virtue. Indeed, under whatever point of view the career of this eminent man is viewed, the conclusion which the perusal of these volumes will force, even upon those least disposed to appreciate his high qualities, must be that he was a master-spirit, an honour to the country which gave him birth, and an ornament to the Christianity which he so earnestly preached and so devotedly practised.

From "The Morning Herald," the organ of the late Lord Derby.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has chosen a good subject, has devoted much time and much labour to it, and has produced a valuable book, which contains much information upon a critical time in both Irish and English history. . . . We have said that Mr. Fitzpatrick has done his work well. More than that, he has done it *con amore*. The result is the addition to our national libraries of one of the most admirable personal histories that modern times has seen ; a history which claims for its author no ordinary meed of praise, and demands the attention of his contemporaries, as Dr. Doyle challenged the admiration of those who lived in the same age.

From "The Press," when the organ of the Right Hon. B. Disraeli.

It is impossible for us to notice, even in the most cursory manner, a hundredth part of the interesting subjects embraced in these volumes. A more graphic, impartial, and truthful picture of a man and his times has seldom been produced. It is perfect Boswellian in effect ; and neither pains nor labour has been spared to render the work complete in every respect, and thoroughly trustworthy. Nothing is taken for granted ; the best and most reliable evidence being always produced to substantiate even every *apparently* trifling incident. The result is an historical painting of a most interesting and stirring period drawn to the very life—a painting which is as much distinguished for its breadth of design, its noble proportions, and its skilful execution, as for the exact nicety and studied minuteness of every detail.

From "The New Monthly Magazine," edited by W. Harrison Ainsworth.

The task has, indeed, fallen to able and worthy hands. With an industry truly indefatigable, with an accuracy wholly unimpeachable, and with a skill and discrimination of no common order, Mr. Fitzpatrick has woven the scattered and tangled materials in his possession into an admirable and truly fascinating biography. He shines, most justly, in the light reflected from the illustrious dead, and his name shall descend to future times linked with that of him to whose glorious memory he has paid this earnest and grateful tribute.

From "The Literary Gazette."

A novelty, and a welcome one to Englishmen. . . . Exceedingly graphic and interesting. . . . Mr. Fitzpatrick has evidently taken infinite pains to collect materials for his work, and in giving it to the public, he seems to have been actuated by no narrow, selfish, or sectarian views, and therefore deserves to be regarded as a trustworthy guide, whose statements we may honestly follow without any danger of having our judgments warped.

From "The Athenæum."

Mr. Fitzpatrick has rendered ample justice to all the virtues and abilities of this once redoubtable prelate and politician. . . . We readily render to the biographer the justice that is due to him. Among the attractions of these volumes are . . . We must now take our leave of Mr. Fitzpatrick, with all commendation for his zeal and industry. He has done his utmost to afford a true portraiture of the great Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, and in this he has succeeded no doubt,

From "Notes and Queries."

Ireland has hitherto shown herself markedly unjust to the memory of her great men. . . . Mr. Fitzpatrick has already, on several occasions, given ample proof of the zeal and assiduity with which he pursues his biographical inquiries. This zeal and assiduity would seem to grow with use; and the result is, that in the two volumes before us, the author has gathered together, from every available source, a mass of materials not only for the life of Dr. Doyle, but for the history of the busy times in which he lived. . . . There is not a page, not a line too much in it.

From "The Spectator."

Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose previous biographical works have been favourably received, has published a Life of Dr. Doyle full of amusing and instructive matter. . . . In closing this volume, we cannot but express our regret that so good a man and so sincere a patriot should not have survived to our own happier times. . . . A lively, gossiping, and sensible biography.

From "The Dublin University Magazine."

The "Life and Times of Dr. Doyle," viewed in different aspects, might be made the subject of several useful lectures to young men. He might be regarded as a politician, as a divine, as an ecclesiastical reformer, as an orator, as an author, or simply as a man who had risen to the highest eminence by his own unaided exertions. For the treatment of the subject in any of these aspects, Mr. Fitzpatrick's volumes would furnish the most ample materials, which a skilful literary artist could work up so as to produce a powerful effect; each would open a large field for interesting discussion, which, rightly conducted, could not fail to be instructive and stimulating to inquiring minds. The author has succeeded so well that the names of Johnson and Boswell are not more indissolubly united than the names of Doyle and Fitzpatrick will be henceforth. . . . Great ability. . . . Eloquence, beautiful and touching. . . . Quite romantic. . . . We cannot give the able and learned author of these volumes greater praise than to say that he has presented to the world a work every way worthy the memory of "J. K. L."

[Acting on the above hint, the Rev. Prebendary Foley, D.D., and Ex-Professor, T.C.D., delivered an able series of lectures on Dr. Doyle, in Dublin, Limerick, and other towns, and warmly eulogised the candour and ability displayed in Mr. Fitzpatrick's volumes, which formed the text of the lectures. Soon after some "Lectures on the Church" were delivered by the Right Hon. James Whiteside, in which he spoke of "the very interesting biography of Bishop Doyle by Mr. Fitzpatrick, himself a R.C. gentleman of literary taste and ability," and went on to quote from the work what he designated as "Revelations."]

From "The London Review."

The list of those who have contributed to his book, by furnishing him with letters, is indeed imposing and amazing.

From "The Gentleman's Magazine."

We have before now expressed the opinion that a biography, to be worth reading, should be a labour of love, and if required to justify our assertion, we should unhesitatingly point to the preface to these handsome volumes. In it we see recorded modestly, but with the unmistakable mark of truth, an amount of labour that no one would encounter unless he really loved his

theme. He has succeeded, and his book will achieve a standard character, in Ireland at least. It throws a great deal of light on the hidden springs of many important passages in the history of the Empire between the peace of 1814 and the death of Dr. Doyle,—indeed it may scandalise surviving politicians of the penal law school to note the names of his correspondents—and every particle of this information is made readily accessible by a copious index.

From "The Literary Budget."

Bishop Doyle deserved the thanks of the whole nation.

From "The Union," the organ of the Ritualists.

It has been a rare thing to find the temporal and spiritual swords wielded effectively by the same hand. Yet that it has been possible to unite ardent political and religious zeal and activity, without the faculties becoming mutually destructive, is proved to demonstration by the biography before us. But so fleeting are men's memories, especially in the case of their benefactors, that it is well that no longer delay has occurred. . . . Superior to O'Connell in abilities, in learning, in true political sagacity, and in disinterestedness, Dr. Doyle was enabled to do what the other never could effect—to influence and turn the tide of opinion in England. . . . So great a change proves the real greatness of the man to whom it is mainly due; and, therefore, Mr. Fitzpatrick has done a wise thing in selecting such a subject for a biography, and has earned no slight title to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen for the manner in which he has executed it. . . . He has produced a book which will henceforth be indispensable to every one who desires to familiarise himself with the political history of the present century. Dr. Doyle's correspondence is of the most varied nature. Political letters of the greatest moment addressed to Cabinet ministers and viceroys; pastoral epistles to priests; affectionate greetings to friends; wise, gentle, and pious counsels to nuns and others under his spiritual direction, testify at once to his versatile abilities and his loving zeal. . . .

From "The Westminster Review."

Those who take an interest in tracing the history of past agitations will find ample amusement in the "Life and Times of Dr. Doyle." He was a most able advocate for the liberties of his Church, at the same time that he was not blind to the defects sometimes manifested by his countrymen. Nor was he without a certain amount of liberality in religious matters; and a very curious account is given of the views he expressed as to the feasibility of uniting the Roman and Protestant Churches.

From "The Caledonian Mercury."

Comprehensive research, laborious arrangement, and minute analysis. Mr. Fitzpatrick has a commendable patriotic desire to do and have justice done to the more eminent of Ireland's sons. Ireland, unlike most other nations, idolises her great men while they live, and neglects their memory when they are dead. . . . Mr. Fitzpatrick is entitled to the gratitude of every true patriot. There is an immense treasury of political knowledge to be gleaned from his book—some curious secrets also as to how parties, both Whig and Tory, have worked the oracles of priesthood in Ireland during the past half century.

From the pen of the present Editor of "The Daily News."

Such, and much more than this, was Dr. Doyle. If he had selected a lay career, no doubt he would have risen to the highest eminence. His

philosophical intellect, his grasp of principle and mastery of details, his power of impressive utterance, marked him out for the career of a statesman and a judge. Mr. Fitzpatrick has done well in writing the history of his life and times while there are contemporaries of Dr. Doyle's still living, who can supply, from personal knowledge of the man, facts and traits of character which would be irrecoverably lost if it had been left to a subsequent generation to furnish the biography. Mr. Fitzpatrick's work has a double interest.

From "The Evening Mail."

The biography of Bishop Doyle, the renowned J. K. L., is an interesting subject in itself, and by the light which it throws on a most important period of modern history, becomes a valuable addition to the literary records of the country. The known tact and ability of the author have made it a very entertaining publication; and it is, for the most part, free from that exaggeration, as well of praise as of dispraise, peculiar to those who "write for their convent," which is so repellant to unprejudiced readers.

From "The Daily Express."

We do not know any man in Ireland competent for this task but the gentleman by whom it has been so well performed. Mr. Fitzpatrick has devoted six years to this, his *magnum opus*. Dr. Doyle's correspondence was most extensive, not only with leading men in his own Church, but with public men of all parties, including some of England's most eminent princes and ministers, who searched for Dr. Doyle's letters and placed them at the author's disposal. . . . Those volumes really contain the history of Ireland for a quarter of a century. In these days of hasty compilation and superficial literary labour, it is refreshing to meet a work so original, so full of research, so honestly and ably written as this "Life of Dr. Doyle." Mr. Fitzpatrick has performed a task which secures for him a very high place among Irishmen who have enriched the historical literature of their country. Indeed we do not know any great Irishman to whose memory more justice has been done by his biographer. And we sincerely congratulate him upon the successful termination of his honourable labours, upon which he might be well content to rest his fame as an author.

From "Saunders' News-Letter."

It is greatly to the biographer's credit that he nowhere cushions or cooks his documents.

From "The Warder."

A work of very considerable importance, the production of a gentleman whose previous literary performances we have had the satisfaction of noticing in terms of warm approval. Dr. Doyle—the once famous J. K. L.—the great champion of the Roman Catholic Church in a former generation, whose generous spirit and liberality, in many points of public concern, are exhibited and illustrated on these glowing pages. The publication we cannot but regard as opportune. It is an admirable piece of elaborate biography, put together artistically, written in a nervous style throughout, with the utmost painstakingness, and that warm but chastened regard for the subject of the memoir without which no such composition can be successful.

From "The Evening Packet."

The best test of a book is its readableness, and we can honestly say that Mr. Fitzpatrick's pages are eminently interesting—a photograph, in fact,

of Dr. Doyle and his times, which Protestants, fully as much as Romanists, can examine with profit and pleasure. The composition and publication of so large and important a work is an exceedingly spirited act on the part of an Irish gentleman; and, as compared even with his former clever productions, it exhibits a marked advance in the author's powers.

From "The Country Gentleman's Newspaper."

"*Dignus dignior dignissimus*," is the formula in which the names of candidates for episcopal induction, in the Roman Catholic Church, is presented to the Pope. Paraphrasing this order, and applying it to Mr. Fitzpatrick's works, we may say that his "*Life of Lord Cloncurry*"—in which he treated us to the honest and candid biography of a good man, whose ardent love of justice and of Ireland raised him to eminence—is to be ranked as his "*dignus*," that his later work on Lady Morgan, lighter in material, but charmingly adapted to show every phase of the "*Wild Irish Girl*," full of genius, enthusiasm, patriotic feeling, and personal vanity, may be classed as his "*dignior*;" while to his latest and greatest work the crowning epithet of "*dignissimus*" may be applied.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has followed the example of Boswell and Lockhart in an exceedingly artistic way; the plan includes an amount of time, labour, and expense, from which most men would retreat; he felt that the task was a great one, and for six whole years he continued his "labour of love," gathering his materials slowly but surely; collecting, collating, investigating, soliciting—thinking no mansion too lofty at which to knock for information, and no cottage too lowly to enter in search of well-authenticated facts, until at last, having thoroughly satisfied himself that nothing more could be done, he has sent forth his volumes to secure admiration for his ability, industry, and enthusiastic perseverance, and to give us an undying memorial of what really great minds can do when excited by patriotic feeling and Christian zeal. Mr. Fitzpatrick has varied his matter in a very pleasant way, chequering his narrative with the grave and the gay, and relieving the more sober tone of his subject by racy anecdotes and characteristic traits, so as to make his work not only a very able exposition of facts, but an agreeable repertory of brilliant *jeu de mots*.

CATHOLIC OPINIONS.

From "The Rambler."

This work, unquestionably one of the most valuable contributions recently added to our store of Catholic biography, illustrates a period at once so near to our own, that its events largely influence that in which we live, and also so remote that it is rapidly passing out of the recollection of the existing generation. . . . Excellent and singularly interesting. . . . A careful and valuable work.

From "The Tablet."

A work of great merit. The author has executed a task of great difficulty with much skill, and has produced a most interesting biography. . . . Very few biographers, of which we have knowledge, have surpassed Mr. Fitzpatrick. . . . The living man, student, professor, bishop, politician, and patriot, breathes and moves before us as we read, and two more interesting volumes have not come under our notice since we first assumed the reviewer's office.

From "Brownson's Quarterly Review."

Mr. Fitzpatrick deserves praise. We had imbibed a prejudice against Dr. Doyle, and had no wish to form his acquaintance. . . . But the work before us has disabused us, and has made it clear that our prejudices were unjust—that he was a man of eminent ability, a wise and zealous pastor, a brave and true patriot, a profound and clear-sighted statesman—a man to whom Ireland is more indebted than to any other Irishman we have ever heard of! . . . As far as his views are given by Mr. Fitzpatrick, we find in them nothing that we, who claim to be a staunch Ultramontanist, cannot accept.

From "The Dublin Evening Post."

We rejoice that the "Life, Times, and Correspondence" of this eminent patriot prelate—a work required for the present generation as well as for the historians of future ages—has been written by W. J. Fitzpatrick, whose successful literary labours in the "Life and Times of Cloncurry," and other works, have proved his thorough capacity for writing the memoirs of distinguished Irishmen. This book is one of the most important that has issued from the press for several years.

From "The Telegraph."

The magnificent proportions of the great prelate appear before us at every turn of the page, and in every aspect, and under every light, give us reason to be proud of his memory, and to bless God, who, in the utter prostration of a nation, inspired and sent forth so worthy a champion to reanimate its spirit and revive its strength. . . . It is an epoch in an Irishman's life to read Mr. Fitzpatrick's delightful volumes, and we should blush for the Irishman who avoided the duty, which is a pleasure and a privilege as well.

From "The Nation."

There is no living writer to whom Ireland is so largely indebted as the distinguished author of the volumes before us. Long since favourably known in the highest literary circles, he has taken a conspicuous place amongst the historical writers of our age, and deserves, from the hand of Irishmen, a special meed of praise for the rare disinterestedness with which he has devoted his great talents to the promotion of his country's literature.

From "The Morning News," edited by A. M. Sullivan.

Special praise is due to Mr. Fitzpatrick for the feelings that prompted him to undertake a work which, in its very conception, must have presented difficulties, immediate and prospective, sufficient to deter a less zealous pen than his from engaging in it. The task, however, was evidently a labour of love to him; and we congratulate him on having given to the world a work that must of necessity hold a conspicuous place on the shelves of the scholar, and be ever popular.

From "The Register," edited by W. H. Wilberforce.

Every one interested in the cause of the Catholic Church, or in that of Ireland, should buy and read Mr. Fitzpatrick's volumes. His labours have been well, carefully, and conscientiously performed. He has taken great pains to collect his materials, and to omit nothing that can throw light upon his subject. He has done a good, great, and important work.

From "The Cork Examiner," edited by J. F. Maguire, M.P.

There is justice in the reproach that the great Bishop of Kildare has been twenty-five years dead without an attempt to embalm his memory. But it was worth many years of waiting to secure a work like that of Mr. Fitzpatrick. It is rare to meet a biographer who enters upon a laborious task with such utter self-abandonment. His amassing of materials is an amazing effort of industry, while his selection and arrangement of them have been singularly felicitous. From all quarters of England and Ireland he has gathered the voluminous correspondence of the subject of his work; he has pored over blue books and newspaper files, he has sought out the contemporaries and friends of the ecclesiastical student, the pupils of the professor, the priests of the bishop, the fellow-workers of the patriot, in order to attain some fact, often of the most minute kind, illustrative of his life and character. Out of the ample materials thus secured he has constructed his narrative with remarkable perspicuity, giving us a living picture of Dr. Doyle, and a scarcely less complete photograph of the times in which he lived. Wherever he can do so he makes his hero tell in his own words the actions he has performed or the motives which swayed him; and without republishing his controversial or political writings, he contrives, by a distinct summary and apt extracts, to make us acquainted with their spirit, their style, and salient points. The extraordinary fund of biographical anecdote which Mr. Fitzpatrick possesses, and which seems almost involuntarily to overflow in all his writings, has lent its aid to enrich and enliven these volumes, and often to offer a more striking individuality to the characters he brings before the reader than could be given by the most laboured description.

From the fourth notice of "The Universal News," written by E. Walford, M.A.

We regret that we must despatch in a very cursory manner the remainder of the remarks which we had intended to offer on this most interesting work. The real fact is, that we should not be able to do justice to its contents, even if we were to devote half a dozen more columns to its treatment, and even then the reader would not be put in possession of a tithe of its points of interest. It only remains to add, that Mr. Fitzpatrick has done his work carefully and judiciously, and in such a way as, without compromising his own decided opinion as a Catholic, must make the book as acceptable in Protestant as it is in Catholic circles.

From "The Wexford People."

We return to the delightful volumes in which Mr. Fitzpatrick has recorded with the fascinating ease and minuteness of a Boswell, but not unfrequently with far greater vigour and polish of style, the career of the illustrious Dr. Doyle. We have seldom read such striking vigour and eloquence. The scenes are reproduced with a stereoscope fidelity and distinctness, and one feels as spellbound.

From "The Connaught Patriot," the organ of the Archbishop of Tuam.

We are at a loss for words in which to convey our sense of admiration of the zeal, unflinching perseverance, talents, and accomplishments of the eminent author.

From a public letter of the Right Rev. Dr. O'Connor, addressed to Mr. Fitzpatrick, in "The Dublin Evening Post," 25th June 1861, and defending the accuracy of some passages which had been impugned.

"Let me add the assurance of my admiration of your work. You have been most successful in your laborious undertaking; you have gained in public estimation universally as an accomplished biographer, and 'The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle' will be regarded as the noblest and most permanently useful of your works. Religion, literature, patriotism, and society at large, are your debtors for rescuing from oblivion the inestimable truths and highly interesting facts which you have placed on glowing record. You have sustained the genuine character of the historian for uncompromising truthfulness, which cannot but command the respect of even those—if any—whom publicity might displease."

* * The work has also been strongly recommended at Conferences of the Clergy by several Bishops, whose names were in an earlier edition of these opinions. See also the chairman's speech at the banquet to the O'Donoghue in London, 12th May 1861.

AMERICAN OPINIONS.

[A few notices selected from upwards of a hundred.]

From "The Canadian Freeman."

Sincerely do we rejoice at the publication of this much-desired work, and we are quite sure it will be read with the greatest avidity; for the name of the illustrious Dr. Doyle is a household word amongst the sea-divided children of Erin. Mr. Fitzpatrick has given a finished portrait of this patriot prelate, and is entitled to a prominent place among the best of biographers.

From "The Toronto Mirror."

This book, which we have carefully perused, after some application, is really the most deserving that has reached this province for the last ten years. It is a splendid chapter in the history of the Irish Church and the political history of the Irish people from 1800 upwards.

From "The Boston Pilot."

Our words may sound extravagant. We can only repeat the motto in Doyle's coat of arms—"Tolle Lege." Take up the book which narrates his life, times, and correspondence, and read. We appeal to the monuments of history, so beautifully, so accurately, so eloquently displayed before us by the great historian of one of the greatest men. The book before us is a monument of Mr. Fitzpatrick's skill, of his knowledge of men and events, of his great power of discernment, of his faithfulness, of his impartiality, of his herculean labour, of his exalted Christianity!

From "The Herald and Visitor" (Philadelphia).

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